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THE NEW  
**ANNUAL REGISTER,**

OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF

**HISTORY,**

**POLITICS,**

AND

**LITERATURE,**

For the YEAR 1813.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, TASTE, and  
SCIENCE, in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of GEORGE III.

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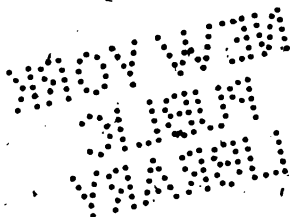
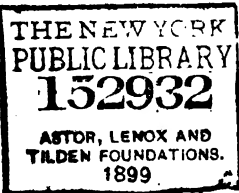
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## P R E F A C E.

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IT would be insulting to the understandings, the principles, and the feelings of our readers, if we were minutely and elaborately to point out the infinite importance of the events which are recorded in the present volume of *THE NEW ANNUAL REGISTER*; or if we were to call upon them for congratulation and confidence in the prospect of restored independence, peace, and prosperity, which they open to the exhausted continent of Europe. We may, however, briefly remark, that the events of no year, since the commencement of our Register, have such claims on our interest, either as Britons, or as friends to the well-being and liberty of mankind.

These events we have endeavoured to narrate with that accuracy, connexion, and completeness, which may best present them to the minds of our readers in a distinct and luminous form; interspersing such reflections and general remarks as, we trust, will assist in tracing them to their real causes, and in anticipating at least some of their results.

In the Peninsula, after a long and arduous struggle, British perseverance, generosity, and military skill and bravery, have at last met with their due and most gratifying recompense:—the Spaniards and Portuguese are free: and the superiority of British soldiers over those of France is indelibly fixed by the battles of Vittoria and the Pyrenees;—while their conduct, now that they in their turn are the invaders, proves them to be equally superior, in moderation and forbearance. Of that general who has made them what they are in both these respects, it is the highest and most appropriate praise to say, that each succeeding campaign proves that his countrymen are still imperfectly acquainted with his military genius.

## PREFACE.

The Emperor of Russia, in conjunction with the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Crown Prince of Sweden, have nobly and successfully imitated and seconded the efforts of Britain for restoring the independence of Europe. The tyranny of France has at last roused the talents and energies of the Continent ;—the sovereigns of which, forgetting their mutual suspicions and jealousies, have united in the common cause ; while the people, goaded almost to madness by the oppression which they have so long borne, have come forth, as one man, to chase away their tyrants. These causes, assisted in their operation by such an insane obstinacy, on the part of Bonaparte, as utterly destroyed his military resources, and rendered useless his military talents, produced the battle of Leipzig ; and by means of it, we trust, the liberation of Europe. If the allied powers continue united, moderate, and firm, the grand object they have in view must be accomplished :—if they fail, the fault will be entirely their own.

The domestic events of 1813, though of little interest or importance when compared with those which we have noticed in most other periods, would have been deemed of considerable magnitude. The alteration in the plan of finance by Mr. Vansittart, we have endeavoured to explain in a clear and satisfactory manner ; while, on the questions respecting the Princess of Wales and the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, our principal object has been to give a candid and impartial statement.

—London, 26 March, 1814.

CON-

# CONTENTS.

**THE History of Knowledge, Literature, Taste, and Science, in Great Britain, during the Reign of George III.** page i.

## BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY.

### CHAP. I.

*Introduction—Forms used in assembling the new Parliament—Choice of a Speaker—Abridgement of the Prince Regent's Speech—Debate on Lord Longford's Motion of an Address on the Prince's Speech—Debate on Lord Clive's Motion on the same Subject—Mr. Creevey's Motion, on the Report of the Address being brought up—Motions of Thanks to Lord Wellington in both Houses—Motion for a Monument to General Le Marchant—Motion relative to the Gold Coin—Debate on Lord Folkestone's Motion on the German Legion—Prince Regent's Message for pecuniary Aid to the Russians, and Debates thereon—Petitions presented by Sir Francis Burdett from Prisoners in Ilchester Gaol* 3

### CHAP. II.

*Bishop of Norwich's Observations on some Anti-catholic Petitions—Mr. Whitbread's Notice respecting Peace—Debates on the Vice-chancellor's Bill—on Sir Samuel Romilly's Motion for a Repeal of certain Laws—on Earl Bathurst's Motion for an Address to the Prince Regent on the American War—on Sir Francis Bardolet's Motion for a Bill to provide against any Interruption of the Royal Authority—Mr. Cochrane Johnstone's Notice of a Motion respecting the Princess of Wales—Debates on the Catholic Claims—The Speaker's Address to Sir Stapleton Cotton, and the Answer—Debates on the Catholic Claims continued* 29

# CONTENTS.

## CHAP. II.

*The Speaker's Notice of a Letter from Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, which is read—Mr. Whitbread's Observations on it—Debates on Mr. C. Johnstone's Motion—Petition of Sir J. and Lady Douglas—Declarations of Lord Ellenborough and the other Law Lords—Debates on Mr. Whitbread's Assertions with regard to the Evidence of Mrs. Lisle—on Mr. C. Johnstone's Motion on the Petition of the Douglasses—on Mr. Whitbread's Motion respecting the Earl of Moira* - - - 66

## CHAP. IV.

*Debate on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Notice respecting the Finances of the Country—on the Army Estimates—on Mr. Giddy's Motion respecting Copy-Rights of Books—Mr. Whitbread on the Exchange of Prisoners—on Lewis XVIII's Address to the People of France—Debate on the Marquis of Wellesley's Motion for a Committee to inquire into the Campaign in the Peninsula* - - - - - 97

## CHAP. V.

*Debates on the Mutiny Bill—on Lord Castlereagh's Resolutions on the Renewal of the East India Company's Charter—On the Finances of the Country—Examinations of Mr. Warren Hastings and Lord Teignmouth on the Affairs of the East India Company—Debate on the Ways and Means—Mr. Lockhart's Motion on the Bankrupt Laws—Debate on the Marquis of Wellesley's Motion on renewing the East Indian Charter—Sir William Scott's Motion for the Regulation of Ecclesiastical Courts—Mr. Wharton's on Westminster Improvements—Mr. Rose's on Apprenticeship Laws—Mr. Smith's on the Trinity Acts—Debate on Lord Darnley's Motion on the Naval Administration—Important Appeal Cause and Decision—Civil List* - - - - - 117

## CHAP. VI.

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Motion respecting Mr. Palmer's Claims—Another Debate on the same Subject—Mr. Ponsonby on Foreign Relations—Petition from the Church of Scotland for an Extension of Religious Liberty, presented by Lord Castlereagh—Petition from Manchester, complaining of illegal Imprisonments, presented by Lord Cockrane—Lord Grey on the Swedish Treaty—on Sir W. Scott's Bill for a Reform in the Ecclesiastical Courts—Debates in the House of Lords on the Swedish Treaty—in the House of Commons on the same Subject* - - - 161

# C O N T E N T S.

## CHAP. VII.

*Debates on Mr. Swan's Motion respecting the Hellestone Election—on Lord A. Hamilton's Motion for the Liberation of Crogan—on Mr. Creevey's Sentence for a Libel—on Mr. Wynne's Motion respecting the Orange Lodges—on Lord Boringdon's Bill for General Vaccination—on the Vote of Credit—Mr. Whitbread's Motion to purchase Mr. Hargrave's Library—Debates on Lord Cochrane's Resolutions respecting the Hardships of British Seamen—Motion of Thanks to Lord Wellington for the Victory at Vittoria, in the House of Lords, and also in the House of Commons*  
180

## CHAP. VIII.

*Necessity and Importance of taking a retrospective View of the Events of 1812—Moral and political Change produced on the Continent of Europe during that Year—Great political Changes always attended with moral Changes—instances in the French Revolution—Sketch of the Causes of that Event, preparatory to the Sketch of the Causes of the Overthrow of the French Power—The French rendered almost invincible—by the Spirit of National Independence—by absurd yet enthusiastic Ideas of Liberty—by the Development and proper Application of political and military Talent—by their Love of Glory—Causes of the Decline of the Power of Bonaparte—Oppression of the conquered Countries—anti-commercial System—Hatred of England—Character of his Armies destroyed in Spain—His mad Obstinacy in the Russian War*  
200

## CHAP. IX.

*Exertions of Britain in the Cause of Europe not confined to Spain—Her pecuniary Assistance—Consequences of that great Increase of the National Debt—This however not so great as it appears to be—First, because the Value of Money is much decreased—Secondly, because the Population is more numerous; and lastly, on account of our Improvements in Machinery, and increased Capital and Industry—Taxation nevertheless nearly reached its highest Point—Necessity of lightening the Burdens of the State admitted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—His Plan of Finance—Principle of it not incompatible with the Principles of the Sinking Fund—Its Advantages—Objections to it—Present Trade, &c. of Great Britain*  
212

## CHAP. X.

*Great Importance and Difficulty of the Question respecting the Justice and Policy of the East Indian Monopoly—Views of it taken by different Classes*  
24 of



## C O N T E N T S

of People—by the Merchants and Manufacturers—by the religious Part of the Community—by the Friends of Civilization and Knowledge—Collateral Topics respecting opening the Trade to the Out Ports—and respecting the China Trade first considered—Remarks on the American Tea Trade—Misconception on that Point—Grand and primary Subject considered—Objections to a free Trade—as injurious to the East India Company—to the Merchants and Manufacturers—to the Country at large—and to the Natives of the East Indies—these Objections considered—Remarks on the Conduct of Government with respect to the Renewal of the Charter—Concluding Observations - - - - - 224

### CHAP. XI.

Transactions respecting the Princess of Wales—possess both a political and a moral Interest—First Communication to the Prince in 1805—Warrant for Investigation, May 1806—Report of the Commissioners—acquit the Princess of the criminal Charges—but not entirely of the others—Letters of the Princess to the King, August 12 and 17—Abstract of her Letter of October, in which she enters into a full and minute Examination of all the Evidence—complains of the Substance of the Proceeding, and the unfair and indecorous Conduct of the Commissioners, in not letting her know immediately the Result of the Report—Remarks on the Testimony of Lady Douglas—on Cole's Deposition respecting Sir Sidney Smith—and Mr. Lawrence—on the Evidence respecting Captain Manby—Conclusion of the Letter—Delay in admitting her to the Royal Presence—her Remonstrance on the Cause of it—Change of Ministers—New Ministry completely avow her Innocence—Her Letter to the Prince, January 1813—Proceedings on it—Her Letter to the Speaker—Addresses to her—Conduct of Ministers, Opposition, &c. on this Occasion - - - 238

### CHAP. XII.

Miscellaneous Topics connected with the Domestic History of Great Britain during the Year 1813—Appointment of a Vice Chancellor—alleged Necessity for it, on account of the arduous Duties of the Chancellor—Business of Chancery not increased since Lord Harwicke's Time—Increase in the Number of Bankruptcies—Sir Samuel Romilly's Proposal for putting these under the Vice-Chancellor—Revenue of the Chancellor—Remarks on the Fund from which the Vice-Chancellor is paid—Rejection of the Catholic Bill—Hardships of the Catholics—their absurd and intemperate Conduct on the Occasion—Proposed Appeal to the Cortes of Spain—Remarks on the Institution or Renewal of the Orange Lodges—very properly discountenanced by Ministers—Debates in Parliament respecting the Conduct of the war in Spain—Abstract of Lord Wellesley's Opinion on this Head—The Prince Regent's Speech of Lord Wellesley's Proposed Alteration in the Corn Laws considered - - - 253

CHAP.

## C O N T E N T S.

### CHAP. XIII.

*Remarks on the naval War between Great Britain and America—Example of the Force of Words in deciding the Opinion of many People on this Subject—The American Vessels, though called Frigates, much larger, and superior in Force to our Frigates—Apprehensions lest even the French might be animated by the American naval Triumphs—These Apprehensions apparently realized in the Instance of an Action on the Coast of Africa between an English and a French Frigate, which terminates in a drawn Battle—The Intelligence of this Engagement almost immediately followed by that of the Capture of the Java by the Constitution—In this Instance, as in the former ones, the American Ship manœuvred with more Skill than the English Frigate—The British Captains on the American Coast roused by these Defeats—Challenge from the Shannon to the Chesapeake—Battle between them—Most glorious Victory—The Boxer captured—Naval Enterprise on the Coast of Spain.* • 262

### CHAP. XIV.

*Remarks on the Peninsular War, so far as it has been advantageous to the Constitution and Character of the British Army—the Objections to that War, and the Prejudice entertained by many against Lord Wellington, gradually removed by his Successes—the Effect of our Victories in the Peninsula on the Nations of the Continent—the Knowledge that our Operations there were regarded with great Interest by them—stimulated our Officers and Men to great Exertions—Remarks on the Events and Transactions of the Peninsular Revolution and War, so far as they are likely to affect the Character of the Spanish and Portuguese Governments and People—Probability that the Portuguese will be more benefited by them than the Spaniards—radical Faults of the Spanish Character, which will prevent them from reaping equal Advantages—their individual and national Pride—Nature and Effects of that Pride—does not lead to active and heroic Exertion, but is satisfied with itself—their suspicious and jealous Character—in consequence of these they are averse to hearty Co-operation with the British, and suspicious of our Views and Designs—the Portuguese, though in most respects inferior to the Spanish, yet free from their individual and national Pride, and therefore more likely to improve by the Events of the Revolution and Contest—likewise better disposed towards the British—Consideration of the Effects likely to be produced by the Intermixture of the Portuguese and British Soldiery—in the first place, on the Portuguese Soldiery; and secondly, through them, on the Mass of the Nation—General Conclusion, that Good must be derived to the Governments and People of the Peninsula, whatever be the Result of the War—but most Good to the Portuguese* - - - 274

# CONTENTS.

## CHAP. XV.

*Determination of Ministers to carry on the War in the Peninsula with more Vigour, and on a more extended Scale, in consequence either of Lord Wellington's Representations, or of Lord Wellesley's Attack on them in Parliament—The Campaign very late in commencing—Causes of this—Lord Wellington forms a most judicious and comprehensive Plan for carrying it on—which requires much preliminary Deliberation—puts his Army on the best Footing before he begins—Reasons which induced him to expect more decided success this Campaign than in the former ones—Division of his Army and its Force—Strength and Position of the French Armies—a vigorous Resistance expected—rapid Movements of the British—the Enemy abandon all their strong Positions—Lord Wellington crosses the Ebro—comes up with the French main Army, under Joseph Bonaparte, at Vittoria—decisive Victory there—Honours conferred on Lord Wellington—most of the French retire from the Peninsula—Sir John Murray disgracefully unsuccessful* . . . . . 283

## CHAP. XVI.

*Remarks on the first Events of the Campaign in the Peninsula—Soult takes the Command of the French Army—his high military Character—Observations on the Effects produced on the British Soldiers by taking Places by Storm—The Siege of St. Sebastian and Blockade of Pampeluna commenced—First Operations against St. Sebastian—Soult determines to relieve this Fortress and Pampeluna—Preparations of Lord Wellington to frustrate his Designs—Battle of the Pyrenees—Attack of the Enemy on the British right Wing and Centre—on their left Wing—the Enemy defeated at all Points—Lord Wellington becomes the Assailant—the Enemy driven back—Soult's Proclamation to his Soldiers—the Battles of Vittoria and of the Pyrenees compared—the latter both more glorious and more important in its Consequences—Siege of St. Sebastian recommenced—the Town taken by Assault—Gallantry of the British Troops—falsely accused of Outrage—Soult's second Attempt to relieve St. Sebastian defeated* . . . . . 295

## CHAP. XVII.

*Affairs in the North-east of Spain—Difficulties and Obstacles in the Way of Lord William Berkeley's Operations—from the Composition of the Army which he commanded—from the Backwardness of the Spaniards—and from the Force of the Enemy, and the Character of their General—He advances against Tarragona, but is obliged to retreat—He returns to Sicily, and General Clinton takes the Command—Lord Wellington resolves to cross the Bidasoa, and establish himself securely and permanently in France—his Movements and Operations for that Purpose* *attacks the Positions of Soult—gal- lens*

## C O N T E N T S.

*lant Behaviour of the Andalusian Army on this Occasion—Remarks on the Behaviour of the Spanish Troops on different Occasions—Lord Wellington takes up a Position between the Nive and the Adour, while Soult retires into his intrenched Camp before Bayonne—the Blockade of Pampeluna committed solely to the Spaniards—Surrender of that Place—Lord Wellington fortifies the Passes of the Pyrenees—crosses the Nive, and commands the Navigation of the Adour—desperate Attack on him by Soult, who is repulsed, and quits his intrenched Camp—Reflections on the Termination of the peninsular War* 308

### CHAP. XVIII.

*Remarks on the Russian Campaign of 1812—unfounded Opinion that the Disasters of Bonaparte were owing either solely to the Opposition of the Russians, and the Rigour of the Climate, or solely to the Mistakes and Obstinacy of Bonaparte—both these Classes of Causes operated to his Discomfiture—they ought therefore to be considered conjointly—View of the first Class of Causes dependent on Russia: first, the Constitution of the Russian Army; the Cossacks—in the second place, the Character of the Russian Generals and Officers—Bonaparte, by making War on the Commerce of Russia, made War against their Interests—in the third place, the Plan of the Campaign adopted by the Russian Government—in the fourth place, the Character of the Russian Peasantry—their Conduct contrasted with that of the German Peasantry, in the former French Wars—in the fifth place, the Character of the Emperor Alexander—lastly, the Nature of the Country and Climate—all these Causes strengthened by the Obstinacy of Bonaparte* 319

### CHAP. XIX.

*Bonaparte in Paris at the Beginning of 1813—Meeting of the Legislative Body—his Speech to them—introduces it by adverting to the Retreat of the British in Spain after the Battle of Salamanca—the Colouring he gives to his Disasters in the Russian Campaign— inveighs against England—the whole Complexion of the Speech warlike—Exposé of the French Empire in 1813—Population—Agriculture—Marine—Commerce—Remarks on it—Great Efforts of Bonaparte to begin the Campaign of 1813—collects a large Force on the Banks of the Elbe—The Empress appointed Regent—He leaves Paris for the Army—Preparations and Movements of the Russians—Proclamation of the Emperor Alexander on entering Prussia—The King of Prussia joins him—Saxony entered by the Allies—Proclamation to the Saxons—State of Saxony, and its Monarch—The Crown Prince of Sweden—Remarks on the Treaty between him and Britain—Denmark attempts to make Peace—Louis XVIIIth's Address to the People of France* 326

# CONTENTS.

## CHAP. XX.

*The Russians spread themselves over the north-west of Germany—enter  
Humburgh—Joy of the Inhabitants at their Liberation—their Joy of  
short Continuance—the French advance against it—distressed State of  
this City—Great Britain lends no Assistance—the Crown Prince refuses  
to send Swedish Troops to defend it—the Danes at first defend it, and af-  
terwards suffer it to be taken by the French—Position of the grand Allied  
Armies—and of the French Armies—Bonaparte's Object in the Campaign  
—is at first successful—the Allies retire from the Saale, and concentrate  
their Forces on the Elster—they determine to attack the French—Move-  
ments for that Purpose—Battle of Lutzen—the Allies remain Masters of  
the Field; but afterwards retreat—the French advance to Drésden—pre-  
pare to attack the Allies at Bautzen—dreadful Battle there—the Allies  
again retreat—the French occupy great Part of Silesia—Armistice con-  
cluded*

338

## CHAP. XXI.

*Prolongation of the Armistice—Proclamation of the King of Prussia on the  
Subject—Congress proposed to be held at Prague—Terms of Peace pro-  
posed by the Emperor of Austria—rejected by Bonaparte—the Austrian  
Declaration of War—long concealed from the French Nation—Corre-  
spondence between the French and Austrian Ministers—Remarks on it—  
Facts established by it—first, that Austria reluctantly engaged in the War  
against Russia—secondly, that she rejoiced at the Disasters of that War—  
and lastly, that the French Minister was the Dupe of the Austrian—Im-  
mense Force assembled against Bonaparte—Means by which they endea-  
voured to shake his Power—Address of the Crown Prince—Moreau joins  
the Allies—the Battle of Dresden—Death of Moreau*

348

## CHAP. XXII.

*Position and Strength of the contending Armies—Campaign in Silesia—  
Battle of the Katzbach—French completely defeated—Blücher's Address  
to his Soldiers on their Victory—Battle between the Crown Prince and  
Oudinot—the latter completely defeated—Ney sent to take the Com-  
mand—attacks the Prussians—the Crown Prince comes up to their  
Assistance—Ney defeated at the Battle of Jüterboch—Bonaparte's critical  
Situation—harassed by the regular Advance and Retreat of the Allies  
—his Communication with France intercepted—Brief Account of the War  
on the Side of Italy—and in Mecklenburgh—Bonaparte still obstinately  
clings to Dresden—Remarks on his Conduct—Extraordinary Meeting of  
the French Senate—Fresh Conscripti<sup>ons</sup> called for—Bonaparte at length  
leaves Dresden—The Allies completely between him and France—Retros-  
pect of the Events in the Month of September.*

360  
CHAP.

# C O N T E N T S.

## CHAP. XXIII.

<i>Battle of Leipsic—the French completely defeated—Defection of their Allies during the Battle—Bonaparte's Account of the Battle—Retreat of the French to the Rhine—defeated again at Hanau—Bonaparte's Arrival at Paris—his Proceedings there—Consequences of the Battle of Leipsic—Confederation of the Rhine dissolved—Holland liberates herself, and invites back the Prince of Orange—Exertions of the British Ministry at this Crisis—Parliament meets—Speech of the Prince Regent, and its Proceedings—Movements of the Crown Prince—He liberates Hanover—marches against Davoust—The Danes separate from the French—The Crown Prince overruns Holstein and Sleswic—Peace with Denmark—Capitulation of Dresden—Declaration of the Allies on crossing the Rhine—Bonaparte's Address to the Legislative Body—War in America</i>	369
---	-----

### PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES (3)

<i>London General Bill of Christenings and Burials</i>	(169)
<i>Births</i>	(170)
<i>Marriages</i>	(171)
<i>Deaths</i>	(174)
<i>Promotions</i>	(179)
<i>Sheriffs appointed by the Prince Regent</i>	(183)

### PUBLIC PAPERS.

<i>Prince Regent's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, Nov. 30, 1819</i>	(185)
<i>Letter from the Princess of Wales to the Prince Regent</i>	(187)
<i>Report of the Privy Council to the Prince Regent, respecting the Princess of Wales</i>	(190)
<i>Report of the Commissioners to the King, on the same Subject</i>	(192)
<i>Letter of the Princess to the King</i>	(195)
<i>Letter of the Princess to the King</i>	(196)
<i>Letter of the Princess to the King</i>	(198)
<i>Message from His Majesty to the Princess of Wales</i>	(200)
<i>Letter of the Princess of Wales to the King</i>	(202)
<i>Message from His Majesty to the Princess of Wales</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Letters of the Princess of Wales to the King, including Letters from and to the Prince of Wales</i>	(202)
<i>Minute of Council on the same Subject</i>	(200)
<i>Proclamation of Louis XVIII.</i>	(221)
<i>Treaty between Russia and Sweden</i>	(222)
<i>Proclamation of the King of Prussia</i>	(ibid.)
<i>President Muddison's Message to the Senate, &amp;c. of America</i>	(224)
<i>Armistice between France and the Allied Powers</i>	(229)
<i>Convention between His Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of the Russias</i>	(230)
<i>Convention between His Britannic Majesty and the King of Prussia</i>	(232)
<i>Convention between His Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of Austria</i>	(233)
<i>Prince Regent's Letter to Lord Wellington</i>	(234)
<i>Prayer</i>	



# C O N T E N T S.

<i>Prayer and Thanksgiving for Victory</i>	(234)
<i>General Military Orders</i>	(235)
<i>The Speaker's Address to the Prince Regent</i>	(236)
<i>Prince Regent's Speech to both Houses of Parliament</i>	(237)
<i>Proclamation of Marshal Soult</i>	(239)
<i>Bavarian Declaration</i>	(240)
<i>Proclamation addressed to the French</i>	(243)
<i>Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Tyrol</i>	(244)
<i>Prince Regent's Address to the Inhabitants of Hanover</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Swiss Confederation</i>	(245)
<i>Dutch Proclamations, &amp;c.</i>	(246)
<i>Marquis of Wellington's Proclamation</i>	(252)

## LITERARY SELECTIONS AND RETROSPECT.

### BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

<i>Early Life of Mr. Penn</i>	[3]
<i>Penn's Foundation of Pennsylvania</i>	[13]
<i>Controversy between the Papal See and Luther</i>	[39]
<i>Death and Character of Luther</i>	[53]
<i>Memoirs of the Life of Mr. George Frederic Cooke, of Covent Garden Theatre</i>	[66]
<i>Memoirs of Gustavus IV. of Sweden, and the Swedish Revolution</i>	[77]

## MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF NATIONS.

<i>Description of Christiania, the Capital of Norway</i>	[95]
<i>Lapland Valleys and Villages</i>	[109]
<i>Description of Gottenburg</i>	[116]
<i>Art of Tatooing, and other Customs, in the South Sea Islands</i>	[126]
<i>Present State and Prospects of Owhyhee</i>	[133]
<i>Representation of the Russian Ambassador at the Court of Ochatto, in Japan</i>	[136]
<i>Description of Bombay</i>	[145]
<i>Description of Columbo</i>	[164]
<i>Environ's of Tunis</i>	[171]
<i>Description and Customs of Naples</i>	[180]
<i>Description of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Pennsylvania</i>	[193]

## CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

<i>Classical View of the Bay of Misenus and its Environs</i>	[204]
<i>On Italian Literature</i>	[215]
<i>On the Swedish Language</i>	[230]
<i>Temple and Mythology of Elephanta</i>	[233]
<i>Picturesque Survey of Water, Wood, and Mountain Scenery</i>	[240]
<i>Metaphors of Poetry from Nature</i>	[257]

ARTS,

# C O N T E N T S.

## ARTS, SCIENCES, AND NATURAL HISTORY.

<i>Method of taking Iron-moulds out of Cotton</i>	[262]
<i>On the Changes of Colour produced on the Surface of Steel</i>	[ibid.]
<i>New Properties of Light</i>	[264]
<i>On the Formation of Sulphur in India</i>	[268]
<i>Process for Artificial Stone Chimney-Pieces</i>	[270]
<i>On Mortars and Cements</i>	[271]
<i>On the Art of Making Coffee in the highest Perfection</i>	[273]
<i>On the Process employed for defacing Writing on Paper, for detecting and reviving it; and a Notice of indelible Ink</i>	[277]
<i>On the Sense of Smell in Fishes</i>	[280]
<i>Experiments of the comparative Strength of Men and Horses, applicable to the Movement of Machines</i>	[285]
<i>On Transition Formations</i>	[290]

## POETRY.

<i>The Adieu</i>	[304]
<i>The Harp</i>	[ibid.]
<i>Modern Greece</i>	[306]
<i>Hassan's Hall</i>	[307]
<i>Seduction</i>	[308]
<i>Solitude</i>	[309]
<i>The Confession</i>	[310]
<i>Adam</i>	[318]
<i>Javan's Song</i>	[325]
<i>The Bride of Abydos</i>	[328]
<i>Zuleika's Tomb</i>	[329]
<i>Moderate Wishes</i>	[331]
<i>Intemperance</i>	[332]
<i>Inscription for a Monument intended to be erected in the Church at Hafod</i>	[ibid.]
<i>Love Song</i>	[ibid.]
<i>On a Pair of Lean Lovers</i>	[333]

## DOMESTIC LITERATURE.

### CHAP. I.

#### BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

<i>Comprising Biblical Criticism; Theological Criticism; Sacred Morals; Sermons and Discourses; Single Sermons; Controversial Divinity</i>	[334]
--	-------

### CHAP. II.

#### PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

<i>Comprising Medicine, Surgery, Anatomy, Physiology, Optics, Astronomy, Meteorology, Geography, and Paleology</i>	[353]
<b>CHAP.</b>	

# C O N T E N T S.

## CHAP. III.

### MORAL AND POLITICAL.

*Containing History, Voyages, Travels, Commerce, Military Systems, Political Economy, English Jurisprudence, and Law* - - - [369]

## CHAP. IV.

### LITERATURE AND POLITE LETTERS.

*Containing Transactions of Literary Societies, Biography, Classics, Criticism, Philology, Grammar, Poetry, Drama, Novels, Tales, and Romances* - [391]

## FOREIGN LITERATURE.

### CHAP. I.

#### BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

*Containing Notices or Analyses of various Publications of Germany, Hungary, Greece, France, America, Russia, and the East* - - - [437]

### CHAP. II.

#### PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

*Containing Notices or Analyses of various Publications of France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, and America* - - - [442]

### CHAP. III.

#### MORAL AND POLITICAL.

*Containing Notices or Analyses of various Publications of France, Germany, Italy, Holland, America* - - - [449]

### CHAP. IV.

#### LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

*Containing Notices or Analyses of various Publications of Italy, Malta, France, Germany, and Russia* - - - [453]

THE

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
KNOWLEDGE, LITERATURE,  
TASTE, AND SCIENCE,  
IN GREAT BRITAIN,  
DURING THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

**T**HE introductory part of the present and next volumes will be devoted to the improvements and discoveries in chemistry during the long, and, in many respects, auspicious reign of his present majesty. In order to give a connected view of this interesting and highly important science, we must briefly narrate what had been known and done previously to the period that more immediately claims our attention.

In surveying the progress of chemistry, the earlier part of its history is involved in obscurity and fable. From very remote antiquity some traces of the practice of certain arts may be discovered, the principles of which are chemical, though depending more upon accident than upon any acquired scientific knowledge. They were, in truth, the result of casual observation, or of experiments dictated by necessity, and were long taught and practised without any knowledge of the principles on which they were founded.

Of these arts, metallurgy, or the art of extracting metals from their ores, of purifying, casting, and forging them, was  
1813. b probably

probably of the earliest invention, since some knowledge of it must have been indispensable in that period of society in which the others would be cultivated. Gold, silver, and copper, which are often found native, and which are easily worked, appear to have been first applied to use. Iron was of later introduction. The properties and uses of these, as well as of lead and tin, were, however, known at a very early period, so early indeed as to have left no traces of the time of their discovery. Other chemical arts, as that of brick-making; the manufacture of earthenware; the arts of dyeing, bleaching, fermentation, &c., though of later origin, were practised in the early ages: and it is a curious but very well ascertained fact, that there is scarcely a savage nation that has not found out the method of producing, from some substance or other, a fermented, exhilarating, and spirituous liquor.

In Egypt the various chemical arts made considerable progress, and that country has been regarded as the parent of chemistry. It made no part of the Grecian philosophy; though a number of observations respecting the chemical properties of bodies may be found in the writings of Theophrastus, Aristotle, and others.

The delusions of alchemy gave rise to the experimental method of investigation, and thus laid the foundation of chemical science, and at the same time, perhaps, contributed more than any other circumstance to the superiority of the modern over the ancient mode of philosophizing. To alchemy, chemistry unquestionably owes its origin. It had no existence, as a distinct branch of knowledge, prior to the pursuits of the alchemists. By their experiments several of the properties of bodies were investigated: an apparatus was invented: rules were at length delivered for conducting chemical processes; and many of the principal agents of chemistry were discovered, arranged under classes, and characterized by their most striking properties.

It has been found difficult to fix with precision the date of the origin of alchemy; and we know nothing of the circumstances

stances from which it originated. Whether the Greeks invented, or received from the Egyptians, the doctrine concerning the transmutation of metals, or whether the Arabians were the first who professed it, Dr. Watson thinks it is uncertain; but Boerhaave produces a passage from Æneas Garæus, implying that the Greeks were in possession of the art before any traces of it can be discovered among the Arabians.—“Such,” says he, “as are skilled in the ways of nature can take silver and tin, and, changing their former nature, make them into gold.” In the seventh century, the Arabians were eager in their search after gold; and the same agent, it was imagined, that was the object of discovery, as capable of converting the baser into the precious metals, would, by its operation on the animal system, prevent or remove disease, and confer immortality. This notion was fondly adopted; and ever after it became conjoined with the original object of alchemy. Amidst the darkness of the middle ages, these delusive labours continued to be prosecuted with increased ardour; and it is thought that during this period, extending from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, the greatest number of real chemical discoveries were made. In the thirteenth century gunpowder and phosphorus were known to Roger Bacon. He was followed by Arnoldus de Villa Nova, Raymond Lully, Isaac and John Isaac Hollandus, and Basil Valentine, “of whose history,” says Mr. Murray, “so little is known, that it is doubtful whether some of the names are not fictitious; nor is it easy to assign, with precision, the discoveries they made.” Some of them are very important, viz. of the two fixed alkalies, and several of the acids. The properties of some of the neutral salts were also subjects of investigation; the semi-metals, as they were till lately denominated, were distinguished from the metals in use, and many metallic preparations were introduced; the instruments of chemical analysis, and the methods of conducting chemical operations, had received material improvements; and the chemical arts had slowly advanced to greater perfection. Paracelsus introduced a number of metallic preparations into medical practice, and laid the foundation of chemical pharmacy. He thus began to draw off the attention of the alchemists



from their wild projects, and directed it to an object beneficial in itself, and unconnected with concealment and imposture. To Van Helmont scientific chemistry is probably more indebted than to any of the alchemists: his inquiries were in general directed to more useful objects, and conducted with more just views. He successfully investigated the properties of several of the gases produced in chemical operations, and his researches may be traced in the experiments of Boyle and Hales. From this period alchemy began to decline, and chemistry to rank high as a science, calculated at once to enlighten the understanding, and conduce in a high degree to improvements in the arts of life. The illustrious Bacon first assigned it this rank; and gave it, in his survey of human knowledge, its peculiar characters. He reviewed its history, exposed the errors of its professors, and suggested a number of investigations which he supposed might be successfully prosecuted.

The institution of the Royal Society in London, and of the different other learned societies in Europe, aided the progress of chemistry in common with the other experimental sciences. Many of its processes were improved, facts were multiplied, and a constant accession was made to the stock of knowledge. Kunckel, Homberg, the Lemerys and Geoffroys distinguished themselves in these labours. "Boyle is justly celebrated for the extent and importance of his researches, particularly in pneumatic chemistry; and in the same department Hooke and Mayow so far exceeded the knowledge of their times, that their discoveries could not be duly appreciated; and were allowed to fall into oblivion, to be noticed in a succeeding age with admiration, as anticipations of some of the most important truths which the combined efforts of modern chemistry have established." To sir I. Newton the science of chemistry is indebted for the generalization of its phenomena, or the discovery of the principles on which its operations depend, and the observations of some of the laws by which it is regulated. He noticed a number of cases of chemical combination and decomposition, and referred the facts to a species of attraction exerted between the minute particles of matter, different in its laws from that attraction by which their masses approach

## OF KNOWLEDGE, &c.

approach each other. 'The relative forces of the different attractions were afterwards investigated, and reduced to a tabular form by Geoffroy.

Hitherto chemistry might be regarded almost as a mere collection of insulated facts without system or theory; but Joachim Beccher of Spire, who appeared about this time, in his work entitled "*Physica Subterranea*," has collected all the chemical phenomena which were then known, and has described them with strict accuracy. He even foretold many of the discoveries which have been successively made since he wrote; such as the existence of æriform or gaseous substances, the possibility of reducing animal bones into a transparent glass, &c. He withdrew chemistry from the too narrow limits of pharmacy; showed its connection with all the phenomena of fermentation, putrefaction, &c.; and by his speculations gave rise to that theory which was adopted by Stahl, and from him was received as the true doctrine among all the philosophers of Europe for the greater part of a century. G. Ernest Stahl, born in 1660, and afterwards physician to the late king of Prussia, wrote a commentary upon the work of Beccher. Possessed almost from his birth with a strong passion for chemistry, he applied to it the whole force of his superior genius. He reduced to certain general principles all the facts with which the subject had been enriched. He classed his materials with admirable order and method, and expressed himself in a language less ænigmatical than that of his predecessors. The name, therefore, of this philosopher marks the commencement of a new æra in the annals of chemical science, and will always be remembered in connection with the theory which it designates, and which is sometimes called the phlogistic and sometimes the Stahlian theory.—Of the general operations of chemistry, combustion is undoubtedly the most important; not merely from the striking phenomena which it exhibits, and the number of bodies susceptible of it, but also from being the source of some of the most active chemical agents, particularly the class of acids. The explanation which Stahl gave of combustion, and the changes connected with it, was extremely simple. He adopted

the popular idea that combustible or inflammable bodies contain a common principle, to which their inflammability is owing. This principle he named pure fire, or phlogiston. Combustion he conceived to be merely its disengagement under the form of the heat and light which attend the process.

Chemistry from this period continued to make a silent progress, unmarked by any splendid discovery, till Dr. Black began the investigation of what peculiarly distinguishes the science in its modern form. The mention of this celebrated chemist brings us to the present reign, in the course of which his most important discoveries in chemistry were made. In 1756 he succeeded Dr. Cullen as professor of medicine and lecturer in chemistry at Glasgow. He published an essay containing experiments to investigate the nature of magnesia, quicklime, and some other alkaline substances recommended as solvents of the stone in the bladder. In the course of these experiments he demonstrated the existence of an ærial fluid, which he denominated fixed air, but which has since obtained the name of carbonic acid gas; the combination of which with alkalis and calcareous earths renders them mild; while, on the other hand, if this be taken from chalk and other like substances, what is left becomes highly caustic; a discovery which laid the foundation of the improvements since made in our knowledge of gases by Priestley, Cavendish, Lavoisier, and other chemists. After this he enriched his favourite science with his experiments on latent heat, which is found to exist in all bodies; explaining in a very satisfactory manner the connection between heat and fluidity. Thus the particles of all bodies were found to be subjected to the action of two opposite powers, the one repulsive, the other attractive, between which they remain in equilibrio. So long as the attractive force remains stronger, the body continues in a state of solidity; but if, on the contrary, heat has so far removed these particles from each other, as to place them beyond the sphere of attraction, they lose the adhesion which they before had with each other, and the body ceases to be solid. Water gives us a regular and constant example of these facts; while below  $32^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit it remains solid, and is called ice.

Above

Above that degree of temperature it becomes liquid; and when its temperature is raised higher than  $212^{\circ}$ , its particles assume the state of vapour or gas, and the water is changed into an æriform fluid called steam. The same may be affirmed of all bodies in nature: they are either solid, liquid, or in the state of elastic æriform vapour, according to the proportion which takes place between the attractive force inherent in their particles, and the repulsive power of the heat acting upon these, or, which is the same thing, in proportion to the degree of heat to which they are exposed.

Dr. Black thus directed the attention of chemists to pneumatic chemistry; and the future history of the science, till the time of Davy, is little more than a detail of the discoveries that have been made in this department, and the application to which they led. The subject was soon prosecuted by Mr. Cavendish, the son of lord Charles Cavendish, who was born in 1731. The first chemical paper of this gentleman was published in the year 1766; it was entitled "Experiments on factitious Air;" and constituted an important step in the science. Dr. Hales had demonstrated that air is given out by a vast number of bodies under peculiar circumstances. But he never suspected that any of the airs which he obtained differed from common atmospheric air. This indeed had been ever regarded as an elementary substance, to which every elastic fluid was referred. Dr. Black had demonstrated that calcareous spar and the mild alkalies contained a quantity of air chemically combined with lime and alkaline bodies. This, as we have seen, he called fixed air; and this, before he had an opportunity of examining its properties, he concluded was very different from common air. Mr. Cavendish, in this paper, demonstrates that there are two species of air quite different from one another, and also from the common atmospheric air: these are inflammable air, since named hydrogen gas, and fixed air or carbonic acid gas. He noticed a third species of air, which was obtained by the solution of metals in nitrous acid. The inflammable air was obtained by dissolving iron, zinc, or tin, in diluted sulphuric or muriatic acids. The quantities of air differed according to the different metals used;

but the properties were the same, whichever of the three metals were used, and whether they were dissolved in sulphuric or muriatic acids. When the sulphuric acid was concentrated, iron and zinc dissolved in it with difficulty, and only by the assistance of heat. The air given out was not inflammable, but consisted of sulphurous acid in the state of gas. These facts induced Mr. Cavendish to conclude that the inflammable air evolved in the first case consisted of the unaltered phlogiston of the metals; that sulphurous acid consisted of the same phlogiston united to a portion of the acid, which deprived it of its inflammability. He tried the combustibility of inflammable air, when mixed with various proportions of common air, and found that it exploded with very great violence when mixed with about an equal bulk of common air.

He found that by the solution of copper in muriatic acid, with the assistance of heat, an air was obtained which lost its elasticity when it came in contact with water. This air, the nature of which Mr. Cavendish did not examine, was muriatic acid gas, the properties of which were investigated by Dr. Priestley.

The carbonic acid gas on which Mr. Cavendish made his experiments was obtained by dissolving marble in muriatic acid; and he found that it might be kept over mercury any length of time without undergoing any alteration, but that it was gradually absorbed by coming in contact with water. The whole air thus absorbed was separated again by exposing the water to a boiling heat, or by leaving it for some time in an open vessel. He discovered that fixed air is incapable of supporting combustion; and that common air, when mixed with it, supports combustion a much shorter time than when pure. The first experiments of this air are deserving of record. A wax taper burnt 80" in a receiver containing 180 ounce measures of common air: when the receiver was filled with a mixture of one part of fixed air and 19 of common air, the taper burnt 51". When the fixed air was  $\frac{3}{5}$ ths of the whole mixture, the candle burnt 23"; and in proportion as the quantity

quantity of fixed air was increased the candle burnt a shorter time, till at length it went out at the instant of immersion. Carbonate of potash was first obtained in the state of crystals by Dr. Black : Mr. Cavendish formed it by making a solution of pearl ashes absorb fixed air till it deposited crystals. He examined the properties of these crystals, and found that they were not altered by exposure to the air, did not deliquesce, and were soluble in about four times their weight of cold water.

Dr. Macbride had already ascertained, that vegetable and animal substances yield fixed air by putrefaction and fermentation. Mr. Cavendish found by experiment, that sugar, when dissolved in water and fermented, gives out about half its weight of fixed air, possessing exactly the properties of the fixed air from marble. During these, and many other experiments of the same sort, he investigated the properties of the gases obtained from various substances. He next turned his attention to mineral waters : what had already been done, was either inaccurate, or led to conclusions which chemists were unable to explain. One of these, and not the least puzzling, was the existence of a considerable quantity of calcareous earth in some mineral waters, which was precipitated by boiling the water. Nobody could understand how an insoluble substance, as carbonate of lime, could be held in solution, nor why it was thrown down on exposing the water to a boiling heat. To determine this point, Mr. Cavendish made experiments on water raised by a pump in Rathbone-Place, London, and found that, when boiled, it deposited a quantity of earthy matter consisting of lime and magnesia. These he soon found were held in solution by fixed air ; and he demonstrated by experiment, that this gas has the property of holding lime and magnesia in solution when an excess of it is present.

Dr. Priestley discovered, that when nitrous gas is mixed with common air over water, a diminution of bulk takes place ; that there is still a greater diminution of bulk when oxygen gas, or, as he called it, dephlogisticated air, is employed instead  
of

of common air, and that the diminution is in proportion to the quantity of oxygen present in the gas mixed with the nitrous gas. This discovery induced him to employ nitrous gas as a test of the quantity of oxygen present in common air. And various instruments were contrived to facilitate the mixture of the gases, and the measurement of the condensation: these instruments were called *eudiometers*; of which one of the best was contrived by the Abbé Fontana. By the use of *eudiometers* it was soon inferred, that the proportion of oxygen or pure air varied in different places; and to this variation was ascribed the healthiness or unhealthiness of particular places. Mr. Cavendish examined this important subject, and ascertained, that the apparent variations were owing to inaccuracies in making the experiment; and that, when the requisite precautions were taken, the proportion of oxygen in air was found to be constant in all places, and at all seasons. He likewise found, that common atmospheric air is a mixture of nearly 21 parts by bulk of oxygen gas and 79 of azotic gas.

Philosophers had for many years maintained, that mercury was essentially liquid, and that it was incapable of congelation by any degree of cold whatever. It was accidentally discovered, that it may be frozen like other liquids: a fact that was at first generally discredited, but finally established by irrefragable experiments. According to the observations made by some chemists at Petersburg, it was thought that the freezing point was not less than several hundred degrees below zero. It became an object of importance to determine the exact point at which this metal would become solid and malleable; which was first done at Hudson's Bay by Mr. Hutchins, who followed a set of directions given to him by Mr. Cavendish; and from these experiments Mr. Cavendish concluded, that the freezing point of mercury is about 59 or 40 degrees below the zero of Fahrenheit's scale.

Hence the attention of Mr. Cavendish was drawn to the phenomena of freezing, to the action of freezing mixtures, and the congelation of acids. He published, in the *Philosophical*

losophical Transactions, several very curious and important papers on these subjects, in which he explained the phenomena of congelation exactly according to the theory of Dr. Black ; rejecting only the hypothesis, that heat is owing to the presence of a peculiar matter, and referring it, with sir Isaac Newton, to the rapid internal motion of the particles of the hot body. The latent heat of water he ascertained to be  $150^{\circ}$ . With respect to the nitric and sulphuric acids, he showed that their freezing points varied very considerably, according to the strength of each. The papers published in the Transactions of the Royal Society are thought to constitute one of the most interesting and best established parts of the theory of heat, as at present taught by chemical philosophers. But, says Dr. Thomson, in his Life of this illustrious chemist, the most splendid and valuable of Mr. Cavendish's chemical experiments were published in two papers, entitled *Experiments on Air* : the first inserted in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. lxxiv. and the second in the succeeding volume. The object of these experiments was to determine what happened during the *phlogistication of air*, as it was at that time termed ; that is, the change which air underwent when metals were calcined in contact with it ; when sulphur or phosphorus was burnt in it ; and in other chemical processes. He showed that carbonic acid was not formed except when some animal or vegetable substance was present ; that when hydrogen gas was burnt in contact with air or oxygen gas, it combined with that gas and formed water ; that nitrous gas, by combining with the oxygen of the atmosphere, formed nitrous acid ; and that when oxygen and azotic gas are mixed in the requisite proportions, and electric sparks passed through the mixture, they combine and form nitric acid. The first of these opinions occasioned a controversy between Mr. Cavendish and Mr. Kirwan, who had maintained that carbonic acid is always produced when air is phlogisticated. " All the arguments of Kirwan," says Dr. Thomson, " are founded on the experiments of others : he displays great reading, and a strong memory ; but does not discriminate between the merits of the chemists on whose authority he founds his own opinions. Mr. Cavendish, on the other hand, never advances a single opinion



opinion which he has not put to the test of experiment, and never suffers himself to go further than his experiments will warrant. Whatever is not accurately determined by unexceptionable trials is merely stated as a conjecture, upon which little stress is laid." This controversy was carried on in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. lxxiv. and in the first of his papers Mr. Cavendish has drawn a comparison between the phlogistic and antiphlogistic theories; has shown that each is capable of explaining the phenomena of chemistry in a satisfactory manner; that it is impossible to demonstrate the truth of either; and he has given the reasons which induced him to prefer the phlogistic theory to the other, "which," says Dr. Thomson, "the French chemists were unable to refute, and which they were wise enough not to notice. Nothing can be a more striking proof of the influence of fashion, even in science, and of the unwarrantable precipitation with which opinions are rejected or embraced by philosophers, than the total inattention paid by the chemical world to this admirable paper." "Such," continues our author, "were the chemical papers published by Mr. Cavendish. They contain five notable discoveries; all of them brought nearly to perfection by that illustrious author. These are, 1. The nature and properties of hydrogen gas. 2. The solvent of lime in water when the lime is deposited by boiling. 3. The exact proportion of the constituents of atmospherical air, and the fact that these constituents never sensibly vary. 4. The composition of water: and 5. The composition of nitric acid.

It was Mr. Cavendish's paper, printed in 1766, on fixed and inflammable air, that introduced a style of experimenting in pneumatic chemistry, more neat, more precise and scientific than had before been known. The attention of Dr. Priestley, to whose discoveries we devote the remainder of this Introduction, however, was not originally excited by the works of his predecessors, but by the accident of his living near a brewhouse at Leeds, where he had an opportunity of obtaining fixed air on a large scale. One experiment led to another, till the fruits of his amusements were the discoveries on which his philosophical reputation was principally founded.

He

He was never vain of his discoveries: he says of himself, "Few persons, I believe, have met with so much unexpected good success as myself in the course of my philosophical pursuits. My narrative will show that the first hints, at least of almost every thing that I have discovered of much importance, have occurred to me in this way. In looking for one thing I have generally found another; and sometimes a thing of much more value than that which I was in quest of. But none of these unexpected discoveries appear to me to have been so extraordinary as that I am about to relate, viz. the spontaneous emission of dephlogisticated air from water containing green vegetating matter; and it may serve to admonish all persons who are engaged in similar pursuits, not to overlook any circumstance relating to an experiment, but to keep their eyes open to every new appearance, and to give due attention to it, however inconsiderable it may seem."

The first of Dr. Priestley's publications on pneumatic chemistry was in 1772, announcing a method of impregnating water with fixed air; and on the preparation and medicinal uses of artificial mineral waters. Though this was the first publication of Dr. Priestley on the chemistry of air, he had commenced his experiments in this branch of science as early as 1768. In 1771 he had procured good air from saltpetre: he had ascertained the uses of agitation, and of vegetation, as the means employed by nature in purifying the atmosphere destined to the support of animal life; and that air vitiated by animal respiration was a pabulum to vegetable life. He had also procured factitious air in a much greater variety of ways than had been known before; and he had been in the habit of using quicksilver instead of water for the purpose of many of his experiments. In his paper read to the Royal Society in 1772, which obtained the Copley medal, he gave an account of these discoveries; and at the same time announced the discovery of nitrous air, and its application as a test of the purity or fitness for respiration of airs generally. He likewise shows the use of the burning lens in pneumatic experiments; he relates the discovery and properties of muriatic acid.

acid air: he adds much to what was known of the airs generated by putrefactive processes, and by vegetable fermentations; and he determines many facts relating to the diminution and deterioration of air, by the combustion of charcoal and the calcination of metal. Soon after this, in confirmation of sir John Pringle's theory of low fevers being owing to moist miasma when people are exposed to its influence, he ascertained, by means of his nitrous test, that the air of marshes was inferior in purity to the common air of the atmosphere. He had, as we have seen, obtained very good air from saltpetre; but his full discovery of dephlogisticated air seems not to have been made till the month of June or July, 1774, when he procured it from the oxides of silver and lead. This was publicly mentioned by him at M. Lavoisier's table in October 1774, to whom it was then unknown. This hitherto secret source of animal life and animal heat, of which Mayow had a faint glimpse, was certainly first exhibited by Dr. Priestley, though it was discovered about the same time by Mr. Scheele of Sweden—there being no communication between these philosophers. Thus it should seem, that during two years Dr. Priestley announced to the world more facts of real importance and extensive application, and more enlarged and extensive views of the œconomy of nature, than all his predecessors in pneumatic chemistry had made known before.

In 1776 his observations on Respiration were read before the Royal Society, in which he discovered that the common air inspired was diminished in quantity, and deteriorated in quality, by the action of the blood on it through the blood-vessels of the lungs; and that the florid red colour of arterial blood was communicated by the contact of air through the containing vessels. His experiments on the change of colour in blood confined in a bladder, took away all doubt of the probability of its mode of action. In 1778 Dr. Priestley pursued his experiments on the properties of vegetables growing in the light to correct impure air, and the use of vegetation in this part of the œconomy of nature; and it seems certain

certain that Dr. Priestley made his discoveries on this subject previously to those of Dr. Ingenhousz, then engaged in similar researches.

From this period Dr. Priestley seems to have attended to his pneumatic experiments as an occupation, devoting to them a regular portion of his time. To this attention, among a prodigious variety of facts tending to show the various substances from which gases may be procured; the methods of producing them; their influence on each other; and their probable composition,—we owe the discovery of vitriolic acid air, of alkaline air, and of dephlogisticated nitrous air, or, as it has since been denominated, the gaseous oxide of azote, the subject of so many curious experiments by sir Humphry Davy. To these we may add the production of various kinds of inflammable air by numerous processes that had escaped the observation of Mr. Cavendish, in particular the formation of it by the electric spark taken in oils, in spirits of wine, and alkaline air; the method of procuring it by passing steam through hot iron filings; and the phænomena of the finery cinder, and its alliance to steel. To our philosopher we owe the fine experiment of reviving metallic calces in inflammable air; and he first ascertained the necessity of water in the formation of the gases, and the endless production of gases from water itself. His experiments on this subject, viz. the generation of air from water, opened a new field for reflection, and deserve particular notice. He and others had remarked that water was necessary to the generation of every species of gas; but the unceasing product of air from water had been observed by no one before him.

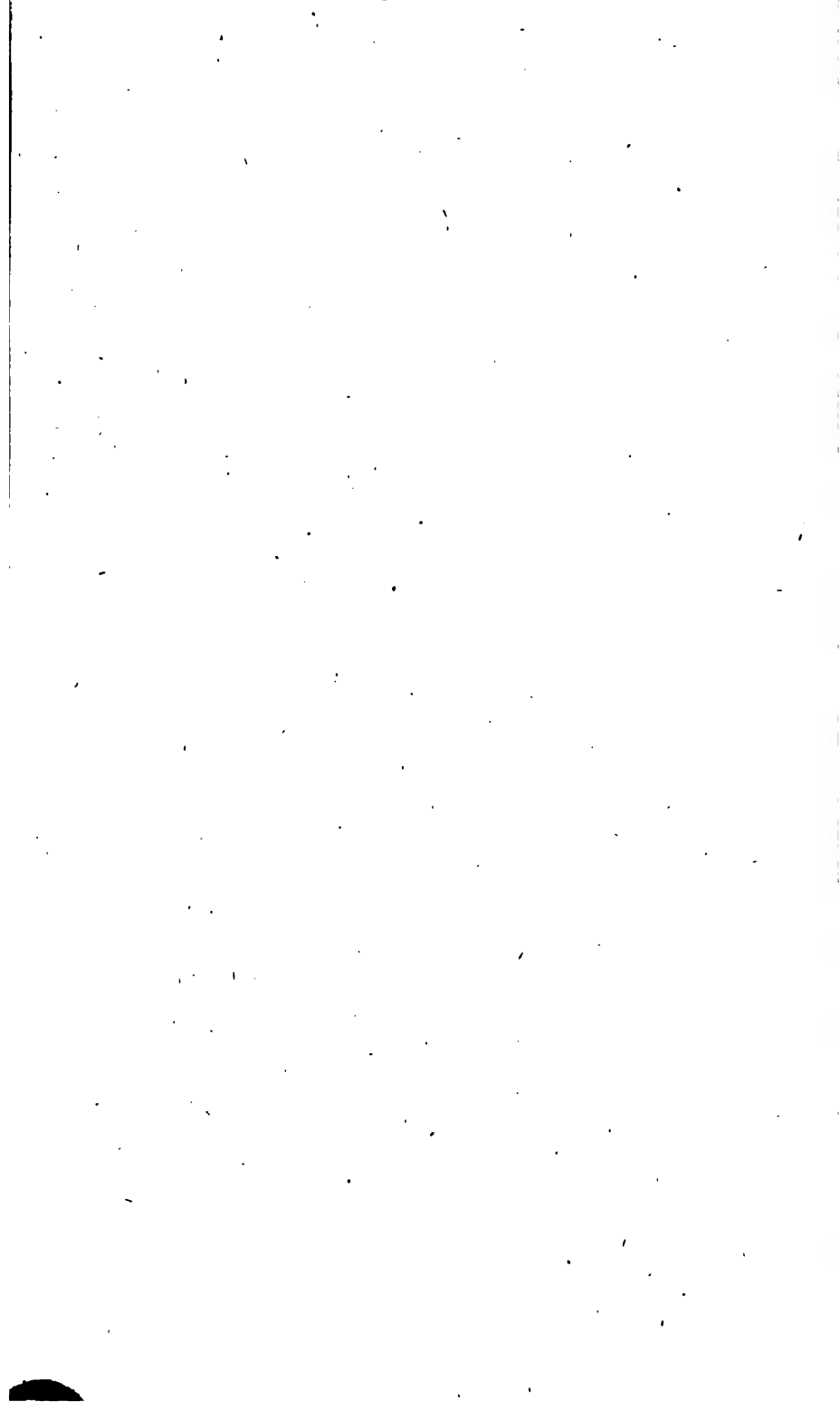
“To enumerate Dr. Priestley’s discoveries,” says Mr. Kirwan, “would in fact be to enter into a detail of most of those that have been made within the last fifteen years. How many invisible fluids, whose existence evaded the sagacity of foregoing ages, has he made known to us! The very air we breathe, he has taught us to analyse, to examine, to improve; a substance so little known, that even the precise effect of respiration was an ænigma until he explained it. He first made  
known

## xvi THE HISTORY OF KNOWLEDGE, &c.

known to us the proper food of vegetables, and in what the difference between these and animal substances consisted. To him Pharmacy is indebted for the method of making artificial mineral waters, as well as for a shorter method of preparing other medicines; metallurgy for more powerful and cheap solvents; and chemistry for such a variety of discoveries as it would be tedious to recite; discoveries which have new modelled that science, and drawn to it, and to this country, the attention of all Europe. It is certain that since the year 1773, the eyes and regards of all the learned bodies in Europe have been directed to this country by his means. In every philosophical treatise his name is to be found, and in almost every page. They all own that most of their discoveries are due either to the repetition of his discoveries, or to the hints scattered through his works."—*Thomson's Chemistry and Journal. Murray's Chemistry. Memoirs of Dr. Priestley*, 2 vols. 8vo.

**BRITISH AND FOREIGN**  
**HISTORY**

**For the Year 1813.**



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# BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY

For the Year 1813.

## CHAPTER I.

*Introduction—Forms used in assembling the new Parliament—Choice of a Speaker—Abridgement of the Prince Regent's Speech—Debate on Lord Longford's Motion of an Address on the Prince's Speech—Debate on Lord Clive's Motion on the same Subject—Mr. Creevey's Motion, on the Report of the Address being brought up—Motions of Thanks to Lord Wellington in both Houses—Motion for a Monument to General Le Marchant—Motion relative to the Gold Coin—Debate on Lord Folkestone's Motion on the German Legion—Prince Regent's Message for pecuniary Aid to the Russians, and Debates thereon—Petitions presented by Sir Francis Burdett from Prisoners in Ilchester Gaol.*

**A**CCORDING to our usual custom, we commence our year in this department of the New Annual Register from the beginning of the session of parliament, which, in the present instance, is from the assembling of the new parliament on the 24th of November 1812. By this means we not only follow the usual routine of public business, but are enabled to give in a more collected form whatever relates to parliamentary discussion, than could possibly be done by dividing the business of a single session into two distinct volumes. The truth is, that accord-

ing to the established forms of the constitution, all the acts of one session of parliament taken together make but one statute: since then the business of each session is indivisible, it would not comport with a work professing to give a register of that business to separate it into volumes that should be read at intervals of twelve months.

On Tuesday the 24th of November, certain noble lords having, in obedience to the prince regent's proclamation, assembled in the upper house, the dukes of York and Cumberland, with the lord chancellor, the earls of Liverpool and West-



moreland, took their seats as commissioners, and requested the attendance of such members of the commons who had been previously sworn in, and the commission was read. After this the lord chancellor, in the name of the regent, directed the commons to proceed to their own chamber and choose a speaker forthwith. They accordingly retired, and sir John Nichol, in a speech descriptive of the qualifications and talents necessary for a person to hold the office of speaker, and which he observed would be immediately recognised as attached to that right honourable individual who had already presided over their proceedings during four parliaments, concluded by moving, that the right honourable C. Abbot do take the chair; which was agreed to with the most cordial unanimity. Mr. Abbot was conducted to the chair, and the house immediately adjourned till the next day.

On the 25th the choice of the house of commons of a speaker being announced to the lords commissioners, in their places, by Mr. Abbot himself, and the chancellor having in the name of the regent given it the royal approbation, the usual privileges, viz. freedom of speech in debate;—freedom from arrest for their persons and their servants; free access to his majesty whenever the occasion might require;—and that the most favourable construction might be put on all their acts, were claimed by the speaker in behalf of the commons, and granted. The commons again retired to their chamber, and were occupied the remainder of that and the two following days in swearing in members. An adjournment then took place till the 30th, when his royal highness the prince regent came to the house of peers,

attended by the great officers of state; and having sent for the commons, he ascended the royal throne, and delivered from thence a speech, a copy of which will be found among the Public Papers. The leading points of this speech are as follow: After referring to the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition, and the diminished hopes of his recovery, his royal highness adverted to the successes in the peninsula under the conduct of lord Wellington, and their final good effects, notwithstanding the retreat from Burgos and the evacuation of Madrid, which he said had been submitted to "for the purpose of concentrating the main body of the allied forces." He was confident he could rely on the determination of parliament to continue to afford every aid that might be necessary in support of the important contest, which had given to Europe the example of persevering and successful resistance to the power of France. He then mentioned the restoration of peace and friendship with the courts of Petersburg and Stockholm, and spoke in high terms of praise of the resistance made by Russia to the arms of their invaders: "the enthusiasm," says he, "of the Russian nation has increased with the difficulties of the contest, and with the dangers with which they were surrounded. They have submitted to sacrifices of which there are few examples in the history of the world; and I indulge the hope, that the determined perseverance of his imperial majesty will be crowned with ultimate success; and that this contest, in its result, will have the effect of establishing upon a foundation never to be shaken, the security and independence of the Russian empire."

empire." He informed parliament of a treaty entered into with his Sicilian majesty; and with respect to the declaration of war by America he observed, that it was made under circumstances which might have afforded a reasonable expectation that the amicable relations between the two countries would not be long interrupted; but that the conduct and pretensions of that government had hitherto prevented any arrangement for the purpose. His royal highness took notice of the defeat of the attempts against Canada, and said that his efforts were still directed to the restoration of peace. The conclusion of the speech recommended an early consideration of a provision for the government of India, in consequence of the approaching expiration of the charter of the East India company. His royal highness next adverted to the success of the means employed for suppressing the spirit of outrage and insubordination which had appeared in some parts of the country, and expressed a hope that atrocities so repugnant to the British character would never recur; and ended as usual with a declaration of confidence in the wisdom of parliament, and the loyalty of the people.

When the speech had been read the commons withdrew, and the earl of Longford rose to move an address of thanks. In the course of his speech, he paid high compliments to the talents and skill of lord Wellington, and then went through the several topics that had been descanted upon from the throne. He admitted at the close that we must necessarily endure privations, and make sacrifices, in order to keep up the contest in which we were engaged; but far better was it to do that, than to yield to an enemy

whose projects aimed at nothing less than our destruction. These projects had now been in a great measure counteracted, and perseverance on our part was demanded by every consideration of our honour, our interest, and our welfare. Those privations, and those sacrifices, were as nothing, compared with the situation of those countries ravaged by an enemy's army, or when made the seat of war by two conflicting armies. He would not now advert to the predictions of some members of that house, that no man of our army would remain in the peninsula, except as a prisoner; he need only refer to the events that had occurred, to show the futility of these predictions, and the reliance that was to be placed upon the skill and ability of our general, to dissipate any seeming difficulties, and finally to counteract the projects of the enemy. With regard to the United States of America, the declaration of war on their part had been made under circumstances which led to a hope that the differences between the two nations might be speedily and satisfactorily adjusted. They had however since evinced a determination to attack the British possessions in North America, but in two attempts had been completely defeated. He admitted that a loss had been sustained in the capture of one of our frigates, but it was a loss which, in itself of little importance, had derived all the importance attached to it from the rarity, thank God! of any naval loss on our part. The circumstance, however, might be attributed to the expectation that the war would not be persisted in by the United States, and therefore that a force was not sent out thither which might have been, had it been supposed that the war would

have been continued. He trusted, however, that conciliation might still speedily take place without compromising our interests; or, if that unfortunately could not take place, that the war would be carried on with adequate vigour. His lordship concluded by moving an address, embracing, as usual, the different topics of the speech.

Lord Rolle rose to second the motion.

The marquis Wellesley said, he could not have approved either of the speech, or of the address, had they, with respect to the great contest in the peninsula, or the cause in which the emperor of Russia was now engaged, with all the efforts of the people, assumed in any degree a lower tone than that which pervaded them. Nothing less was demanded by the great interests of the country, by a proper zeal for our honour or our welfare, or by a true regard to the interests of our allies embarked in the same great cause with ourselves. In all those points he not only applauded the spirit of the speech, but he almost entirely approved of the general spirit of the address moved and seconded by his noble friends. Of all the parts of the speech, however, none struck him more forcibly, none made a greater impression upon his mind, than that which anticipated the same wisdom in parliament, the same firmness, and the same prudence, on the present trying occasion, when the eyes of all Europe, nay, of the whole world, were fixed upon us. There was nothing novel, he admitted, either in the subjects, or the expressions: the novelty was rather in the application of them. Yes: he had no doubt the parliament would exercise the same wisdom, it would exercise the same perseverance, it would display the

same firmness, especially on the great question of the war in the peninsula, as it had hitherto shown. It was to that country in particular he wished to direct their lordships' attention for a few moments. Here his lordship went into a most elaborate and luminous detail of the events of the last campaign; and then he said, with regard to what was to be the object of the war in Spain, three schemes had been successively devised; two were only talked of, and the third was practised. The first was grounded on an idea that it would be imprudent to embark as a principal in the contest, unless some other power, by its co-operation, converted the forces of France from being all concentrated towards that one object—the subjugation of Spain. From that he had always differed upon principle, but this fact was at least deducible from it—that our resources were thought insufficient to carry on the war upon an adequate scale, and that we must therefore await a more favourable opportunity. His view of it had been, that we should engage as principals, and that, in order to afford a chance of diversion in other parts of Europe, it was necessary to urge the Spanish war with vigour and effect. The second plan was, that it would be prudent and highly expedient to make exertions upon a large scale, adequate to the destruction of the French power in Spain. Both those plans were different in their principles, and yet both were consistent upon their own principles. If our resources were really not adequate, then the first plan was very just and proper: but if, as he stated, they were adequate to extensive operations, then the second plan was obviously the fittest to adopt. But the plan of all others, which all mankind

kind must reprobate and reject, was that plan of employing the resources, of exposing the sinews of our strength to hourly danger, bearing hard upon our finances, yet accomplishing neither object, but falling dead, as it were, between both; such a plan as every one must concur in condemning. It was essentially hostile to the principle of œconomy; it was expense without fruit; and yet that was the system which had been pursued during the last campaign, and during the preceding one. A vast expense of blood and treasure had been lavished, and our resources enfeebled, without accomplishing any one definite or precise object. When it was to end he knew not; but it would be invidious to call upon him or any one, to say how closely calamities might tread upon the footsteps of error. When France was meditating fresh wars in the north of Europe, and when we saw Russia prepared to resist her ambitious designs to the last extremity, what more vigorous or effectual assistance could we have given to Russia than by prosecuting the war in Spain? The best succour we could give to that country, the most essential aid that we could bestow, was by carrying on the war in Spain upon a broad and extensive scale of operations: but it was not so carried on, and he charged upon that system, therefore, in the first instance, a defection from the cause of Russia. He did not, indeed, mean to dispute that the events of the last campaign had not been beneficial to Spain; but his objection was, that those benefits were imperfectly secured, and that they could not be expected to be permanent. Adverting to the hopes held out of a diversion from Sweden, in favour of the operations

of Russia, the noble lord animadverted upon the manner in which the government of this country had conducted itself with reference to that diversion, and in all its transactions with Sweden. As it appeared to his mind, a more extraordinary act of diplomacy had never occurred than the treaty which our ministers had concluded with the government of Sweden. It was a treaty which promised every advantage to Sweden, without guarantying any advantage to England. It was, in fact, a treaty in which, as it had been once observed upon a similar contract, the reciprocity was all on one side; for we had engaged to afford Sweden all the assistance in our power, in her operations against the enemy, or for her own protection, while nothing appeared likely to be done for us on her part. An expedition was expected to sail from Sweden, with a view to co-operate with Russia; but that object was soon abandoned; and in consequence of that abandonment general Victor, who, with his force, waited in Swedish Pomerania to meet the apprehended diversion, was enabled to withdraw, and his division actually formed a part of the army with which Bonaparte made his way to Moscow. Such was the important effect of the inactivity of Sweden, and for that inactivity, so injurious to the objects of the war, it was for ministers, in their diplomatic management with Sweden, to account. This account, indeed, they were bound, for their own justification, to produce. At a meeting which had taken place between the emperor Alexander, lord Cathcart, and the crown prince of Sweden, it was understood to have been arranged, that the expedition already alluded to was to have been dis-

spatched from Sweden; and so cordially it seemed did ministers enter into the project—so promptly did they determine to forward its progress, with a view to impede the army of France, that transports for the conveyance of the Swedish expedition were ordered to sail from Sheerness on the 19th of September, and Bonaparte entered Moscow on the 14th. So fared this grand and much talked-of expedition. What sort of explanation ministers had in their power to give upon this subject, he could not pretend to conjecture; but it appeared most extraordinary, that after the meeting and discussion he had just mentioned, ministers should not have been enabled to judge of the real disposition of the crown prince of Sweden, or that they should not have taken measures to ascertain whether any change had taken place in that disposition before the useless dispatch of the transports. With respect to Russia, while he was fully disposed to concur in the panegyrics pronounced upon the magnanimity displayed by that power, he would ask, what assistance had our ministers afforded to encourage the display or to aid the operation of that magnanimity? This he was at a loss to know, except the sending the Russians about fifty thousand stand of arms, with lords Cathcart and Walpole, who were no doubt important instruments to aid a great empire in extricating itself from its difficulties, and repelling a formidable foe! Upon the subject of America he thought it necessary to say a few words; and, first, he had no hesitation in saying, that a more unjust attack was never made upon the peace of any nation than that of the American government upon this country, nor could any cause be imagined more com-

pletely just than that which this country had to oppose to America. But he must confess that he heard with surprise the passage in the speech from the throne, that ministers still hoped for pacification with America; he meant with surprise, in consequence of the grounds upon which this hope was understood to rest. Nothing appeared more preposterous than the calculation that the repeal of the orders in council would serve to pacify America; for these orders were never in fact the point at issue. Of the conduct of this government throughout its discussions with that of America, he was pretty accurately informed, and he was fully prepared to defend it; especially that part of the discussion in which he was personally concerned. But he would maintain, as he had uniformly stated, that the dispute with America did not originate or rest upon the orders in council, but referred to higher questions, to topics deeply affecting our great maritime rights; to points, indeed, of such importance, that, according to his fullest conviction, the British government could not concede to the pretensions of America without throwing into her hands the trident of the main. No means, he said, should be left unprovided effectually to repel the audacious attack which the American government had ventured to make upon us. That attack would, he trusted, be completely avenged; the most extensive exertions would be made to convince the American government of its folly and desperation; and he had no doubt that the best hope of peace with that government would rest upon the manly and vigorous employment of our resources to make it feel sensibly the consequences of war. The only remaining topic in the speech

speech to which he had to refer, was that with respect to India ; in which he felt a peculiar interest. And here he would repeat the wish which he took occasion to express last session, that the affairs of our Indian empire should be fully investigated by their lordships before any system for its future government was finally determined upon. Before he concluded, the noble lord felt particularly called upon to advert to an omission in the speech, which he noticed with surprise and sorrow. He was certainly surprised and sorry to perceive, that after all that had passed upon this subject, after all that had occurred in discussion, and had been excited in hope, no disposition whatever was expressed to conciliate the catholics, or to adjust their claims.

It was in the recollection of their lordships what had taken place at the close of the last session, both in that and the other house of parliament ; that in the latter, indeed, a distinct pledge had been entered into, fully to consider the catholic question, with a view to an ultimate and satisfactory arrangement. Was it now resolved to relinquish this pledge, to set aside all that had been done ? There were too many grounds of suspicion upon this subject. Recollecting the expression of the noble earl opposite, (Liverpool,) at the close of the last session, that he would oppose no barrier to the fair discussion of the catholic claims, he could not doubt his candour ; but yet he had heard of several proceedings, both in this country and in Ireland, where, to use an old phrase of lord Camden, the hand and fingers of government were too obviously employed with a view to induce persons to capitulate upon this question. The noble lord, after recapitulating the several

heads of his argument, concluded with expressing his opinion, that increased exertion must be made to strengthen our army in the peninsula, or it would be cruel towards ourselves and our allies to continue the contest—to persevere in an useless effusion of blood and expenditure of money. For without additional strength he was persuaded that the object of the war could not be attained, and that the continuance of the struggle, instead of being advantageous to this country, to Spain, or to the continent, would have a directly different operation.

Lord Liverpool replied, at considerable length, to the statements and reasoning of the noble marquis, and vindicated the conduct of ministers, who were ready to submit the whole of their conduct to the strictest scrutiny ; whether referring to the civil or military government of the country—whether referring to disaster or to triumph—whether furnishing matter for congratulation, or events to deplore. To look for unmixed success, or exemption from misfortune, in a state of war, would indeed be chimerical. But he trusted that where misfortune occurred, the mind of parliament, and the public, was too considerate and just, not to distinguish between that which was attributable to the contingencies of war, which resulted from inevitable circumstances, and that for which ministers, or their agents, might be deemed fairly responsible. When the assertion was made, that more ought to have been done for the peninsula, he would beg the house to consider and compare ; and, for the purpose of comparison, to look to the most brilliant periods of our history ; to the periods of king William and queen Anne, and the great duke of Marlborough. Let

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all the relative circumstances be fairly taken into view, and he would challenge the comparison. For what was the actual state of our force in that quarter, which the noble marquis had said was so inadequately supplied? Why, that we had, on the 25th of June last, in the peninsula and the Mediterranean, an army of no less than 127,000 men in our pay; that is, 91,000 British, including foreign or German troops, with 36,000 Portuguese. Such was our force, independently of Spanish auxiliaries, which received from us all the assistance in our power, in formation, equipment, and pecuniary supply. Nay, the British army alone, under the command of lord Wellington, at the period alluded to, amounted to 58,000. Now he would appeal to their lordships, whether the exertion which had collected such an army deserved to be characterized in such terms as the house had heard from the noble marquis? But more he would ask, whether three years ago any man in England could have been so sanguine as to imagine the collection of such an army practicable? Yet such had been the exertions of that government, which had also to provide for the protection of India, of our numerous colonies in the west, and for our home defence. Then as to our supplies to our American colonies, which the noble marquis professed to think that ministers had left almost wholly unprepared. Now the fact was, that from the 25th of December last to the present, no less than 20,000 men, with 7000 horses, had been sent to that quarter. When, therefore, the noble marquis asserted that we were unprepared for the American war, he would ask him to point out where and how

we were unprepared. Were we unprepared in Canada, or was there any neglect at the admiralty? He was prepared to discuss this question with the noble marquis, and upon this subject, as well as with respect to Spain, he would beg the noble marquis to come to close quarters—to state facts—to bring something specific, and abandon that style of loose and general accusation, of which the house had heard so much in the course of this discussion.—Now, as to the concluding topic of the noble marquis's speech, I have not, said lord L. made use of any expression with respect to the catholic question, to which I do not adhere. My opinion I have always publicly proclaimed upon this subject. I have resisted, and I will resist, the proposition for entering into the consideration of the catholic claims, because I cannot see my way to any adjustment of those claims, likely to satisfy the catholics. I therefore think it more consistent to oppose the proposition at once, than seek to defeat it by what are called guards or securities. I meet the catholics openly and publicly, and will never attempt to disappoint wishes by any little underhand opposition, by any schemes or subterfuge. My system of opposition I feel to be more fair and candid, and therefore I will continue to pursue it. In stating this to be my intention, I declare merely my individual opinion, without meaning to affect the judgement, or bind the purpose, of any of my friends.

Lord Grenville and several other peers spoke on the subject, but without opposing the address, which was agreed to.

Lord Clive moved the address in the house of commons; and having gone through the different topics

topics in the speech, his lordship went on to infer, that there had not, of late years, been so favourable a prospect of the independence of Europe, as the present period presented. At the commencement of the last parliament Great Britain stood alone; Portugal was then robbed of the greater part of her territory; Russia and Sweden were at that time neutralized by threats, and Spain by intrigue. Bonaparte had then great resources, and was at the head of a great army commanded by many of the ablest generals in Europe. How different now! Russia and Sweden were now joined with us against him; and he was at this moment obliged to secure his safety by flight. Spain was also now in a very different state from what she then was; one of the greatest armies employed for its subjugation had been defeated by lord Wellington; and the French were obliged to unite their whole disposable force, and thereby to evacuate the southern provinces, in order to check his lordship's advance. What were we to hope from this, but that the spell being broken, and his legions being no longer deemed invincible, the prediction made by a great man now no more, some years past, would at length be realised—that Britain being saved from the furnace, Europe would follow the example? He concluded by moving an address, which, as usual, was an echo of the speech.

Mr. Hart Davis said, that in rising to second the address, it was not his wish or his intention to trespass long upon the indulgence of the house, by a protracted notice of the topics which it contained. They had been so ably elucidated in the speech itself, and the noble mover had so well and so

clearly detailed the reasons that operated on him in proposing the address, that he should have little occasion to detain them very long. With respect to America, every person must lament that the endeavours for bringing about a peace had been unsuccessful. War was, he would confess, a thing always to be deplored; but, as the endeavours to avoid it had been unsuccessful, he willingly anticipated, on the part of this country, that union and energy in the prosecution of it, which the enemy would not fail to employ on their part. He doubted not but the voice both of the house and of the country would concur in the determination to prosecute it with vigour. With respect to the troubles that lately prevailed in the northern parts of the country, he could not but congratulate the house upon their removal, which was to be attributed to the mild and early measures adopted by the government. The time was now, he hoped, arrived, when a more vigorous resistance may be expected to the power and the encroachments of France. It was by a resistance strong and persevering, and by such resistance only, that they could hope for a lasting and honourable peace. Such a peace was only to be won by impressing upon the enemy a conviction of their power to resist its efforts. It was only by such a peace that they could give to the exhausted powers of Europe, safety, independence, and prosperity.

Mr. Canning followed, in a most eloquent speech, from which we can give but a short outline. I request, said he, the indulgence of the house while I explain my sentiments on the various topics that have been introduced to its notice. A general view of the present posture



posture of our affairs naturally divides itself into two branches, our domestic and foreign relations; and our foreign relations are subdivided into three distinct parts, relating to the three wars; in the result of which we may be deemed more or less parties concerned.

1. The contest in the north of Europe, in which we are rather cheering, but deeply interested and anxious spectators, than immediate agents.

2. The conflict in the peninsula, carried on wholly by our own resources, though aided by our allies.

3. The war with the United States, in which we are principals, and for the management of which we are exclusively responsible.—With respect to the first of these, the war in the north of Europe, (truly denominated the child of the great effort in the peninsula, which enabled subjugated Europe to reflect on and to arouse its energies,) there can be but one feeling of unqualified admiration of the heroism of the great nation that sustains the conflict. There can be but one sentiment of joy, that at a time when the tyrant of the world anticipated an easy conquest; when he vainly thought that one decisive battle would subdue his foe; when he imagined that he knew his man, and forgot that a change of circumstances might rouse a nation in arms against him; when he fancied, that if he bullied and cajoled the court, the crown was at his mercy; but, advancing in the full confidence of victory, he found a countless population to dispute his road; I say, when we look at all these circumstances, there is no man that must not feel his heart burn with transport—there is no man that can avoid rejoicing at the overthrow of those false philosophical principles, which,

having long misled the world, have ended in misleading those who professed them. The effort the Russian nation is now making may ripen their condition into freedom. Bonaparte idly flattered himself, that the people whom he had denominated barbarians and slaves were dead to all patriotic feelings; that their minds were degraded even below the love of liberty; but, to his bitter disappointment, he discovered that there is a sentiment of patriotism, an instinctive love of soil triumphant over the vices of positive institutions; he found, that what for the last twenty years has been advanced is utterly false; that before a nation enters into foreign wars, it begins to speculate on domestic polity, and to pry into the mysteries of the comparative anatomy of its own frame. He has been taught, that habit and custom are sufficient to resist an adversary approaching with the specious offers of freedom, of happiness: they are sufficient to resist him, not because he is unable to fulfil his promises, but because he is a foreigner and an invader. The contest will not be fruitless, if we obtain the re-establishment only of this great axiom in national character, which some convulsions of the world have almost shaken to its base. This, however, fortunately, is not all that we may fairly expect. It is futile to deny him wonderful abilities, which on former occasions have delivered him from almost inevitable destruction; yet it is impossible, looking at his present perilous condition, for any man so to chastise his feelings as not, at least, to hope. Contemplating the subject in this point of view, and giving ministers full credit for being governed by the soundest principles of

of policy with regard to Russia ; admitting that they intended, and have accomplished what was best, yet every individual must see that a question arises (to which I do not now require a reply, because a fit occasion may in future be appointed), a question of great magnitude, viz. How happens it, that after this treaty with the court of Stockholm has been concluded, and after hearing for six months ' the dreadful note of preparation,' Sweden has not yet brought a soldier into the field to assist Russia in a mutual struggle? This, I say, is a question of much importance. I do not ask now for information; but looking at the congratulatory address upon the point, I think it necessary to notice the subject before I give my vote. I most unequivocally applaud the language held out by ministers at the commencement of the northern conflict. 'Engage,' said they, 'in this war for your own interest—we will aid you, as far as we can—but depend not on our pecuniary or military aid in the north; but we will employ the French forces in the peninsula, and then we shall, in fact, contribute more to your success than if we paid a subsidy into your treasury, or sent an army into your territory.' Such was the inducement held out to the emperor Alexander, to strain every nerve in Russia, and should not such language be equally an inducement to us to strain every nerve in the peninsula? (*Hear, hear!*) My bosom echoes back every word of applause that is applied to the distinguished exploits of our gallant army and its immortal leader; but when I am called upon to say that any hopes, properly indulged at the commencement of the campaign, are fully gratified, I must guard my-

self from any supposed concurrence. Had the battle of Salamanca, in its consequences, not stretched beyond the field on which it was fought, it still should meet my warmest praise: such was the ever-glorious conflict of Talavera:—but to the heroes who achieved the first of these triumphs, I must measure out (if indeed its glory be not beyond all measure) a very different meed of applause, for its consequences were such, as to raise the most sanguine hopes in the most desponding bosom. I know that it is impossible for any man not filling an official station to show that more strenuous efforts might have been made, or that, if made, they would have been successful; and on a former occasion I specially guarded myself from giving any decided opinion upon the subject. Thus much, however, I must say, that if there remain in the power of ministers any effort yet unemployed, or any aid not yet afforded, by the accumulation of forces, to push our exertions in the peninsula to the utmost stretch, it ought to have been applied to that best of all purposes at the commencement of the war. All I require is, that I should be convinced that every practicable attempt has been made. This truth at least is obvious, that the imagination of man could scarcely conceive a situation of affairs more favourable for a great and decided effort than at the present moment. Never since the commencement even of the revolutionary war were the powers and resources of France so fully employed; the hazard on her part so great, the advantage on our side so decided, or the object for which all Europe has long looked in vain, so near its accomplishment. While the forces of Bonaparte

Bonaparte are wasting, and his strength withering in the north, O that we had the means of following up our glorious achievements in the peninsula! What might not be the result with such a general fighting in such a cause? a general of whom it is not too much to assert, that if all Europe were his theatre of action, and if all Europe could supply him with means, he would not be unworthy of the command; — a general of whom it is not the offspring of wild imagination to say, that a small augmentation of force would not only have made Madrid the centre of his operations, but he would have penetrated beyond the Ebro, and from the Pyrennees would have beheld with triumph the free and fertile provinces of Spain, that to him were indebted for peace, happiness and liberty. Enough has transpired to show us that discontents of a serious nature prevail in France; and while the emperor Alexander is detaining Bonaparte far beyond his calculation in the north, a blow might be struck in Spain that would shake the tyrant's throne to its foundation. What is called the oeconomy of war, which restricts and husband's efforts, I have always believed the most mistaken policy. The great and bold efforts that bring a war to a speedy termination, are not only the most advantageous for the nation, but the most beneficial to mankind. If the doctrines that I have stated apply to the contest in the peninsula, I confess they appear to me to be still more applicable to the third contest in which we are engaged, and of which we possess the exclusive management, I mean the war we are waging with America. I will not detain the house by expressing what every man feels, an anxious wish that two nations allied

to each other by so many ties, by consanguinity, by common language, should have a common interest. But with regard to the United States, as well as other powers, I must observe, that when once the die was cast, and war was inevitable, it was our duty to be more prompt and vigorous in our measures, in order to attempt to bring the disputes to an early termination. When urged upon the subject of America, I know that ministers will reply, that their motives for clinging to the last to conciliation were two-fold: 1st, That they had friends in the United States; 2d, That before we venture on hostilities, we ought to take care that we are indisputably in the right. In both these points I concur; for I have ever thought that the most splendid victories that ever glittered on the page of history were tarnished and obscured, if justice did not hallow the cause in which they were achieved. I admit that it is also right to temper your conduct by a consideration of the party that favours your cause in the hostile state. The hon. gentleman having entered at large into the American question, next referred to the case of the catholics in Ireland, and concluded a most eloquent speech with saying, I give my cordial assent to the general tenour of the address; the object of which is, to pledge the heart and soul of the house, and the heart and soul of the country, by all the means and resources that belong to it, to prosecute contests which, I believe on my conscience, there is no honourable mode at the present moment of terminating; and that, in order to conclude them hereafter with due regard to the character of the nation, it is necessary to pursue them with energy, and spirit, and resolution;

resolution; for, as the honourable seconder has ably stated, the more strenuous the attempts, the more speedily the end desired,—a safe and honourable peace,—will be attained. Vigorous efforts will ever be found the best æconomy; for the expenses of war are to be terminated, not by indecisive and mitigated hostility, but by exertions in which the whole soul of the nation is engaged and interested.

Lord Castlereagh very ably vindicated the measures of government, and declared that every where, and in every quarter, the prospects of this country were most brilliant and happy.

Mr. Whitbread showed the propriety of taking the opportunity of a time at which the different contending powers had all experienced reverses, to set on foot negotiations for peace, and proposed as an amendment to lord Clive's address, that the warlike parts be omitted, and that his royal highness the prince might be entreated to attempt the general pacification of Europe.

Mr. Ponsonby began by assuring the gentlemen opposite, that it had never been his intention to offer any amendment, neither did he know until that evening any thing of the amendment of his honourable friend (Mr. Whitbread). There was no man in England more a friend to peace than he was; but then he must be convinced, before he adopted it, that the mode pointed out was the way of attaining it. His conscientious opinion was, that should his honourable friend's address be carried, instead of the address of the noble lord, the effect would be to place peace at a much greater distance than it now was. When we talked of the distresses of the people, and made

them a reason for wishing for peace, should we not be told that we were anxious for it, not because we wished peace, but because we could not carry on the war? And if such was the inference, would not this cause the French government to insist on much higher terms before peace could be obtained? He believed there was scarcely an instance, except during the American war, where parliament interfered, and made a peremptory call on government, or on the ministers of the crown, to offer terms of peace. But these things did not stand on the same footing as they did in the present instance. The war was not then a war between two independent countries, but between this country and a distant part of our possessions, the inhabitants of which were anxious to procure their independence, and by acceding to whose wishes our king must have given away a great part of his own empire. He (Mr. Ponsonby) doubted much if a king could make such an alienation of his territorial dominions, without the advice of his parliament. An alienation of territory naturally and necessarily required the advice of parliament to give it validity; and he did not believe that any minister would have ventured on such a measure, without the advice and consent of parliament.

Some other members spoke, after which the address was carried.

Dec. 1.—On the question of bringing up of the report of the address, previous to its being presented to the prince regent,

Mr. Creevey objected to it till further time was given for the consideration of the subjects contained in it. In the times of William and Anne, five, six, or eight days were allowed between the speech and the answer.

answer. Under the present circumstances, such a delay was more important than ever. But it was not merely on account of the variety of matter, being no less than three wars, that he protested against the early introduction of the report, but on account of a most remarkable omission. He alluded to that part of the speech which spoke of the supplies. It did not say one word with respect to the revenue, nor to the state of the commerce of the country: a cool and laconic demand of assistance was made, unaccompanied with one syllable of financial statement. To show that such a style was perfectly new, he would beg the clerk to read the part of the speech to which he alluded, and the corresponding parts of two other speeches. It was not his intention to go through all the speeches which had been made by all our kings (*a laugh*). He should content himself with referring to two, one delivered at the beginning of the French war in 1794, and the other in the year 1804. (The clerk here read the three passages.) He thought that the house would agree with him that these statements were much more satisfactory than the present, which appeared to him a novel and extraordinary method of making a demand. Was it possible that the prince could be acquainted with the finances and the commercial distress of the country? It would be much better to acquaint the regent with this distress, than quietly and immediately to obey the novel suggestion contained in this speech. He would move, therefore, that the address be brought up this day week.

Captain Bennet seconded the amendment.

Mr. Wortley professed to feel as

much anxiety as any other gentleman could do, that peace might be procured as soon as possible, consistent with our honour and safety. He was satisfied, however, that whenever it was to be made, it must be by the act of the government, and that it ought not to appear a measure forced upon his majesty's ministers by the vote of that house, or by the mere consideration of the distresses of the people. No person could shut his eyes to the situation and interests of our manufacturers; and the ministers must feel that they were incurring a serious responsibility, if they omitted to proffer peace, should a favourable opportunity present itself.

After an extended debate or conversation, Mr. Creevey's motion was negatived, and the address agreed to.

Dec. 3.—Earl Bathurst, in moving the thanks of the house of lords to lord Wellington, for the victory of Salamanca, observed, that whatever opinions might be entertained of the conduct, on the part of government, of the campaign of the peninsula, he was satisfied there could be but one sentiment on the ability and skill, the brilliant talents and sound judgement, displayed by the marquis of Wellington: nor could he for a moment entertain a doubt that the motion with which he should have the honour to conclude, would be unanimously agreed to. It would be necessary for him to take a short retrospect of the campaign, and of the object lord Wellington had in view. Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida being in our possession, his plan was, after Badajoz had fallen, to march without delay into Andalusia, in order to raise the siege of Cadiz, and to compel the enemy to evacuate

evacuate Andalusia. Several reasons operated to call for the execution of this plan: the siege of Cadiz was pressed by the enemy with an increasing force and accumulated means, and there was reason to fear that that city might ultimately fall. It was besides of importance to rescue the Spanish government from the confined situation in which they were placed, cooped up within the walls of Cadiz, where their determinations were liable to be swayed by local interests, and through which their influence did not operate in a manner to be desired in Spain, and still less in the dependencies of Spain; it was also of great importance to compel the evacuation of Andalusia, the enemy not being in the same situation there as in other provinces. In Castile, for instance, their possession nearly amounted to this: In every village they were obliged to barricade themselves to guard against attack; and if between village and village the distance was more than five or six miles, they were under the necessity of erecting a redoubt midway. But in Andalusia the enemy were in complete possession of the province, and from having been so long there, there was reason to fear that the inhabitants might become too much disposed to submit to them. All these motives operated powerfully with lord Wellington to march without delay into Andalusia, it being known that Marmont had no battering train, and therefore could not lay siege to either Ciudad Rodrigo or Almeida, and his advance might be checked by detachments from the main army. Badajoz was taken by assault in less time than was calculated upon by lord Wellington, but he then received information of the

1813.

advance of Marmont; and what was of still greater importance, he found that neither Ciudad Rodrigo nor Almeida had been provisioned, although he had left precise orders for provisioning these fortresses three weeks before, and one week would have sufficed to supply them with the requisite provisions. It became necessary, therefore, for lord Wellington to attend in the first instance to the provisioning of those fortresses; otherwise Marmont, by blockading them, might have reduced them to surrender in a short time. This having been effected, it was then found that Marmont had received a battering train from Bayonne; and the projected operation in Andalusia, which it was intended to execute before the rains commenced, could not now be entered upon without endangering the health of the troops from the effects of the rainy season. Under these circumstances lord Wellington determined to march into Castile, still with the view of ultimately succeeding, by this operation, in freeing the south of Spain from the enemy, and raising the siege of Cadiz. It was previously necessary to cut off the communication between Soult and Marmont, and this was effected by taking possession of the bridge of Almaraz. After a brilliant attack at this place, considerable magazines were established, without which Soult could not venture to detach troops to Marmont. Lord Wellington then crossed the Agueda, and advanced to Salamanca. After the capture of the forts of Salamanca, a variety of manœuvring took place. Marmont crossed the Douro at Tordesillas. Whilst the two armies were manœuvring, lord Wellington saw an opportunity by which he might have gained a

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brilliant advantage; but he declined it, because he did not think that any decisive result could be produced. Nothing could be more honourable to lord Wellington than the desire by which he was actuated to spare the lives of the soldiers under his command, where the sacrifice could not produce any decisive advantage; thus giving up what must be considered as most dear to a soldier, the glory and renown accompanying a brilliant advantage gained in the field, for the sake of sparing the lives of his soldiers, and reserving them for situations where the real interests of the country required the sacrifice. At this period, such was the situation of the armies, that lord Wellington had to balance between conflicting difficulties, and a more anxious situation could scarcely be conceived. At length the moment arrived--lord Wellington said, "Now I have it;" and the army was immediately in as complete array for action as if they had been prepared for it from the morning's dawn. His lordship proceeded to describe the battle, as detailed in the Gazette, and observed upon the fall of general Le Marchant, who had died leaving an orphan family, that for these, he trusted, the country would provide. Gen. Le Marchant's services had been eminent; his exertions in the military college had materially contributed to give skilful officers to that army in which he was himself so eminently qualified to hold a command. The result of the action was the complete defeat of the enemy, and had there been a little more daylight, their army would have been entirely annihilated. During the march of the army into Castile, several letters were intercepted from French officers; and were they made public, he was

satisfied they would say more in praise of lord Wellington than any thing he could urge. It appeared from them, beyond all dispute, that by his operations every movement of the enemy was anticipated, every expectation of theirs frustrated, and every fear of theirs realised, insomuch that they said, "he must read our correspondence, or come in some way at a knowledge of what we intend to do." He should not now attempt a panegyric upon the great and eminent merits of lord Wellington, leaving that to others better qualified than himself, satisfied that no language he could use would do adequate justice to the merits of that commander, and that a feeble effort of praise shed no lustre on the object it was intended to adorn. His lordship concluded by moving the thanks of the house to the marquis of Wellington.

The motion was seconded by the marquis of Lansdowne, and carried unanimously.

In the house of commons lord Castlereagh made a similar motion, which he prefaced with a long and interesting speech.

The question was putting, when

Sir F. Burdett rose: "Sir, I do not profess myself to be a judge of military affairs, and therefore by no means rise for the purpose either of criticising the operations of the noble marquis to whom we are called upon to return thanks, or to attempt a refutation, in a military point of view, of any of those reasons which the noble lord opposite has adduced to show a well-grounded title to those thanks. But without being in the least disposed to detract from the reputation of lord Wellington, or intercept his fair rewards, I may be permitted to express my dissatisfaction

faction at hearing the victory of Salamanca extolled as more brilliant and more important than any that was ever gained by the greatest commanders. Let us, after this extravagant boast, direct our view to that page of our history which records the battle of Blenheim, in which the enemy, besides having one of their best generals, marshal Tallard, taken, lost near 100,000 men, and 100 pieces of cannon. Is this, sir, a victory, the brilliancy and importance of which can suffer by comparison with that of Salamanca? Besides, was it really expected that we should retire so soon after it? If not, let us recollect under what circumstances the enemy have deprived us of the fruits of our exertions. They were exhausted by the great efforts making against Russia, and their armies discouraged and separated by the reverses which they had sustained; yet have these armies, broken and dispirited as they were asserted to be, completely turned the tide of success, and driven our troops back upon the frontier of Portugal. Now, sir, this does show either a great and inherent weakness in Spain to resist an invader, such as should lead us to think the cause in which we are embarked hopeless, or it shows much mismanagement in the conduct of the war—mismanagement which, if it subsist, cannot be solved by a boast outraging all common sense and reason, that we are not disappointed of our object, because we have caused the siege of a city to be raised, and continue to hold two fortresses. Now, sir, the noble lord touched upon a matter which I conceive to be of very great importance, the failure of the siege of Burgos. We understand from the noble lord, that this failure is in no degree im-

putable to the great commander who had conducted that siege. That lord Wellington or that ministers are in fault, is a dilemma from which no ingenuity can effect an escape; and as we have the assurance of the latter that no blame can be attached to the gallant commander, they stand self-condemned. And we have a fresh instance of that incapacity for the affairs of government, which has marked their whole conduct, and which is rapidly reducing the country to a state of misery, from which it cannot be retrieved by panegyrics; however numerous, though given by orators not inferior in eloquence to the noble lord himself. I shall now, sir, beg the indulgence of the house while I follow the noble lord to Russia; and here I cannot but shudder, when I behold him exult in the dreadful calamity under which so great a proportion of the unfortunate people of that country have lately suffered. I allude, sir, to the conflagration of Moscow. Is it a meet subject, sir, for triumph, when a splendid city sinks in flames, when her wretched inhabitants, to the amount of two or three hundred thousand, are driven forth to find a death which shall make them regret having escaped the fury of that element which had consumed their properties? When the soldiers who had become helpless in defending her, were left to perish along with her, are we to be shocked by the triumph of the noble lord, and called upon to unite in it because the French emperor was disappointed of the winter quarters he had hoped for,—as if this were ground sufficient to justify exultation in the face of calamity such as no feeling mind can contemplate without horror? And are we further to be called upon to admire the



the magnanimity of the emperor Alexander, because, safe himself from the perils of war, and untouched by the hand of famine, retired in his palace, he bore with unequalled fortitude the misfortunes of his subjects? The appeal, sir, will find many hearts in this house which will not vibrate to it, and the possessors of those which can, should set bounds to their triumph and admiration, when they reflect how probable it is that the return of spring will bring with it a renewal of hostilities, which can hardly fail to be attended by consequences but little calculated to meet the sanguine hope in which they now unduly revel. With respect to the peninsula, the Spaniards do not join us cordially in the contest; they do not seem very much attached to the cause for which we are fighting. I am aware that an opinion of an opposite nature is held by many persons; but let us look to the authority of the persons most competent to form a correct opinion on the subject. What is that of lord Wellington? That general explicitly tells us that we are not to expect any effectual co-operation from the Spaniards, that we must rely on our own exertions alone if we wish to bring the contest to a favourable issue. And here, sir, let me observe, that pursuant to this advice we should act as if we knew that we were to depend upon ourselves; we should give due vigour to our efforts, or suspend them altogether; we should make our election at once between peace and war, and abandon for ever that contemptible and vacillating system in which we employ vigour to produce as it were exhaustion, but not success. To the authority of lord Wellington we can add that of the marquis Wellesley, than whom no

man is better acquainted with the character of the Spaniards, or can form a better estimate of what we are to expect from their assistance; and what is his testimony? He has declared that the Spanish armies are scattered before the legions of the enemy, like the vapours of a summer morning, which for a short space resist the beams of the ascending sun, and then are seen no more; and it is from this consciousness of the weak constitution of the Spanish armies, that this same nobleman has stated his belief that no blame is imputable to general Ballasteros for not preventing the junction of the French generals. I must repeat, sir, that I shall cordially join the vote of thanks to lord Wellington, though I could not forbear availing myself of the opportunity that offered of delivering the sentiments to which the house has listened with so much indulgence."

Sir Frederick Flood and some other members spoke, after which the question was put and carried.

Lord Castlereagh said, that it would not be necessary for him to make many observations preliminary to the motion he had now to submit to them. He rose to move for a public monument to that distinguished officer lieutenant-general Le Marchant, who fell gloriously at the head of his troops in the battle of Salamanca. There was another circumstance which would endear the memory of this brave man to the house and the country. He had been for many years at the head of a very valuable body of men, who had profited greatly by his instructions, and would doubtless yield many excellent officers for the service to the country in future times. He concluded by moving an address to the

the prince regent, praying that a public monument might be erected in the cathedral church of St. Paul to the memory of general Le Marchant. The motion was carried.

The chancellor of the exchequer moved for leave to bring in a bill for continuing the act of last session, relative to gold coin, which was to expire about the 24th of February 1813.

Mr. Whitbread disapproved of the act of last session, and asked if there was any foundation for the report, that agents were employed by government to purchase gold and silver coin? This was positively denied by Mr. Vansittart; but he confessed, in answer to Mr. Whitbread, that an offer had been made to him, through the medium of a friend, of 27,000 guineas at 25s. each.—Leave was granted to bring in the bill, which was finally passed.

December 7.—The earl of Liverpool in the house of lords said, in rising to move an address of concurrence; in answer to his royal highness the prince regent's most gracious message, he should think it a waste of their lordships' time to enter at length into the merits of the great general who was the object of it, satisfied that respecting these merits there was not a dissenting voice in the house. He would only mention shortly, that during four campaigns this gallant general had devoted himself to the service of his country, regardless of every personal consideration; that he had encountered some of the most eminent generals of France, Victor and Jourdan, Massena, Marmont, and others, and over all of them had gained the victory; that he had encountered, during these four campaigns, the greatest fatigue of body and

mind, so much indeed as to render it matter of surprise, that his bodily strength, or the powers of his mind, could bear up against the fatigue he had to encounter; that during that time he had suffered no consideration, personal, private, or political, to detain him a single day from the service in which he was engaged; and that this illustrious commander had, for his eminent services, repeatedly received the highest honour that could be conferred by parliament, having eight times received the thanks of parliament, six of them as commander in chief. Lord Wellington, from all these services, had derived no pecuniary advantage; and the facts were, that his private fortune was rather diminished than increased. It was under these circumstances that he proposed to their lordships, to concur in the object of his royal highness's message, satisfied that justice to lord Wellington called for the provision which it was now wished to make; and, at the same time, that it was the wisest policy a country could adopt, liberally to reward eminent public services, not only as it regarded justice to the individual, but looking also to the advantage to be derived from the calling forth the exertions of great talents, by the liberal reward conferred upon distinguished public services. In every view, therefore, of justice, and of a sound and wise policy, the present measure was called for. As a matter of convenience (the amount of the proposed grant not coming regularly before that house in the first instance), he would just mention that it was intended to propose a grant of 100,000*l.* to be vested in land, under the provisions of a bill, which would hereafter come before the

house, in order to secure to the marquis of Wellington, and the successors to his dignities, an adequate provision. His lordship concluded by moving an address concurring in the object of his royal highness's message, which was agreed to; as was a similar motion on the same day in the house of commons.

Dec. 10.—Lord Folkestone, in the house of commons, rose in pursuance of notice, to call the attention of parliament as early as possible to a subject of undoubted magnitude. He should not have delayed even thus long, had he not been requested by a noble lord, who he hoped would not take advantage of the absence of some supporters of the motion—an absence occasioned by its previous postponement. During the last session of the late parliament, he (lord F.) had adverted more than once to the infraction of the law of the country, by the introduction of foreign officers into the British corps; and a return upon the subject being universally called for, it was laid upon the table. Upon examination, however, it was found very defective, inasmuch as it only stated the number of foreign officers employed in that small portion of the native British force then within the three kingdoms, omitting all those upon foreign service. One object, therefore, was to remedy this error, by suggesting that a return be made of all the foreign officers at present employed in the British army, properly so called. Another motion would be for a return of the number of foreigners who have received staff appointments, and a third for a return of the number of officers of the 60th regiment of infantry appointed to the staff, who by law were expressly excluded from that situation. His main design, how-

ever, was to draw the notice of the house to an order respecting the king's German legion, inserted in the Gazette of the 18th of August last. It was as follows: "In consideration of the king's German legion having so frequently distinguished themselves against the enemy during the campaign, but particularly at the battle of Salamanca, his royal highness the prince regent, acting in the name and on behalf of his majesty, has been pleased to order, that those officers now serving with temporary rank in the several regiments of that corps shall have permanent rank in the British army, from the dates of their respective commissions." His lordship thought that this order could be understood only in one way, that which the words plainly imported; and so comprehending it, it appeared to be an attempt to introduce foreign German officers, permanently, or as long as they should live, into the British army; the German legion having been enrolled as a temporary corps. He would therefore, in the first instance, move, that a humble address be presented to the prince regent, praying him to lay before the house copies of all orders issued from the war-office respecting the rank of officers serving in the king's German legion.

Lord Palmerstone denied most pointedly that the instrument in the Gazette interfered with the officers of British regiments, and insisted that the scale of promotion in the German legion had always been the same, not allowing that young officers entitled to brevet rank should pass those of older standing who had not the same advantage. The noble lord opposite might perhaps ask, for what purpose the order was required? It was to be-

stow a well merited compliment on a body of men who had always been distinguished for gallantry and discipline: as far as related to the rank they were to bear (though not to the emolument they were to receive), it converted temporary into permanent service. What they acquired was honour—the end and aim of a soldier; that for which he fights and dies. To the German legion such a reward was not and could not be deemed a trifle; it was in truth most gratifying to their feelings, and welcome to their ambition. Looking at the present state of the world, and viewing the countless hosts that were arrayed against Britain single-handed, it seemed to lord Palmerstone the height of absurdity to make such an objection as that of the noble lord. Because our having swept the seas of our enemies, and because our small but gallant armies had hitherto stood undaunted and unbroken before the overwhelming forces of France and all her dependent states, was it to be urged that we were, unaided and unsupported, capable for ever of sustaining so unequal a contest? That our foreign corps, and particularly the German legion, merited all the rewards that could be bestowed upon them, no man, let him belong to what party he might, would deny. To the return first noticed by the noble lord, of the foreign officers employed in our whole military force, lord Palmerstone had no objection: but the document last required he should resist with his utmost power; and he trusted that the house, in giving its negative to the motion, would, by implication at least, give its approbation to the employment of foreigners in our armies, and its sanction to the general system on

which the war had been conducted.

Lord Milton strongly deprecated the employment of foreign officers in the manner in which he understood they had in some instances been, namely, in the command of English districts; and he apprehended that by the order under consideration, as it had been explained by the secretary at war, those officers might be so employed. Of this he highly disapproved; for while he felt it necessary to guard himself against the imputation of vulgar prejudices, he must protest against the appointment of any foreigner whatever to such commands as he had alluded to; and he could make no such exception in favour of Hanoverians, as some persons affected to desire; for these men were not, and never had been, the subjects of the king of England, connected with the head of our government.

General Stewart bore testimony to the gallantry of the German legion, whose services he had witnessed on various occasions in the peninsula. Indeed, so highly did lord Wellington think of the fidelity and valour of that body, that he did not hesitate to confide the direction of one of the most valuable corps of his army, namely, the light division, to a German officer (general Alten). Why, then, after such a proof of well-merited confidence in real service, should it be deemed unsafe to commit an English district to the command of a German? Why, while those meritorious officers were intrusted with the command of an army abroad in the midst of war, should they be thought unfit or unworthy to take the command of our army at home? He fully believed, that upon the continent there was but

one feeling among the British army upon this subject, and as to the general merits of the German legion. But let those who saw them not in service look at the gazettes for an account of the conduct of these deserving foreigners, and they would be found to have eminently signalized themselves upon all occasions. He himself had the honour of commanding a German corps, namely, the first hussars, under the immediate command of colonel Aranshield, and a more gallant or more effective body of men he had never met with. But the conduct of the German corps at Salamanca was the subject of universal praise. The honourable officer concluded with asking pardon of the house for trespassing upon its attention; but he felt it due to truth and justice to bear his testimony to the conduct of a too often misrepresented, although highly meritorious corps.

Mr. Whitbread paid a compliment to the generous and liberal sentiments expressed by a gallant general (Stewart) on the eminent services and distinguished bravery of the German troops employed in Spain. The mutual enthusiasm and unlimited confidence excited in the officers of the army by the exploits of others serving with them, ought, however, to increase instead of lessening the jealousy with which we ought to guard against the incorporation of foreign troops with our own. This was not a military question, nor one in which we were to appeal to the sentiments of the army: it was a constitutional question, on which the members of that house were to decide, as the guardians of the rights and civil liberties of the country.

The motion was negatived without a division.

Returns of the number of foreign

officers serving in our army, and in the 60th regiment of foot, and of the nature and date of their several appointments, were then moved for and granted. Their names only were withheld, on the ground stated by lord Castlereagh, that their being brought forward might be injurious to their relations or connexions abroad.

Dec. 17.—The chancellor of the exchequer brought up the following message from the prince regent:

"G. P. R.—The prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, having taken into his serious consideration the accounts which he has received of the severe distresses to which the inhabitants of a part of the empire of Russia have been exposed in their persons and property, in consequence of the unprovoked and atrocious invasion of that country by the ruler of France, and the exemplary and extraordinary magnanimity and fortitude with which they have submitted to the greatest privations and sufferings in defence of their country, and the ardent loyalty and unconquerable spirit they have displayed in its cause, whereby results have been produced of the utmost importance to the interests of this kingdom and to the general cause of Europe, recommends to the house of commons to enable his royal highness, in aid of the contributions which have commenced within the Russian empire for this purpose, to afford to the suffering subjects of his majesty's good and great ally the emperor of Russia, such speedy and effectual relief as may be suitable to this most interesting occasion."

The chancellor of the exchequer then moved, "That the message of his royal highness be referred to the committee of supply."

On

On the question being put,

Mr. Whitbread rose and said, that in the message which had been just read from the chair some positions were laid down to which he felt that he could by no means assent, as he thought it would be far more becoming in the house to vote some relief for the suffering inhabitants of this country, than for those under the dominion of the emperor of Russia. There was no instance, perhaps, in which the application of the old adage was more obvious than here; for the distresses of our countrymen were such, he thought, as should restrict our benevolence until there was no longer an occasion for it at home. This was not the time for enlarging on the subject; but he begged leave to lay in his claim to oppose this grant tomorrow, when it would come regularly before them.

Sir Francis Burdett said, that he also felt himself imperiously called upon to dissent entirely from the object of the present message; which, under the present circumstances of the empire, he could not help considering not only as most extraordinary, but as most insulting to the people of this country.

Mr. Stephen rose with considerable animation to vindicate the motives and object of the message which had just been read to the house. He could not remain silent after the expressions which had fallen from the honourable baronet, when the house of commons was asked to alleviate by its generosity the sufferings of that magnanimous people, by whose wounds and exertions the safety of this country had been doubly assured. Such a grant as that now proposed would be a trophy erected to humanity, liberality, and sound policy. But he could easily conceive how those

persons who regarded the destruction of Moscow as an act of unfeeling selfishness, rather than as a proof of national devotion and exalted patriotism, should also be prepared to think our money or our applauses ill-bestowed on those who had redeemed the destinies of Europe. For his part, however, he was disposed to consider the heroic self-devotion which had been displayed on this occasion (for he was loth to deprive the gallant people of Russia of the praise of having set fire to Moscow) as on a par with the glories of Saguntum, Numantia, or, in more modern days, with the immortal fame of Saragossa. Sure he was, that at the present most important crisis the minds of all Europe were so intense on the exploits, the firmness, and magnanimity of the Russian people, that their great example must be attended with the most beneficial effects to the safety and happiness of the civilized world. After what had fallen on a former occasion from the honourable baronet, in commiseration of the sufferings of the people of Moscow from the destruction of their capital, he was sure he must be doing great injustice to his tenderness and humanity, in offering any opposition to the present grant. He, however, hoped that the house would concur in manifesting to the Russian nation the sympathy by which they were actuated; and that though this country was not without her share of distress, they would, by a spontaneous and undivided sentiment, declare their generous promptitude to alleviate the sufferings of an illustrious and patriotic people.

Mr. Ponsonby said, that though this message had come upon him without any previous intimation, he at the same time was by no means inclined

inclined to express any opinion decidedly in opposition to it. His mind was not yet made up as to what course he should feel it his duty to pursue.

The motion was agreed to, as was a similar one in the house of peers. In the latter, when the subject was again discussed, an address of approbation moved by the earl of Liverpool was unanimously passed, and a grant of £200,000. was made to the suffering inhabitants of Russia.

Dec. 18. The house of commons resolved itself into a committee of supply, to which the message of the prince regent was referred; upon which

Mr. Vansittart said, that had not some honourable members last night given intimations of their intention to resist the proposition he was about to submit, he should have contented himself with leaving it to the silent feeling and understanding of the house: the propriety of the measure was such, that he trusted, that even those who last night had appeared most determined in their resistance, had, on reflection, found their objections yield before its wisdom and necessity—they might with as much ease change their opinions upon the present as upon any other question regarding the conduct of hostilities against Bonaparte. It might be stated by some, that the subject was introduced by surprise, but it should be recollected that it was no less a matter of surprise to them than to ministers; the noble efforts which had more remotely induced it were indeed the wonder and admiration of the whole country. The immediate cause, however, of the motion with which he should conclude, was to be found in intelligence just obtained, on many ac-

counts of a most gratifying nature: it was not thought prudent by ministers to come to a final determination, until they obtained advices which accompanied the glorious news that the invader had been driven beyond the limits of the Russian empire. Thus much he felt it right to state, to explain why government had not at an earlier period called for the exercise of the liberality, he might say of the justice, of the British parliament. Now, however, the time was arrived when some step must be taken; for it would ill become the legislature of the country to allow its liberality to be outstripped by the generosity of the people, which would undoubtedly burst forth at public meetings held to celebrate the joyful tidings. It was the duty of parliament, not with tardy and unwilling step to follow, but with ardent zeal to lead; to set a glorious example to others, before a glorious example was set to them; to anticipate private individuals, who would seize the earliest occasion to give vent to the noble feelings that swelled within their bosoms. With regard to the amount of the sum to be voted, the house would feel that the proposition must be, in a great degree, arbitrary. No grant could be commensurate to the loss sustained by the innumerable inhabitants of a country so immense; but, on the other hand, it became the liberality and the resources of this great nation, not to make any offer that would be unworthy of its rank and dignity. It should not be forgotten, that the Russian people were suffering not less in our cause than their own: he said, in our cause; for, during the mighty struggle in which they had been engaged, and in consequence of which they were enduring,

enduring, with unexampled patience and fortitude, all the miseries of war, they had most effectually and extensively relieved the distresses of Great Britain. Since the commencement of the triumphs of the Russian arms, a brighter day had dawned upon the manufactures and commerce of this country; and scarcely a day passed without some account being obtained of new employment for our artisans, and new incitements to their industry—industry, which had been much damped and depressed by the loss of the American market; but which now found fresh encouragement, and revived with fresh vigour, from the trade carried on with the open ports of Europe. After due deliberation, it had been thought right to propose that 200,000*l.* should be the sum to be granted: neither too much for Great Britain to bestow, nor too little for Russia to receive. It had been deemed expedient, that the vote now to be passed should exceed any of the former grants for similar purposes—the grant was beyond example, because the occasion was beyond example. It transcended all former efforts, not only made by Russia, but by any other country. History could not parallel the heroic instances afforded of patriotic self-devotion and heroism. By the intelligence received, it appeared that thousands—he might say hundreds of thousands—had been compelled to abandon their comfortable homes to a brutal enemy, and to seek for safety in the woods that could not afford them shelter. Did not these unhappy beings claim the admiration and the compassion of all the enemies to tyranny? It was true, that no sum could give effectual aid; but

at least it would show that Great Britain sympathized in the noble feelings, and in the unmerited calamities, of the sufferers. On these grounds he submitted the resolution, which he hoped would be unanimously carried, “That a sum not exceeding 200,000*l.* be granted to his majesty, for the relief of such parts of the empire of Russia as have suffered from the invasion of that country.”

Mr. Ponsonby declared that it certainly was his intention to vote for the proposed grant: for the sufferings of the people of this country he felt as much as any man; and if the question were simply, to take a sum from the sufferers of England to give to those of Russia, he should give it his negative. The distresses in England, it might be proper to remark, though brought on partly by causes beyond the control of government, had been in part caused by circumstances which it would have been in their power to prevent. If speedy and conciliatory measures had been adopted with regard to America, a very large portion of this distress would not have existed. If, however, the house were to negative this grant, more harm would be done to the sufferers of this country, than could be retrieved by the possession of the 200,000*l.* Russia had been brought to the state in which she was, by refusing to submit to the continental system; and if the result of the struggle were to enable her to keep open the markets of that vast empire to our manufactures, she would soon repay the sum we might now advance. This he admitted; and if the noble lord had openly come forward, and stated the necessity of it, he should have felt pleasure in concurring in the



the grant. But by saying this, he (Mr. Ponsonby) hoped he should not be thought to patronise the system of subsidizing. The state of things in Russia arose from her having engaged in this virtuous struggle unbought by us. The situation to which she would have been reduced by an alliance with France, was before her eyes; and without communication with this country, or, if with communication, he was convinced without assurance of support, she nobly took her part. For these reasons he should support the vote; and he was anxious that it might be seen by the distressed manufacturers, that it was not by any insensibility to their sufferings, that the vote of one member, at least, was determined, but by a sincere conviction, that their interests would have been more injured than served by refusing this grant.

Mr. Whitbread was sorry to say, that the grant would not pass unanimously. He did not, moreover, think it just to this country to take money out of the pockets of our starving manufacturers, to apply it to sufferers to whom, unhappily, it could be of no use. Those unfortunate beings who, as the chancellor of the exchequer had stated, had sought shelter from the severity of a Russian winter in their forests, were now, alas! as senseless as the snow with which they were surrounded; and now, if they continued to exist, could the small sum which they were that night called on to vote, afford them relief? Though the contest in Russia might have a tendency to increase our own security, yet to imagine that this 200,000*l.* could be a bond of unity between that nation and ourselves would be to contradict

the testimony of experience. It had been the interest of Russia to enter into amity with us: she had acted in pursuance of that interest, and in accordance with that interest she would act hereafter. It had been said, that committees of nobles had been formed—that the emperor had exerted himself to afford relief, by rebuilding habitations, and by alleviating the poignant misery of the sufferers. It did, indeed, behove the Russian government to do away with all the pomp of state—to apply all the resources of the empire to this object; it was more particularly the duty of that government to do so, from the commission of an act, singular in modern history—the conflagration of Moscow. This grant could be considered as no other than a subsidy in aid of the war in Russia; for, by discharging the Russian government of the duty of applying a sum equal to this to its suffering subjects, it left an equal sum applicable to the purpose of driving the French from the empire, or to that of crushing their power. It was a subsidy then—a paltry and contemptible subsidy as to the purpose of the war. Why had not the aim been the alleviation of the misery of the sufferers? Should the application of the sum be confined to Russia Proper, to the exclusion of the countries through which the French had passed, in making (what had been termed in the message) this unprovoked aggression on the empire of Russia? From the resistance of Russia, if wisely taken advantage of, the greatest blessings might ensue. This, however, was as yet uncertain. In the mean time, there were in some parts of this country cases of as crying distress, as, out of the reach of war, could be.

be. Suppose a grant proposed to these sufferers; would it not be said to be improper to attempt to alleviate private distress? But would it not be an act of justice to our country, before we go abroad with

our charity, to know whether we have not objects at home, to whom it might be extended with advantage?

Lord Castlereagh replied, and the motion was carried.

## CHAPTER II.

*Bishop of Norwich's Observations on some Anti-catholic Petitions—Mr. Whitbread's Notice respecting Peace—Debates on the Vice-chancellor's Bill—on Sir Samuel Romilly's Motion for a Repeal of certain Laws—on Earl Bathurst's Motion for an Address to the Prince Regent on the American War—on Sir Francis Burdett's Motion for a Bill to provide against any Interruption of the Royal Authority—Mr. Cochrane Johnston's Notice of a Motion respecting the Princess of Wales—Debates on the Catholic Claims—The Speaker's Address to Sir Stapleton Cotton, and the Answer—Debates on the Catholic Claims continued.*

THE house of commons met again on the 2d of February, and the lords on the following day; but there was no business, in either house, of much public interest till the 11th, when the second reading of the vice-chancellor's bill excited a warm debate. We may however notice that on the 3d of February earl Nelson, in the upper house, presented a petition from the archdeacons of Norwich against the Roman catholic claims; upon which the bishop of Norwich took occasion to express his strong disapprobation of the conduct of the established clergy, in thus coming forward and interfering on an occasion which was, more than any other, a consideration of state policy. Such a line of conduct he did not think warranted either by propriety or expediency. He did not envy the preference given by a part of the clergy of his own diocese, to the noble and reverend earl, for presenting such a petition. The reverend prelate added, that from time and circumstances, the nature

of the question to which the petitions referred had been greatly changed; that none of those apprehensions with respect to their catholic fellow-subjects, which formerly obtained, need be entertained at present; and he thought that a moderate and liberal line of conduct with respect to them, particularly on the part of the clergy, was such as would be more wise, politic, and proper in every respect.

Mr. Whitbread on the same day gave notice that he should on the 4th of March bring the subject of peace under the consideration of the house.

On the 11th lord Castlereagh, in moving the second reading of the vice-chancellor's bill, said that it was for the house, on this occasion, to balance between the pressure of the necessity which called for a measure of this nature, and the imperfections of the measure itself. As to the necessity, that could not be doubted, when it was known that the appellate jurisdiction

diction was so ineffective, and the general jurisprudence of the country consequently so defective, that there was at this moment an arrear in the house of lords amounting to no less than 280 causes, which, according to the usual average, could not be heard within less than eleven years. Such an arrear was a grievance, not only to the suitors immediately concerned; but, as the several causes must involve some principles of law, any delay in the decision of them was likely to encourage further appeals. This was a pregnant reason for promoting the speedy decision of such appeals, in order to guard against litigation: for any suitor who thought proper to appeal, had reason to calculate, under existing circumstances, that he might postpone the determination of his cause, and perhaps deprive his adversary of his justice for a period of eleven years. All opinions, therefore, must concur in thinking, that the legislature ought to interfere for the removal of such an evil. In order to remedy this, an opinion had gone forth, that the lords should extend their sittings beyond the usual time to hear cases of appeal: but he put it to the house, whether such a measure would not be one of the greatest constitutional innovations that could well be imagined; and whether any wise statesman would make it the ground of a permanent system? Its adoption would, indeed, involve a most violent attack upon the prerogative of the crown; for how could a prorogation of parliament be in such a case resolved upon without interfering with the administration of justice? For the house of lords must continue to sit for an unusual period on this branch of its duty, and that which related to appeals must be

discharged by delegation. But if even the duration of its sitting were enlarged, were the lords to sit ten months of the year instead of five, still the evil complained of would not be remedied; because the effect would be to withdraw the chancellor from the court of chancery to attend in the house of lords, and therefore it would only serve to substitute one evil for another. It might be said, that a speaker of the house of lords ought to be appointed, to relieve the chancellor from the necessity of such attendance in the lords. Such a proposition was not, however, from all he understood, ever likely to be pressed by any person competent to judge, because such an appointment must serve to lessen the dignity which ought to belong to the judicial decisions of the house of lords. By this bill, indeed, it was only proposed to give the chancellor a permanent, instead of that temporary assistance which by law he was now entitled to call for from the judges, but which assistance he could not press, under present circumstances, without creating a corresponding evil in the courts of Westminster-hall. The only difference indeed between the office proposed to be erected and the court of the rolls was this, that the business to be assigned to the new officer was to be subjected to the regulation of the lord-chancellor, while the causes in the rolls were not, unless in cases of appeal, under any such regulation. Having said so much as to the necessity and nature of the new office, the noble lord adverted to the expense which some persons seemed to think it would occasion; but the fact was, that it would be attended with no expense to the public, while it would be productive of great advantage

vantage to the suitors. The salary to be granted to the officer was 4000*l.* per annum; one half of which it was proposed to provide from the fund formed by the profits accruing to the court of chancery, and the other half from the dead cash remaining in that court, namely, from the interest upon unclaimed property in that court, of which, after paying the master in chancery and other officers, 9000*l.* a year remained unappropriated. Thus any objection on the score of expense was quite inapplicable. An apprehension had been expressed, that the new appointment might subject suitors to additional expense, by referring them to a tribunal, from the decision of which any party would be at liberty to appeal to the lord chancellor; but he could not see why such an apprehension should apply to the new tribunal any more than to the rolls, from which appeals to the chancellor did not bear a greater proportion than as one to 25 causes, although the right of appeal was fully notorious. Why then should the chancellor be refused the additional instrument which this bill proposed to grant him for the discharge of his important functions, from any such idle apprehension—from any assumption rather against than for the proper use of the power which this bill proposed to create? With respect to the assertion which he had heard, that the salary of the new office should be entirely drawn from the profits of the lord chancellor, he had to state, that the noble lord who now held that office had, before the committee of the lords who investigated this subject, deprecated any view to his personal advantage, and urged the consideration of the subject solely upon public grounds. But it must be

felt by every considerate man, that the office of chancellor ought to be upheld in adequate dignity—that it ought to be liberally endowed, as a remuneration for the labours of the office, for the professional risks which, considering the uncertainty of the tenure, the officer encountered in undertaking it—that its emoluments should be amply sufficient, not only to enable the individual who held the office to maintain it in becoming splendour—but, continued the noble lord, to make a suitable provision for his family. It would, indeed, in his judgement, be a false œconomy to reduce the emoluments necessary to sustain this high office. Upon this point he thought that there could be but one feeling, and he concluded with moving, that the bill be read a second time.

Mr. Banks said, his opinions were sufficiently known on the subject of œconomy; but whenever œconomy alone was opposed to measures of a more substantial nature, it ought undoubtedly to give way. His objection to the present bill was, that the remedy proposed would be found totally insufficient for the purpose for which it was intended. It was a most deplorable state for a country like this to be in, where law and justice have always lifted up their heads and flourished, that the delays in the court of chancery and house of lords were such as to amount almost to a denial of justice. The consequence of the proposed alteration would therefore be, that the business of the court of chancery would be done by a person inferior in learning and abilities to the present lord chancellor, and that the business of appeals would stand still as at present. In a short space of time it would make the lord chancellor

cellor a less effective officer than he was at present. It might be depended on as certain, that men in general were not very ready to do what others would do for them. The lord chancellor would therefore, in a short space of time, be in a different situation from that in which he had been for many years. In seeking a person to fill that situation hereafter, the first lawyer would not be sought out, but the first politician in the country. If the chancellor were to excel as a politician, and be admirable as a debater, he would naturally think that he might safely leave the decision of causes to persons with more legal skill, but less ability as debaters. But a great objection to the bill was, that it did not leave any more time to the lord chancellor, for the decision of causes in the court of chancery, than at present. It was intended that every part of the business which was to be transacted by deputy should be open to appeal. To whom? To the chancellor himself. It could not be supposed that there would be fewer appeals from the vice-chancellor than from the master of the rolls at present. A multiplication of appeals would thus be created; and this was a great evil, from the additional expense and delay which it occasioned. There was one argument against the offices of chancellor and speaker of the house of lords being vested in the same person, which was deserving of notice. In all appeals to the house of lords from the lord chancellor, the lord chancellor was of all persons the last who ought to sit in that house as the presiding and most efficient judge. He concluded with moving as an amendment, that the bill be taken into consideration that day six months.

Mr. Stephen said that the evil complained of had been admitted to amount to almost a denial of justice; he must, for his part, declare, that in many cases it was fully equal to a denial of it. There were at present before the house of lords 273 appeals, of which one had been depending twenty years, seven for eleven years, 39 for seven years, and 77 above five years. From a calculation made in 1810, the average number of appeals decided annually was 10; and on that principle, what with new appeals, it would take forty-six years before the whole could be disposed of. This denial of justice was dreadful; yet it had been known to that house for two years, and no proposal had been made to apply a remedy. It was said, Why not separate from the duty of the lord chancellor some of the particular branches of his present business? There was no such character as an idle judge. All the other courts were in arrear, as well as the house of lords, though the judges were of all men the greatest drudges in business. It was not so in former times. Sir Matthew Hale had leisure to follow his various studies and amusements. Fortescue, in his work "*De laudibus legum Angliæ*," had said that judges did not sit more than three hours, from eight to eleven in the morning; and passed the residue of their time in reading the law and studying the scriptures: so that they led a contemplative rather than an active life. What a contrast did this character present to lord Ellenborough! In fact, the number of judges remained the same, though the business had increased out of all proportion. The business of the court of chancery had greatly increased, notwithstanding the insinuations  
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thrown out to the contrary. The amount of the property in litigation had arisen in the last century from one million to twenty-five, and had increased seven millions since 1800. The number of orders had more than doubled since lord Hardwicke's time. Mr. Stephen hoped gentlemen would perceive the evil of delay, and think of applying some remedy to this evil, where it existed in the greatest degree.

Mr. Canning wished to preserve the office of lord chancellor in this country in all the plenitude of its power, and splendour of its authority. He believed in his conscience that it was most essentially important to the constitution that it should be so preserved. He thought that it was one of the highest prerogatives of the sovereign, that he could choose a man from the profession of the bar, and give him rank and precedence above ducal coronets. This high prerogative, however, like all other, would be exercised with a responsibility to public opinion; and although the crown might make whom it would lord chancellor, yet it would never *will* to make any man a chancellor, who, in the public eye, was not conceived to be fit for that high station. He was not imputing any negligence to lord Eldon, when he said, that if this bill should pass, a time might come when all the business of the court of chancery might be thrown upon this new officer and the master of the rolls; and that in future times a lord chancellor might be chosen merely from other considerations, unconnected with his legal knowledge or ability, to preside in the court of chancery. This bill might, therefore, lead to the destruction of the high office of lord chancellor, which he conceived to be, as it now stood, an

1818.

office of the greatest importance, as well in a constitutional point of view, as with regard to the administration of the important duties of the court of chancery. He, therefore, could not support a bill which appeared to him so ill calculated to remedy the evil it professed to obviate, and which threatened to produce still greater evils.

Sir S. Romilly strenuously opposed the bill, contending, that if it were passed it would effect a complete change in the character of future lords chancellors; and that the country would never again see such men as Somers, Camden, Hardwicke, &c. He denied that the business, strictly so called, of the court of chancery had increased since the year 1750. The number of suits had not increased. Undoubtedly causes were now heard at much more considerable length than formerly; and he lamented that a kind of invitation was held out for hearings and re-hearings, equally injurious to the clients of that court and to the public at large. To the bill before the house, offering, as it did, the grossest indignity to the individual who might be appointed to fill the situation designated in it, he could never consent; and he was sure that the general sense of the profession was with him.

The solicitor general gave his opinion in favour of the bill, and against the amendment. He insisted on the necessity of providing justice for the subjects of the realm, now exposed to many inconveniences by the delay in the courts of law.

The second reading was carried by a large majority.

Feb. 15.—On the question for going into a committee on the vice-chancellor's bill, Mr. Leach entered

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into an argument to show, from the quantity of business in arrears, and the number of causes decided by one judge in a year, that the whole of the present accumulation might be removed, on the lowest calculation, by a single judge, in the course of one year; that the master of the rolls, merely by sitting as many hours in court as the lord chancellor, might, in addition to his other business, remove the pressure in two years; and that, consequently, there could be no possible reason for creating a new and permanent office for a temporary object, when an increase of the assistance, which the present office of master of the rolls was created for the very purpose of affording to, the lord chancellor, would meet the evil in its fullest extent. In another point of view, it appeared that the whole increase of the business in the last ten years was not equal to the number of causes which the chancellor decides in one year. The creation of the office of vice-chancellor could not, therefore, be necessary, unless it were proposed to relieve the chancellor of nine-tenths of his judicial business. Now, that any chancellor would neglect the duties of his high office from mere indolence, did not appear probable; but there was every danger that he might be tempted to neglect them from the more powerful motives of ambition and political interest. The effect of the lord chancellor's becoming a *political* rather than a *judicial* character, would be to change the whole constitutional judicature of the country. The bench of judges was filled, as it was and had always been, with able and upright lawyers, because the lord chancellor, by whose recommendation they were generally appointed, was him-

self one of the first lawyers of his time, intimately connected with all the most eminent professional men, acquainted with their virtues, and feeling a respect for their talents. But a political lord chancellor would be equally ignorant of, and indifferent to, legal merit; and our benches of justice would be filled by means of ministerial intrigue and court influence. The practice of the law would also sink into contempt, and be neglected, when the highest honours of the profession could be so much better attained than by a laborious and painful discharge of its duties.

Mr. Weatherall admitted the accuracy of the facts stated by his hon. and learned friend, but opposed the master of the rolls being so surcharged with business.

Messrs. Bathurst, Horne, Simeon, and Stephen, supported the bill, which was opposed by Messrs. Ponsonby, Tierney, and Preston. The bill then went through a committee, was finally passed into a law, and sir Thomas Plumer appointed the vice-chancellor.

Feb. 17.—Sir Samuel Romilly rose, in pursuance of notice, to move for leave to bring in a bill to repeal an act of king William, making it capital to steal property above the value of 5s. in a dwelling-house, &c. He thought it improper that any penal law should exist which was not practically enforced, and he believed that there was no law that at the time of enacting it, it was not meant strictly to enforce. The returns for London and Middlesex for the years 1805, 6, 7, 8, and 9, which had been laid before the house, showed, that in that time 188 persons had been indicted on this act, only one-tenth of the number had been condemned, and not one of them had been executed. But

But of the number, 18 had been acquitted, and 119 convicted of larceny. It could not be said that it was intended that the law should only be carried into effect in cases of peculiar aggravation: for those circumstances of aggravation could not be in the contemplation of the law, which made no mention of them. If it was the amount of the pecuniary value which constituted the aggravation, this might at all times be fixed with absolute certainty by the legislature. The evils of unexecuted laws had often been detailed. The object of all laws was to prevent the commission of crimes; but this end could not be answered where the law was so constructed as to secure complete impunity to crimes. In the present instance there was a sort of conspiracy, a mutual understanding between all parties, the prosecutors and the crown, not to execute the law. He would cite a passage from the works of a writer who had been one of the greatest ornaments of his country and of that house, Mr. Burke, who, in speaking of penal laws, says: "The question is, whether in a well-constituted commonwealth it is wise to retain laws not put in force? A penal law not ordinarily executed must be deficient in justice or wisdom, or both. But we are told, that we may trust to the operation of manners to relax the law. On the contrary, the laws ought to be always in unison with the manners, and corroborative of them, otherwise the effect of both will be lessened. Our passions ought not to be right, and our reason, of which law is the organ, wrong." The words of this admirable writer were never more applicable than in the present instance; for, without some extraordinary aggravation, who was

there with nerves strong enough to contemplate the execution of this law, who would say that any one for stealing a ribbon or a piece of lace above the value of 5*s.* was deserving of death, if not guilty of some other offence? He did not believe that there was a single instance in which the sentence had ever been carried into execution. If there were any instance, it would be very desirable to know under what aggravations the offence had been committed; and it would also be extremely desirable that those aggravations which had been the foundation of the punishment, should in future be made the foundation of the sentence. This would relieve the judges from that responsibility in deciding on the fate of individuals from their own private judgement, which constituted the most painful part of their duty. He was himself satisfied that the effect of the law had been to increase the frequency of the crime. Laws, to be effectual, must hold out a terror to individuals. What terror could a law carry with it, when it was known that it was never put in force, but remained a dead letter on the statute book? He had, on a former occasion, stated, that no instance had occurred of the law against stealing to the amount of 40*s.* on navigable canals having been put in force. An aggravated case of this kind had lately happened, in which property had been stolen to the amount of some thousand pounds. This case had been cited against the principle of the bill for repealing that act. But could this be considered as a fair ground of objection? Because stealing to the amount of some thousand pounds is punished with death, is that a reason why stealing to the amount



of 40s. should be punished with death? He should, however, have congratulated himself, even if a law had passed to save the lives of those individuals. It was not likely that an instance of so aggravated a nature would soon occur again, and the effect of the execution of the sentence was to make persons dissatisfied with the existing law. The trial had lasted three days, and the jury had the fullest opportunity to consider every circumstance of the case; yet, after their entire conviction of the guilt of the prisoners, they had joined in a unanimous petition to the prince regent, to spare the lives of those whom by the law they were bound to condemn. There could not be a stronger instance of the general repugnance in men's minds to the carrying of such laws into effect.—The next bill he proposed to introduce related to a part of the punishment for the crime of high treason, which was not at present carried into execution. The sentence for this crime, however, was, that the criminal should be dragged upon a hurdle to the place of execution; that he should be hanged by the neck, but cut down before he was dead; and that his bowels should then be taken out and burnt before his face. As to that part of the sentence which relates to embowelling, it was never executed now; but this omission was owing to accident, or to the mercy of the executioner, not to the discretion of the judge. In the case of colonel Wharton, concerned in the Rye-house plot, this part of the sentence had been omitted, and a writ of error was brought by his son to reverse the sentence of attainder, which was allowed by the house of lords. It was argued that it was impossible that this sentence

could be executed, for that no one could survive the first part of it. But Harrison, one of the regicides, had held a conversation with his executioners after his bowels were taken out. It was proper to consider whether a sentence of this kind ought to remain upon our statutes, of no use to ourselves, but a constant subject of reproach to us among foreigners. In no very remote times this punishment had been actually inflicted. In the reign of queen Elizabeth it was cited by a French writer as an instance of the cruelty of the English laws. Lord Bacon admitted the fact, but justified it by a comparison with the more cruel and barbarous punishments of other countries. In Barrington's conspiracy, out of fourteen persons condemned, seven were executed in this manner in one day; but the horror produced by the punishment reached the ears of the queen, who ordered that the remaining seven should be only hanged. In the last instance in which men's passions were ever much excited on these questions, the rebellion of 1746, Mr. Townley was cut down after he had been suspended six minutes, the executioner struck him several blows, and then proceeded to embowel him. The origin of this savage and disgraceful punishment was, he believed, in the reign of Edward I. who inflicted it on David prince of Wales for the resistance he had made to his usurpation; and afterwards repeated the same punishment on William Wallace, the noble defender of the independence of his country. Till the 30th of the present reign, in the case of women, the punishment for treason was being burnt alive, not only for attempting the life of the sovereign, or coining, but for petty treason, Another

Another objection which he should mention to the law as it now stood on this subject was, that corruption of blood consequent upon high treason, by which the property of the offender was forfeited to his descendants, without going to the crown. This he considered as an improper and useless aggravation of the punishment; and he might refer to several places in sir William Blackstone's Commentaries, in which this part of the law of high treason was reprobated in the most pointed terms. Sir S. Romilly then moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the 10th and 11th of king William, for making it capital to steal in a dwelling-house above the value of five shillings, and another to repeal that part of the punishment of high treason relating to embowelling.

These bills were allowed to be brought in, and the first passed through the house of commons, but was thrown out in the other house. The second was lost in the house of commons.

Feb. 18.—Earl Bathurst, in the house of lords, said, that though the American correspondence was voluminous, he should not trouble the house at any length. The address he should move was not likely to lead to any difference of opinion. A blockade, by notification, of the Chesapeake and Delaware was not earlier adopted, because there was a contract for the supply of flour to the peninsula from the American ports, and also to our West India islands. The noble lord then, referring to the declaration of war by America, said he believed it was precipitated by the expectation of intercepting our homeward-bound fleet from the West Indies; for commodore Rodgers sailed immediately upon the eve of that decla-

ration. While the British government showed a disposition to restore seamen who were proved to be natives of America, the United States government constantly refused to restore British seamen who had deserted. This was a proof that the American government was hostile to this country. They likewise claimed a right of cancelling the allegiance of subjects of other states. He alluded to their practice of granting letters of naturalization. For this purpose, all that was requisite was, for two persons stating themselves to be citizens of the United States, and vouching before a magistrate for a third to be a citizen, and having resided five years there obtained him a certificate of citizenship. These proofs might be fabricated, and no contrary interest existed in the courts to investigate them. It was impossible, therefore, we could give up the right of impressment, upon which our maritime greatness depended. His lordship concluded by moving an address to the prince regent, approving of the rejection of the proposition from America; lamenting the necessity of the war, but acknowledging its justice, and expressing a determination to support his royal highness in carrying on the war with vigour.

The marquis of Lansdowne was glad he could concur in the address, but regretted that, owing to the disposition of our naval force, such triumphs had been afforded to the Americans. War, once commenced, ought to be vigorously prosecuted, that it might be sooner terminated.

Lord Melville said, whenever the detail was entered into, it was capable of proof that at the time of the breaking out of the war the force on the American station was amply

sufficient for all the purposes required of it.

The marquis Wellesley most cordially concurred in the address. The war was a just one, and the objects of it were of the utmost importance to the rights and interests of this country. He asked, Why was not a greater force collected in the vicinity of the United States, in order that it might be ready to act upon any emergency? Instead of this, a parade had been made of sending instructions to the admiral, whose force was inadequate to carrying hostile means into effect. The war had been improperly carried on, and he hoped the period of inquiry would come very shortly.

The earl of Liverpool was glad that it was admitted that the war on the part of America had been a war of passion—of party-spirit—and not a war of policy, of interest, or of necessity. He adverted to the numerous escapes of the enemy's fleet during the better part of lord Nelson's career, to show that it might so happen without attaching blame to the admiralty.

Lord Holland would not concur in the address, because it was so worded, as to imply that the American government had peremptorily insisted on our surrender of the right of impressing seamen, and to this he could not agree on the face of the evidence.

Lord Erskine disapproved of the address, and could not consider the war as the consequence of the question of the right of impressing. It originated in the former irritations between this country and America, previous to the orders in council, and until these were removed there could be no conciliation. It had been said that this war, if the Americans persisted in

their claims, must be eternal. If so, our prospects were disheartening; for America was a growing country; and in a lengthened contest, all the advantages were on her side, and against this country. The address was carried without a division; as it was also in the house of commons.

Feb. 23.—Sir F. Burdett said, that there had been violent encroachments upon the constitution, in consequence of the unfortunate affliction under which his majesty is suffering. The first encroachment was in 1788; and between that period and 1810 it was well known that the king's mind was too disordered to pay any attention to public business, and the probability was that ministers, under colour of the royal absence, exercised the powers of majesty. The leading principles of the constitution were, that the crown descends by hereditary succession, and not by election; and that the crown is never suspended: so thinking, he must express his disapprobation of the restrictions which were imposed upon the regent, who had been very ill treated, and of whom sir Francis spoke in the most respectful terms. In moving for leave to bring in a "bill to provide against any interruption of the exercise of the royal authority, in the event of the death of the prince regent in his father's life-time," he was desirous it should be understood that he intended the presumptive heir to the throne (princess Charlotte of Wales) should in such case exercise the royal authority. This would prevent both ministers and parliament from rendering the royal authority subservient to their will.

Lord Cochrane seconded the motion.

Mr. Bragge Bathurst complimented

mented the honourable baronet on the temper and candour which he had that night displayed. He thought, however, that a measure of the nature of that proposed by the honourable baronet ought to come recommended by the crown; and that, unless in case of a very strong necessity, the house were not called upon to interpose in a matter of such delicacy.

Mr. Brand thought it was no argument against the motion, that it did not come recommended from the crown. He could not but deprecate the mischiefs which the late interruption of royalty must have occasioned. He hoped that a plan would at length be digested, by which similar evils would in future be prevented, and that the country would never again witness those disgraceful scenes, when restrictions seemed to be imposed on the crown, with no other view but to show the people that the crown possessed powers with which it did not need to be invested. There was now but one life between the recurrence of the scenes which they had all so much lamented, and he thought they ought not to separate before providing against such an exigency.

Mr. Wynne and Mr. Ponsonby both spoke in favour of the motion.

Lord Castlereagh thought the measure not called for on any grounds either of necessity or expediency. If he were to argue the measure on the grounds of the honourable baronet, his motion seemed rather intended to invalidate the constitutional authority of the two former precedents of 1788 and 1810, than to provide for any immediate or probable emergency. So far he must give the motion his decided opposition. He admitted that it was not necessary for the constitution, that a measure of this

kind should emanate from government; but he did think it highly expedient that some communication should have been made on the subject, to prevent the possibility of a conflict between parliament and the crown. If the honourable baronet's views were just, his argument went to this, that it would be necessary provisionally to appoint a general and permanent regency in all cases where there was not an heir-apparent to the crown grown up, and ready to take upon him all the functions of royalty. The honourable mover seemed to think he was providing for a great constitutional object—he wished to get at a regency on an hereditary rather than on a parliamentary principle. But there were inconveniences attached to an exclusive adherence to either of these principles; and on the balance of those inconveniences, the house had twice decided, that it was their first and most imperious duty to provide for the safe return of the regal authority into the hands of the lawful king, in case of his being restored to a capacity for exercising its functions. If the hereditary principle were taken as the only one, it would lead to the establishment of a regency, without any such provision—without restriction or condition of any kind.

Mr. Whitbread enforced the necessity of some such measure as the present. The government had been twice carried on for some time, in the years 1801 and 1810, under the mask but without a shadow of royal authority. It was to prevent the recurrence of such an unconstitutional and dangerous assumption of power, that he had in 1811 brought forward a motion to inquire into those transactions, and to provide some remedy; but his proposition had been negatived.

The party heats and irritation which at that time prevailed, had been allayed: a strong practical proof that there could be no time more proper than the present for providing some remedy for the evil, was the temper and moderation with which this night's debate had been conducted. He should give his most hearty concurrence to the motion of the honourable baronet.

Sir F. Burdett expressed great satisfaction at finding that none of the leading constitutional principles which he had stated had been controverted. He was also gratified that his motion had been met by a direct negative, instead of being got rid of by the more ambiguous mode of the previous question. The answer of the noble lord opposite did not appear to subvert any one of his positions; all that it went to prove seemed to be, that "sufficient to the day is the evil thereof." Those evils which the noble lord affected to treat as so improbable and so inconsiderable, had however twice occurred within a very short period; yet the noble lord had given the name of a parliamentary proceeding to transactions which would have justified an impeachment for high treason. If indeed the crown made no essential part of the constitution—if its functions might be suspended at any time without inconvenience, or exercised by the ministers of the house of commons, then he would agree that his motion was unnecessary. The noble lord had talked with great fluency and eloquence on the line of argument which he (sir F. Burdett) had pursued, but he did not conceive that the distinction was very correct or satisfactory. It had been said that he had preferred the hereditary to the parlia-

mentary principle. No: but he disapproved of acts which had been done when no parliament was sitting—of a course by which ministers, backed by a majority, afterwards took into their own hands the whole power of the state. The question between him and the noble lord was not the alternative of an hereditary or a parliamentary proceeding, but simply, whether a parliamentary provision should not now be made to secure the hereditary succession of the crown in the line which the constitution so clearly pointed out? It was surely better that this question should be disposed of at present by cool and dispassionate discussion, than left to the hasty and intemperate decision of the moment, when the crown, as it had been before, would probably be seized upon by a party, and made the prize of a factious oligarchy.

The house then divided, when there appeared

For the motion	-	-	73
Against it	-	-	238

Majority against the motion 165  
Feb. 24.—The honourable Cochran Johnstone rose, and said that he intended to submit a motion to the house on Monday next, relative to the proceedings ordered by his majesty to be instituted on the subject of her royal highness the princess of Wales. The hon. member was about to offer some remarks upon the importance of this matter, which, he said, affected even the succession to the throne itself, when the speaker interrupted him by stating, that it was not usual to enter into any discussion, in giving a notice, which could possibly create a debate. The honourable member then concluded by observing, that he had thought it.

it his duty, and had accordingly done so, to transmit a copy of the proposition he intended to move to ministers, that they might be fully possessed of the line he meant to pursue.

Feb. 25.—Mr. Elliot moved that the resolution of June, in the last session, for taking into consideration the Roman catholic claims early in the present, be read; and it was read by the clerk accordingly.

Mr. Elliot then said, that he had this year been intrusted with the same commission with which he was honoured in the last: viz. to present the petition of the Roman catholics of England. He had requested that the resolution of the last parliament be read, because it was referred to in the petition, and because it was a record of a beneficial change in the opinions of parliament on this momentous subject. After frequent discussions, and as frequent discomfitures, in opposition to the sentiments of four of the most enlightened statesmen that modern times could boast, Pitt, Burke, Fox, and Windham, the parliament of the united empire had, at length, nobly resolved to consider those claims which before it had refused to hear. On the same occasion last year, he had called the attention of the house to the peculiarly cruel situation of the Roman catholics of England. While in Canada catholics were allowed every privilege that a protestant enjoyed; while in Ireland they were permitted to hold immunities, in England a Roman catholic was excluded from all his civil rights. Here he could hold no military rank; and if he went to Ireland he might attain the rank of lieutenant-colonel, but on his return to his native land he would be subjected to all the penalties of the law. In

the navy his situation was equally unjust; he might command a ship while floating in the harbour of Cork, but if by accident he were shipwrecked on the coast of England, the merciless arm of the existing law was ready to snatch its prey. The cry that the constitution would be destroyed by the attack on the church, was now renewed, as if the church were a sort of a talisman of the constitution, by the mere touch of which the whole fabric in one instant would crumble to atoms. Among the signatures to the petition, would be noticed the names of some of the most illustrious families that adorned our annals, retaining still the religion of their ancestors; doctrines on which the establishment was once founded, and to which the discipline of the protestant was now in many respects similar. It should not be forgotten that the triumph over tyranny at Runnymede was obtained by catholics over a king, who, prostrating himself before the papal chair, was sacrificing to its occupant his kingdom and his crown. Catholics fought and achieved the boasted victories of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt; and catholics were at least essentially instrumental in the defeat of the Spanish armada, which had received the blessing of the supreme pontiff, and was securely sailing to conquest under his bull. At a much later period, catholics held seats in our legislature, and assisted in some of the most signal defeats of foreign and domestic enemies. He entreated the house not to allow it in future to be said, that they who not long since were seen maintaining the catholic government in Corsica—they who were now supporting the catholic authorities in Sicily—they who permitted the uncontrolled exercise of religion, without disabilities,

abilities, in Canada—they who actually had aided the papal power in its struggle against tyranny—they who were now fighting side by side with catholic allies, in one common cause, for the deliverance of the peninsula, refused to put an end to religious dissension in their own country. He trusted, on the contrary, that this night would be laid the solid foundation of internal and external harmony, by which the strength of the nation, the full exertion of which was now so much required, would be doubly augmented. He then moved for leave to bring up the petition.

Mr. Yorke expressed his surprise that the right honourable gentleman should think it necessary to enter into so many topics that might occasion debate, merely on presenting a petition. It was not his intention now to reply to the remarks just offered; but he rose merely to state, that before the house entered regularly upon the discussion of the catholic claims, he should move that another document, besides that produced at the request of the right honourable gentleman, should be read, and as often as the subject should be debated he should submit the same motion: it would be, that the 9th, 10th, and 11th sect. of the act 1 Will. and Mary, ch. 2, commonly called the Bill of Rights, be read.

After a single remark from Mr. Elliot, as to his object in addressing the house, the petition was brought up and read at length by the clerk, together with the principal names attached to it.

Mr. Yorke moved that the 9th, 10th, and 11th sections of the act of 1 Will. and Mary, chap. 2, be read;—after which

Mr. Grattan, in a speech distinguished for its eloquence, urged

the justice and policy of admitting the catholics to a participation of the same rights and privileges as protestants, upon proper securities being given for the maintenance of the constitution in church and state. He read the oath of the 33d of the king, by which people of that persuasion abjure the doctrine that it is lawful to injure or kill a heretic; that the pope can absolve a subject from his allegiance; or that he has even any temporal power in these realms. Our opponents, says he, maintain that the catholics thirst only for political power. It never struck me that the desire of political power, supposing it to exist, was criminal. I do not think that it amounts to high treason; nor is it an offence for which a man should be sentenced to the loss of all his civil rights. But the catholics do not seek political power, they seek for political protection, and no further for power than as it is inseparable from protection. A catholic desires, for instance, that he may not be bound without consent; he desires that he may not be taxed without consent; he claims, that having given pledges for his allegiance, he may have all the benefits of a British subject; he desires that he may not be tried by persons exclusively partisans, summoned by the sheriffs, by persons not only partisans but actually covenanted against his claims. If I am asked, "What then do they wish for?" I will tell them—their rights: what did they require from king John? their rights. They do not ask this or that office, but for civil qualifications. If this be ambition, it was ambition that gained for us, Magna Charta; it was ambition that dictated and secured for us the Declaration of Rights. If such be

be ambitious, who would not be ambitious? The proper term for what the catholics seek, is protection, not power: the truth is this: The protestants struggle for power, the catholics ask only protection—the protestants struggle for the ascendancy of a sect—the catholics ask for the ascendancy of the law. The great advantage resulting from concession upon this head is, that a county that hitherto has been compelled to elect a protestant will return a catholic—the catholics only wish the capacity of serving to be extended—on the other hand, the object of the protestants is to keep all the power and patronage of the country. They require an ascendancy over what?—not merely an ascendancy for the preservation of the constitution, but to govern the other sect. Their strife is, that one sect may be allowed to govern another: the claim of the catholics is, that they may be governed not by a sect, but by the law. Our opponents further insist, that the catholics not only seek power, but also a right to bind and make law for the protestant church. To which it is answered, that it is not true: they only ask that they may not be bound without their consent, may not be taxed without consent, and may not be tried exclusively by partisans, or by juries assembled by partisans. In praying for this, and only for this, they do not require that protestants shall be governed by catholics. Suppose the right of serving in parliament conceded, the protestants know that the majority of the house must always be of their religion. How then can the catholics govern the church, when the majority would enact the laws for its regulation? On the other hand, those who have petitioned against us have desired,

what? Not only that they shall make the law for their own, but for the catholic church exclusively—that they shall have authority to bind the person and property of a catholic without his interference; and while they usurp this unjust dominion, they require besides, that their church shall receive tithes from the industry and labour of the catholic, while he is excluded from every privilege of the constitution. This is the argument; and carried to its extent, it would not only exclude catholics from parliament, but every denomination of dissenters. Though the church be a part of the law of the land, yet the church is not to govern the nation: this is not a church, but a representative government, it applies to every class of men of every denomination, and none are excluded but catholics. So far from excluding, it includes every dissenter but the catholic. This principle is not only erroneous, but it is fatal; you confine the blessings of the constitution to the limits of the church; whereas the principle ought to be that of spreading its advantages over all orders and all sects, at once securing your liberty and extending your empire. The anti-catholic petitioners insist that the essence of the constitution is protestant; and having got a new principle, they imagine that they have discovered a new argument. The fact is not as they state it. The parliament is not protestant; the empire is not protestant. The people of Ireland are a portion of the third estate of the kingdom; they are a part of the commons. The representative in this house stands in the place of his constituents; but, in the contemplation of law, the third estate consists of the commons—the people. Thus the



the electors of Ireland, the catholic electors, are part of the commons—part of the third estate. So that, instead of the constitution being in its essence protestant—instead of the house being protestant, the third estate is in no inconsiderable proportion catholic. Who, let me inquire, were the founders of this constitution? Catholics. And did they entertain principles incompatible with the work they accomplished? The fact is, that in the present state of affairs, when the great proportion of the people are protestants, they must have the ascendancy. There is another reason why this superiority must and will be maintained—the king, by law, can only be a protestant; this is true protestant ascendancy. In the two houses of parliament the principle is sacrificed, and the plurality is sufficient: this superiority the catholics, were they disposed, could not destroy; and by admitting them, you give liberty and happiness to a great portion of your fellow-citizens, you maintain your own natural ascendancy, and at the same time you strengthen, fortify, and secure your empire. The concession of privileges to the catholics would be the identification of the people—all ranks and sects are identified by participation, and the prosperity and safety of the empire would be much better preserved by the mutual harmony that would prevail, than by the monopoly of all patronage and power. The adversaries of the catholics apprehend the most dreadful consequences, if five or six individuals like lord Fingal are returned to parliament; but they can foresee no danger that can result from excluding five or six millions of people from privileges that they see others in the daily habit of enjoying.

Next, say the anti-catholics, the experiment has been tried, and has succeeded: the British nation has attained its present height of splendour and felicity, notwithstanding the existence of these pains and penalties. I most solemnly deny the assertion—I appeal to every man acquainted with the history of Ireland if it be true. The experiment, it is true, has been made, but will any Irishman say it has succeeded?—Did the misfortunes of 1699 show that the experiment had been successful?—Did the loss of the constitution in 1721 show that in Ireland the experiment had been successful? How did she regain it? Partly by repealing the penal laws, and entirely uniting with the catholics: the experiment was, indeed, too successful in destroying the trade and extinguishing the liberties of Ireland. If there be any Irishman in the house, who believes this to have been a wholesome and useful experiment, he shows that his understanding has become a victim to that experiment, and that he has lost even the idea of that liberty which he refuses to support. It has been said that the catholics are enemies to the church of England. Give me leave to, tell those who make this assertion, that it is no light charge against any part of the king's subjects to say, that they are enemies to the state. Did any authority give weight to this accusation, it might create serious consequences; but at present it rests only on the declaration of a few bigoted and ignorant individuals. But why call them enemies to the church of England? If the church of England says that the catholics never shall be free, and that catholic liberty and church security are incompatible, the catholics

catholics are not enemies to the church, but the church is the enemy of the catholics. But they say the catholics are also enemies to the state. When you return thanks to the catholics for the battles they have fought for their country, do you mean to say to them, "You have proved yourselves very good soldiers, but you are notwithstanding enemies to the state?" They say they are enemies to the state, and to the government; and to prove this, they produce the canons of the Lateran, and the councils of Constance and of Trent. But I will produce the thanks of parliament voted to the catholics for their allegiance and their practical loyalty, against this theoretical, this abominable accusation. They say the catholics are enemies of liberty. And what are their proofs? Is it Magna Charta? Were the authors of Magna Charta the enemies of liberty? Is it the Act of Settlement? I go to the Declaration of Rights, and I produce this as an unanswerable document of the catholics' love to liberty. This Declaration of Rights does not enact new laws, but declares old ones: it declares those laws which form the body of British liberty. And who were the authors of these laws? They were framed by those enemies of the state and of liberty—the Roman catholics. This Declaration of Rights proves to us, not only that our catholic ancestors were the friends and supporters of liberty, but also that they had established such securities and safeguards for it, as the wisdom of their descendants could not exceed. Magna Charta, therefore, and the Declaration of Rights, are the very strongest proofs in favour of the Roman catholic allegiance, and completely do away this charge

against them. It has been said, that the catholics have as yet stated no conditions on which they are willing to accept the boon they ask; but I say, you ought yourselves to state the conditions on which you are willing to bestow it. The catholics say, they do not see any security necessary from them. They do not say this because they are unwilling to accede to those terms you may think proper to impose on them; but because they conceive they have already given every security which it is in their power to give. They say, No spirit of conciliation was ever wanting on our part—every thing which they do not conceive to trench on the principles of their church, they are ready to grant. They are against no security you may think proper to exact of them, but the making their liberty a conditional grant. The rights of religion and liberty are perfectly consistent with your security; and it is the business of parliament to see that they are united. A number of the petitioners do not petition against the principle of extension to the catholics, but for a modification of their demands. So far from thinking that the people of England are generally unfavourable to the liberty of the Irish catholics, I have little fear to repose on the good sense and integrity of that people. I believe they are generally not enemies to, but advocates for, extending liberty to the catholics. The other part of the petitioners have told you that their object is not hostility to the catholics, but the security of the church; and the security of the church with them means exclusion from the constitution. I agree with them in the object they have in view; but I differ with them in the means of attaining it. In granting privileges.

privileges to the professors of the catholic faith, the episcopal churches of England and Ireland, and the church of Scotland, should remain unaltered and sacred. So far I would go; but here I would stop. The petitioners demand, that the church should be preserved sacred from encroachment by the monopoly of power, and the monopoly of property. I would preserve it sacred by the identification of the people. They would do it by retaining to themselves all the patronage and all the political power; and I would do it by the union of the physical strength of the whole. I would say, Take care of your colleges and ecclesiastical courts; make every provision best calculated to effect that object, provided the securities you adopt for your own, do not go to affect the integrity of the religion and church of the catholics. In the preamble of the bill, I would state such a measure as necessary to the security of government. I would set forth also the necessity for putting an end to all animosity, whether it be national, or whether it be religious. The two islands are divided into two sects; and for centuries these sects have been in a state of hostility. I would endeavour to put an end to that hostility. Let the liberty of the press be unrestrained in every thing but one; let no men be allowed to abuse others on account of their religion. Let them take what side they please in politics; if they do not choose the part of ministers, they may choose that of the opposition; but never let them attack one another's religion. Your geographical situation makes you but one people, but the outcry of religion makes a different people of you; and you should put an end to the abominable contest.

I shall first, then, move a committee of the house; and if that be carried, I will read a resolution which I mean to propose in that committee, and which I mean to be the foundation of the bill I intend to bring in. The first resolution which I mean to move in the committee, I am willing now to read to the house, if it is the wish of the house that I should do so. [Here the right honourable gentleman proceeded to read a resolution, which bore in substance, that with a view to such an adjustment of the catholic claims as might be conducive to the peace and security of the united kingdoms, and the security of the established church, it would be highly advantageous to provide a remedy by the removal of those civil qualifications which his majesty's catholic subjects now laboured under, at the same time preserving unaltered the laws relating to the settlement of the crown, and preserving inviolate the protestant churches of Great Britain and Ireland, in doctrine and discipline, as the same were by law established.] The right honourable gentleman concluded by moving, that the house do now form itself into a committee, in pursuance of the resolution of the last session of parliament.

The debate on this question continued by adjournment for four days: we shall notice only a few of the arguments of some of the leading speakers, without regard to the particular days on which they were made.

Mr. Bankes said, with regard to the resolution of the last house of commons, no one had voted for the adoption of that resolution more sincerely than he had done; because he conceived that it was calculated to produce beneficial results,

sults, which he wished to see accomplished. And he only begged leave to say, that when it should appear to him that the occasion was arrived for going into the committee, with a reasonable prospect of uniting and accomplishing the three main views embraced in his right honourable friend's (Mr. Canning's) proposition, no one in that house would be a more sincere, though many would be more able advocates for it than himself. In the vote he meant to give, he felt there would be no incongruity with the one he had given last session; nor would he, indeed, be ashamed to acknowledge, were it the case, that he had been led away by the dazzling eloquence of his right honourable friend, and that his judgement had been perverted by those extraordinary abilities he possessed. But, in fact, he had not changed his opinion; his present conduct was strictly in unison with his past, as would be evident to any one who had done him the honour to remember the few words with which he prefaced his vote on that occasion. If it could now be shown that the object of the committee moved for, would be general peace to all parties—would be security to the protestant establishment—would be conducive to the universal concord of all classes of his majesty's protestant subjects—he would be among the most zealous to vote for that committee. But the ground was now changed. A notion had prevailed that there was a general indifference in the country to the granting of the catholic claims; that there was not even a favourable disposition upon the subject. He did not believe that to be the case. There was another thing also, which it was desirable to ascertain, namely, with what temper the Roman

catholic body would meet the disposition of that house to take their claims into consideration? We now saw what their tone and temper were. They expressly demanded unconstitutional redress of all their grievances. Only a few days after the resolution of that house reached Ireland, we saw the catholic body announcing their serious apprehensions that religious persecutions were about to be recommenced in Ireland. That was the conciliatory manner in which they met the advances of this country. They insisted upon the unconditional repeal of every statute affecting their condition. They did not call for protection; they claimed power. They spoke of what they claimed as matters of right. (*Hear, hear! from the opposition benches.*) He was not sorry to be thus cheered, because it showed that there were gentlemen in that house who considered those claims as rights: but he would be glad to learn from those gentlemen, in what sense they could regard them as rights, when they remembered that we lived under a protestant king, and a protestant establishment? Would they say that a state so constituted had no right to legislate for its own security? They must, indeed, be little read, and little instructed, in the doctrines of every writer who had written upon the subject, or they would know that every state had a right to watch over its own preservation. He concluded by observing, that the vote he meant to give, against going into the committee, was perfectly conformable to the vote he had given last session.

Mr. Plunkett began by remarking, that the language of his right honourable friend, the enlightened advocate of the catholic claims, ought to be exempt from verbal criticism.

criticism. There was no man who united greater intelligence with greater zeal for the interests of the catholics and of the empire. His right honourable friend had proposed a committee, in which he intended to move resolutions, expressing a determination to abide by the protestant establishments in church and state. This had been misrepresented, as if he had talked of re-enacting the statutes passed at the revolution. It should be recollected, that the most industrious arts had been used against the catholics. It was gravely stated, that they had no object in view but to overturn the church, and demolish the state; and it was in answer to such calumnies that the declaratory resolutions of his friend had been framed. He agreed that what the catholics sought might not with strictness be called a right; yet he thought it a very metaphysical, and useless, and scholastic discussion, to investigate how far it was a right. Inasmuch as religious liberty was a right, their claim was a right; and to withhold toleration, where no danger could ensue from the grant, was to deprive a man of one of his dearest rights. The catalogue of grievances under which the catholics laboured was large and provoking. It was galling to the soldier, actuated by the love of glory, to find himself unable to keep pace with his companions in arms: it was galling to the barrister of talents, to see that he could reach no office of high importance in the state: and though the elective franchise had been granted, was it not a grievance to gentlemen to be excluded from the house of commons? The motives which influenced persons to desire seats in that house were various; some of the noblest, some of an inferior

kind: but, whatever they were, they operated as powerfully on the minds of catholics as they did on those of protestants. The conduct of the protestants had been marked with the greatest inconsistencies and solecisms: the catholics had been by them admitted to wealth and knowledge, the great elements of political power, and yet the power itself was denied to them. Those men are called innovators and turbulent, who come humbly to the bar of the house, and bring with them the offer of their hearts and hands, their substance and their blood, towards the support of the constitution; and desire only to be allowed to bring also with them their honour and their religion, without which they must be profligate and dangerous associates in any community. Our ancestors had acted with more consistency: their plans were concerted with a sort of diabolical perfection, that the end might answer to the means; they kept in the deepest ignorance the wretches whom they meant to degrade and render incapable of power: we, on the contrary, have repealed all the penal laws which kept them in darkness, and yet still expect them to be the grovelling slaves of stupidity. The time for such conduct would have been, when these sons of earth were buried under the mountains which the mighty wisdom of our progenitors had heaped upon them. These had now been heaved off; and what madman was there, who would advise that they should be buried again under their heaps? what idiot, who could imagine that they could remain as they now were? Could it be supposed, partially opened as the prospects of power had been to the catholics, that they did not, from this very circumstance,

feel

feel with greater keenness the indignity of exclusion? It was said that they aspired to the highest dignities: to be sure they did—they would be worthless hypocrites if they pretended otherwise. They aspired to the most exalted stations—it would, indeed, be a most dangerous and fatal indifference, if four millions of persons, enjoying property and consideration, should be content merely with the substantial benefit of the laws, without a desire to partake the honours of the state. He would meet the question fairly. If the claims of the catholics were inconsistent with the enactments of the revolution, they ought to go for nothing; if they were compatible, let them be heard. If the former should appear, after full showing, the petitioners must bow in silence: they must submit to their fate, and trust only to the inscrutable wisdom of providence to work out for them the means of comfort and liberty. Yet before the dreadful sentence is passed upon them—before they retire, overwhelmed by the eternal interdiction, let the alleged danger be proved by facts and arguments clear as the light of heaven. But he felt confident that the case was not so; that there was no incompatibility between the sacred principles established at the revolution, and the present views and requests of the catholic petitioners. He wished to fight this part of the subject inch by inch: mean time, let not the people of Ireland be outlawed on visionary surmises; let not the government pretend to be frightened by the spell of its own raising. Such a pretence would be to palter with their own consciences, and to betray the best interests of the empire. Let some of the maxims of the constitution, as established at the re-

1813.

volution, be examined. The chief securities were the oath of supremacy, and the declaration against popery. It was not at the period of the reformation that these safeguards were introduced, but towards the end of the reign of Charles II. It was then thought, that some practices were in agitation contrary to the safety of the state; and the solemn renunciation by oath was then instituted. It was a matter of no great importance, whether the apprehensions entertained at that time were, or were not, well founded: for himself, he rather thought they were. Charles was a profligate monarch; for so he must call a man who had sold his country for foreign gold, that he might act without the control of a parliament, and intended to introduce at once popery and slavery. It was in consequence of such circumstances, that those laws were adopted which had been since repealed, and other oaths had been substituted. If the catholics are willing to take this oath, what excuse can there be for withholding them? It may be said, that it is not to be relied upon, and is dangerous to the constitution; an argument whose absurdity is of this amount: as long as the catholic adheres to his religion, he is not to be believed; but if he abjure that, his bare assertion becomes worthy of credit. Surely this is an absurdity worse than transubstantiation itself! He did not feel inclined to deny that the power of the pope may be considerable, and might have an improper influence: he now, and always, thought that this was a proper subject for strict and watchful regulation; yet the nature of this provision ought not to interfere with the merits of the general question. He thought that some plan

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might easily be devised; and surely the right honourable gentleman must agree, that the committee was the proper place for such propositions. It was asked; whether it was intended to repeal the corporation and test laws? As to his own individual judgement, he would answer, Most assuredly they ought to be repealed; and it seemed to him a burlesque on the constitution to call those statutes its bulwarks. The corporation act, it was well known, was an ebullition of excessive loyalty at the time of the restoration, and inculcated, among other salutary provisions, the necessity of passive obedience and non-resistance. At the revolution, this act had been purged and maimed; and yet this mutilated fragment of a statute was one of the props of the British constitution. Every body knew the history of the test act. It was the child of lord Shaftesbury, that unprincipled politician, who was utterly indifferent to all religions. It was not with a view to further the protestant establishment, but to pique the court, that he procured the passing of that act, in order to exclude James duke of York from the succession. Thus one statute was the effect of blind and overflowing, the other of expiring and repentant, loyalty. As to the Bill of Rights, the exclusion of the catholics formed no part of it, and the oath of supremacy was only incidentally introduced.—After much sound argumentation on the subject, Mr. Plunkett said, a wise government had a certain conduct to exercise. If they meant to refuse all concessions, they should say so at once; if, on the contrary, they intend to grant concessions, they ought to do it as soon as possible, as they then would come with a better grace, and be re-

ceived with double welcome. He was of opinion, that by acceding to the motion of his right honourable friend, means might be found to put matters in such a train that the claims of the catholics might be acceded to without any difficulty or danger. He, for his own part, had endeavoured to argue the question as a real and zealous friend and well-wisher to the interests of the whole empire; and if the house agreed to go into a committee, he would be one who would do every thing in his power to give every possible security to the establishment.

Mr. Yorke said it was evident the honourable gentleman was not unaware of the point where the danger lay; and he (Mr. Yorke) confessed, that if upon that point, the peril of foreign interference, he could be satisfied, he would lend himself to the question, and see how far they could satisfy the claims of the catholics. On the main question he agreed in many particulars with the honourable gentleman. The question had ever struck him as one not of toleration, (for we did tolerate the catholics in the free exercise of their religion,) but of policy; for we disabled them from possessing power, unless they gave assurances that it should not be turned in hostility against our establishment. If assured of this, he would repeal disabilities at once. But we were by law a protestant state; and this was a fundamental principle of the constitution, which it was idle and negatory to state, as the right honourable mover proposed, in the preamble to a bill. We were not obliged to him for offering to declare the Act of Settlement and the Bill of Rights, in the preamble, to be modern acts of parliament. This being the case, the ~~new protestant~~ <sup>new protestant</sup> lay on those who wished

wished to disturb the principle. It was enough for him to say, Here are the laws—and here I rest: I will not change till you give light upon the subject, and show me that I can rescind ancient and fundamental laws without injury or danger. It would be ridiculous too to rescind them, as affecting the catholics only: if done at all, the act must be extended to our protestant brethren of every description. He was never one of those who supposed this could at no time take place. He was not an advocate for everlasting exclusion; but, said he, Show me the proper time and season, and I will grant what you desire. But he did not think that could be done with safety at this hour. The influence of the papal see over the church of Rome was immense, and the influence of the clergy over their flocks undiminished; and while this was the case, he could not bring himself to relax further in the securities with which the constitution was surrounded. In proof of the influence of the clergy, he noticed two instances; the one in England, where three apostolic vicars procured a committee (and themselves showed the example) to retract from their solemn signature and protestation; and another in Ireland, in the case of the *veto*, which the catholic laity had unanimously conceded, till they were called to an opposite determination by their bishops: Bonaparte's anxiety on the subject was a clear proof of the power of the pope, even though his slave and prisoner; and the pains this eldest son of the church, and successor to Charlemagne, had recently taken with regard to the nomination of bishops, was a lesson that ought not to be lost upon us. The right honourable gentleman then went into

documents to show, that the manual of the papal see, sanctioned by the pope and acted upon by all catholics, pronounced marriages with heretics to be held in horror by the church; and that the oaths of fidelity could never be allowed to be taken unlimitedly to monarchs out of the pale of their community. He was not satisfied that even the bishops or clergy of Ireland had taken their oaths; and many gentlemen knew that this country was at this hour excommunicated, and placed under an interdict by the pope. The Romish religion was like a mask with two faces; there was the *religio laici* and the *religio cleri*. The advocates of the cause seemed to say, that the noblemen and gentlemen among the former were little attached to the pope's supremacy, and rather adhered to their tenets as a point of honour. But with the *religio cleri* it was a different thing; and he believed all good catholics found themselves unable to get out of these trammels. The new facts that had been made known, and the new circumstances which had arisen since passing the resolution of last session, were conclusive against going into a committee. He confessed, for one, that he dreaded danger from a catholic party introduced into that house growing strong, and acting together with one object in view. They all knew what even a small party could effect in this way. As for the complaint of the depreciation of their characters, who was to blame for that? They must blame themselves; because, if they would persist in acknowledging a foreign supremacy, they had no right to the same privileges with those who disavowed it. They could not serve two masters. They paid only half allegiance, and were only



half subjects to our lord and king. They were not citizens like the others, and could not expect to enjoy the same privileges. They would not bow to the house of Brunswick, while to petty Italian prelates and impious councils they were abject slaves. Let them shake off that yoke (not abjure their religion), and not expect us to give way to them while their bishops are under foreign and hostile direction. It was to aid them in extricating themselves from this subjection, that the college of Maynooth was established; and till they freed themselves from foreign domination, he for one never could assent to their claims. He called for a previous declaration on this point before parliament decided. Circumstances had greatly changed since last session with regard to the condition of the pope, with regard to the resolutions of the catholics, and with regard to the opinions of the Irish protestants. Under these, he could not agree that it was possible to fulfil the words of the resolution, and reconcile all parties. On the contrary, he thought that acceding to it would do infinite mischief, by keeping alive religious disputes; he therefore gave the proposition his decided negative.

Mr. R. Ward, towards the close of a very eloquent speech, said, we seemed to treat the Roman catholics as if they were a sort of Paraguay Indians with whom we were for the first time to act, who had given us no security, and to whom we had extended no protection. But, in fact, the catholics were incorporated in a political system: we had given them a political rank and existence; we had allowed them great advantages, but not all they wanted: they were a powerful, but a discontented body; and

the only question was, whether we shall now add something to their power in order to remove their discontent? Their discontent is great, general, and growing; the power we still withhold from them trifling, and such as in all probability would admit of no great increase; and it was with probability only, not with possibility, that they ought to concern themselves. There would at first be a few catholic members in that house, a few catholic peers, one or two catholic generals, and perhaps, with the progress of time, the number might increase: but to this increase you must oppose the increased liberality in the catholics themselves, necessarily consequent on their admission to equal benefits and their freer intercourse with the rest of the community; by which they would become less intensely catholic. It was an old adage, that the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church; and so every kind of persecution (and all religious disabilities come under this head) had a tendency to rivet opposition, and strengthen attachment to a sect. It was not their religion, but our law; it was a common grievance, not their common faith, which bound them together, and widened the separation between them and us. On the contrary, the unavoidable effect of a more liberal system, and a more open communication, would be to wear out prejudices and soften asperities. Invested with dignity, and enjoying power, they would no longer continue bigoted fanatics. The same degree of information and knowledge of the world which would be necessary to raise them to political eminence, would be incompatible with any narrow and mischievous prejudices. Neither would it be desired or expected, even by their own-body, that those

those who were known to retain strong and inveterate prejudices should be admitted to a participation of power or office in a country where the king and a majority of the legislature were protestant; there would be no statutable or desirable ground for the exclusion, but it would follow as the obvious dictate of common sense and propriety. At present we involved in one indiscriminate sentence of proscription a whole class of men, without any regard to their pretensions, to the liberality or narrowness of their views, to their attachments or antipathies. The advantages which we meant to give to the catholics affected not the soldier, but the officer; not the peasant, but the peer; not the constituent, but the representative. The lower orders would no doubt in time be included in the benefits of emancipation, but it would immediately affect only the higher orders of the catholic community. The only danger, therefore, to be apprehended was from their supposed disaffection: but this danger, whatever it was, would be diminished instead of being increased by the proposed measure; for nothing but the restraints under which the catholic nobility and gentry laboured could in any instance account for the disaffection imputed to them; nothing could prevent the absurd attachment to a foreign hierarchy from falling into universal contempt, but their exclusion from the favour of their lawful and natural sovereign. If it were necessary to the safety of the empire to continue the state of irritation which had so long prevailed in consequence of this exclusion, we must meet the necessity with fortitude: but before we ventured on this final step, we ought to reflect what men Ireland had already pro-

duced, and what services, what talents, and what zeal we might add to the common cause by throwing open the avenues to honour and public distinction. It ought not to be forgotten, that to Ireland we owed such men as lord Wellington and Mr. Burke: and, though he was present, he must be allowed to add the name of the honourable mover of this question. It had been urged in the course of debate, that though the claims of the catholics might in themselves be entitled to a favourable attention, yet they had forfeited all consideration by their precipitate and violent conduct. By this rule it might be proved, that every species of injustice and oppression ought to last for ever; for wherever injustice had produced discontent, the expression of that discontent would be a justification of the continuance of the oppression. The Irish catholics were not charged with disaffection; but they had used improper expressions;—they had talked of a right, where we only talked of expediency;—they asked as a debt, for what we only were disposed to grant, if we granted it at all, as a favour. We were determined to scan every word, and watch every step; and because they had used a wrong word, and taken a wrong step, we thought it a sufficient reason to deny their claims, and to continue our injustice under the influence of hope constantly excited, and constantly disappointed—often invited to approach the threshold of liberty, and always refused admittance. Some murmurs of dissatisfaction, some gestures denoting impatience, had escaped them; and for this we were ready to disfranchise four millions of people! Was this justice, reason, or common sense? If the Irish people had ex-

pressed no impatience, if their zeal had never displayed itself in any casual burst of intemperance, then it would have been said, "The Irish people are happy and tranquil; they want no change; they are indifferent to this mighty boon you would confer upon them—emancipation is not the wish of Ireland, but the cry of a faction. If the catholics were really in earnest, you would see some symptoms of it in the workings of the public mind—in the importunity of their demands." Now that they expressed their feelings strongly, and in some cases (as it would always happen where there was a strong public feeling) indiscreetly, they were charged with intemperance and ingratitude. So that let them be lukewarm or over zealous, tranquil or turbulent, there is always some good excuse for withholding substantial justice from them. As to the question which had been asked this night, and answered on a former night, Why not have a catholic king, as well as catholic members of parliament? he would only repeat, that the distinction was obvious—the public safety permitted the one, but did not allow of the other. The throne could not be divided, and therefore it must be filled by a protestant. If by any natural necessity all the members of the house of commons or the house of peers must be either protestants or catholics, he would say that they must be all protestants. But as the case stood, it was quite sufficient that a large majority of them should be protestants.—Mr. Ward concluded by observing, that for the eight years that he had sat in parliament no question of equal importance with the present had come before them; and he expressed his hope that their decision upon it would

bear testimony to some of the best and wisest maxims of civil and religious liberty.

Without pursuing this debate further, which was extremely interesting, we may briefly observe, that all the principal speakers on both sides took a part; and on a division there were

For Mr. Grattan's motion, 284  
Against it, . . . . . 224

Majority 40

March 9.—The speaker addressed general sir Stapleton Cotton in nearly the following terms:

"Sir Stapleton Cotton—In this interval between the active service of war, the proper sphere of your duty is within these walls. The house hails your return with pride and exultation, bringing with you fresh marks of the royal favour, the just reward of your eminent deeds and your tried services. Descended from a long line of ancestors, whose names have been often recorded in history, and from the earliest periods characterized for those qualities of prudence, generosity, and valour, which have laid the foundation of English greatness,—your race has at all times afforded many models of that worth and valor which have so often dignified the gentlemen of England; always prompt in the discharge of the duties of civil life, and never slow in taking up arms in the cause of their country. Such in no common degree was he from whom you derived your immediate hereditary honours, eminent as he was from his numerous public virtues; not unknown to many persons who now hear me, and remembered by myself with sentiments of the greatest respect and esteem. When in your early years the aspect of public affairs was warlike, you cherished a congenial

congenial spirit, and your military ardour led you to endure the toils and fatigues of war in distant climes. Tried in the same camp, and animated by the same love of glory, as that great captain who now commands our armies, and who fills the world with his renown, you pursued the same brilliant career, and shared in his triumphs. Re-announcing the charms of ease at the seat of your forefathers, you followed the British army to the tented fields of Portugal and Spain; and having reaped the harvest of our thanks for your services at the battle of Talavera, you now stand here crowned with the never-fading laurels of Salamanca. It is your praise on that memorable day, that having overthrown the enemy at the commencement of the engagement, you laid open the road to the glorious victory which followed; and what was thus commenced so successfully by you, was completed by the firmness and perseverance of the rest of the army. These heroic exploits have again entitled you to the gratitude of your country; and in the name and by the command of the commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in parliament assembled, I now deliver you their unanimous thanks for your distinguished exertions in the battle of Salamanca, on the 22d of July last, which terminated in a glorious and decisive victory."

Sir Stapleton Cotton said, he felt himself unable to express the high sense he entertained of the distinguished honour conferred on him. To the bravery and good conduct of the troops under his command was principally to be attributed the success of which such distinguished mention had been made. In a zeal to serve, and an attachment to, his king and country he would yield to

no man; and his exertions should be ever directed to render himself worthy of the great honour conferred on him.

Mr. Grattan then moved, that the house should now pass to the order of the day for taking into further consideration the catholic claims.

On the motion that the speaker do leave the chair,

Mr. Lushington rose to oppose the motion. Many circumstances, he said, ought to have induced the right honourable gentleman who introduced the motion, to show that the Roman catholics did not at present hold the obnoxious doctrines which had been so often imputed to them. This he was bound to do before the house ought to consent to going into a committee. But no such thing had been as yet done; and, from a paper which he lately saw, circulated by the catholics of Ireland in this country, in answer to Mr. Charles Butler, he apprehended that there was little room for hope that they were disposed to concede any thing, or that any thing beneficial would be ultimately effected in the committee. He then alluded to the preamble of the Bill of Rights, and said, while it was not proved that they did not disclaim the doctrine there imputed to them, that it would be dangerous to repeal all the laws now in force against them. To prove his assertion, he read the part of the preamble alluded to; and said that the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Grattan) ought to satisfy the house, that the dangers which caused the Bill of Rights to be enacted were now removed. If this could be effected, he was ready to agree to the measure proposed; but, as he apprehended that it could not be done, he was against the speaker's leaving the chair.

The question was then called for; and on its being put, it was carried in the affirmative. When the house had resolved itself into a committee,

Mr. Grattan said, after the great length to which the discussion of this measure had been carried on a former occasion, that he did not mean to trouble the house very long at present, for it was not to be expected that they should now listen very patiently to any one who should go at large into the question. From the suggestions made to him by some gentlemen opposite, he had taken the liberty of making some alterations in his resolution, since the last time at which it had been submitted to the house. These, he was sure, could not be disapproved of by the opponents of his measure, as their object and tendency was to secure the protestant church and the succession to the crown, as by law established. In his resolution it would appear that he meant to provide effectually for the security of the church and state; and he would take care that his bill should have the same object fully in view. Suppose he was to introduce a clause into the preamble of his bill, saying, it was necessary that the protestant succession should be secured, in order to obtain the concurrence of some of those who opposed his measure, would they not then admit that to be provisional now, and not fundamental, which they formerly, in their comments on the Bill of Rights, contended to be fundamental, and not provisional? For his own part, he must say, that he valued the principle too much to surrender or lose it for reasons of regulation. If once admitted, it would make the empire one—for it was a principle of union and re-

generation. What the people of this country ought to say to the Irish catholics was, "We are friends to our own religion and to your liberty." Mr. Grattan confessed that he was an advocate for delay, and said that we ought not to precipitate the passions, nor to legislate without consulting the feelings of the people, though he did not admit that we ought generally to be guided by them. He did not wish, by any rash measure, to deprive the house and the country of the benefits which must result from the resolution. If you hold out, said he, the friendly arm of a British parliament to the people of Ireland, depend upon it they will be wise and prudent enough to embrace it. If that house would send out the dove, they might depend upon it, she would in the end bring back the olive branch. He concluded by moving a resolution to the same effect with that stated by him on a former night, expressive of the propriety and expediency of repealing the disqualifications under which the Roman catholics at present laboured, under such limitations, restrictions, and securities, as might be necessary to preserve the protestant religion as by law established, and the protestant succession to the crown of these kingdoms.

Mr. Ponsonby having seconded the resolution,

The speaker then rose, and addressed the chair to the following effect:

"Mr. Chairman—As I have not yet met with an opportunity of expressing an opinion on the subject under discussion, and as the resolution moved by the right honourable gentleman is intended to serve as the basis for future proceedings, I am desirous, as well as indisposition will

will allow me, of stating my views of the question before you on this occasion. I feel, indeed, the greater desire of so doing, because, when I enter my protest against the form of proceeding which has been adopted, I am compelled, at the same time, to protest against the measure itself which that proceeding is intended to carry into effect. I wish, likewise, to accompany this avowal with a statement of those points, with respect to which it appears, to my judgement, further privileges may be communicated to the catholics, without detriment or danger to the constitution. Looking back to the course that has been pursued, and the various modes that have been recommended for attaining the object which the advocates of the catholics contemplate, I am strongly impressed with the persuasion that this course will not be successful in the accomplishment of that object. Of the three plans which have been proposed, and in some measure detailed to the house, one has been abandoned; the second is not likely to succeed; and the third is notoriously impracticable. The first plan was a project of unlimited concession—a project for which there are, indeed, now to be found but few advocates within these walls, although the right honourable gentleman who is the author of the present measure was once loud in its support. That principle, however, the right honourable gentleman has abandoned; it is disclaimed by a right honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Plunkett) who distinguished himself on a former evening, and it may be, therefore, considered as rejected by every authority in this house. The second plan is that which professes to aim only at qualified concession, upon obtaining

such conditions as are necessary to the security of the establishments in church and state. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Grattan) has never explained the details of those previous arrangements and regulations, nor did he adopt them as a part of his measure, until he found that they were essential to its reception. My right honourable friend (Mr. Canning) who in the last parliament submitted the question to the consideration of the house, took as his basis the necessity of regulation and security. We know that this principle the catholics resist, they declare that they will submit to no state inspection, or to any control over their own church. The third plan of a noble viscount, which depends on the possibility of gaining the concurrence of the catholics to every condition which can be prescribed with a view to the security of the church of England, is still less calculated to prove practically efficacious. Thus, then, all the plans yet devised or suggested are deficient, or inadequate to the end which they propose. In a committee, however, upon the present state of the question, I must embrace the opportunity it affords me, of objecting altogether to the form and character of the measure to which we are now required to assent. We are desired to acquiesce in a sweeping repeal of all the statutes and provisions which have been made for the safety of the protestant establishment; without previous assurance or condition, to surrender entire all the guards established by our ancestors, to yield advantages which are certain and immediate, and to rely on defences which are subsequent and contingent. We are required to give free access to the privy council, to the judicial bench,

to open the door of parliament, to abolish the test act, which the prince of Orange insisted on retaining when he ascended the English throne. I must confess I am not one of those who consider old checks as inapplicable to new dangers, or who think that those safeguards erected by our forefathers, for the purpose of excluding a pretender to the crown, cannot be useful in protecting us either against a disturber at home, or the machinations of the subverter of empires abroad. After all that has been urged with respect to the oath taken by the catholics, I cannot lay out of my consideration that the oath has been taken by very few without qualifications and reservations, and that an ecclesiastical admonition had been promulgated, instructing those to whom the oath had been administered, that they ought not to hold it too extensively obligatory upon their consciences and conduct. The regulations which have for their object more immediately the interests and security of the protestant church,—an object which none, I am happy to say, are indifferent to, who have taken part in this discussion,—it seems to me, would with more propriety become the first and preliminary measure, instead of being left as a matter of subsequent arrangement. I am of opinion that it would have been more natural to begin with this material feature of the question, rather than postpone it till a period, when, from the probable operation of other causes, all hope of final and successful adjustment will have vanished for ever. But I cannot close my eyes to another consequence of the right honourable gentlemen's proceeding. The effect of producing the bill, and suffering it to lie over till the next

session, will be, I fear, to raise high expectations among the catholics, and to spread dissatisfaction and alarm through the church of England. There is a principle which has been powerfully pressed, to which I cannot assent, because I regard it as a false and mischievous principle of policy; it is, that you ought to give power to those who are hostilely disposed towards you, in order to abate their hostility. But do I therefore infer that matters ought to remain just as they now stand? Certainly not; never have I entertained or expressed such a sentiment. The views, however, in which I have indulged are, I trust, strict, definite, and guarded. They are, I believe, congenial to the character of the people of this country, who, although slow and cautious, are ready to listen to every measure of improvement, however averse from wholesale projects and indefinite innovation. I am far from being an enemy to concession, I think there are many things that may be safely and wisely conceded. I would in particular give, and with a liberal hand, the honours and distinctions of the military profession. All ranks in the army should, in my judgement, be laid open to merit and ambition, without any reference to religious opinions. I would willingly repeal the words in the act of 1793, which exclude catholics from becoming generals of the staff. When I except the very highest military offices, (and I allude now to the situation of commander in chief in England, Scotland, and Ireland,) it is only because to these situations there necessarily belongs a great degree of military power. I would open all the avenues likewise to the distinction of the bar, because I would have the catholics run the race

race of honour, although I cannot acknowledge the expediency of putting power into their hands. These are concessions which the country at large would cheerfully yield, and which are sanctioned, as I conceive, by principles of the soundest policy. Much too may yet be done on the score of toleration: the catholic soldier should not be excluded by military regulations from the exercise of his own religious worship, nor the English catholic be compelled to attend protestant churches, or suffer penalties for performing mass. These are, however, evidently rather illustrations of the view I entertain upon the subject of qualified concession, than detailed statements of all the points to which that view is applicable. But there is one other most important consideration to which I feel it my duty to refer, and to state my opinion explicitly;—it is the question which relates to the regulation of the catholic hierarchy in Ireland. To me, that foreign influence and foreign intercourse which have been supposed by many, and admitted by my noble friend (lord Castlereagh), to be essential to any future arrangement, are causes of very serious apprehension. The head of that hierarchy is now in the hands of our mortal foe, and Bonaparte has lately evinced his sense of the important advantages derivable from papal influence. Do we not know that that influence has obtruded foreigners into catholic bishoprics in Ireland, and that general Humbert found, on his landing, the brother of a French general in possession of an Irish see? Surely it is then incumbent on the catholics to offer the same securities, and submit to the same control, which have been exacted and

exercised by every other protestant state that has admitted catholics to the enjoyment of equal privileges. If they will not make the offer, or yield the same securities, the fault is their own, no blame can attach to parliament; and the statute of Elizabeth, modified and rendered applicable to the present time and to existing circumstances, should be enforced. When I refuse political power to the catholics, it is because I cannot reconcile it to the security of the protestant establishment. The catholics continue to maintain the spiritual supremacy of the pope; and although history will inform us that this doctrine is not an essential principle of catholicism, yet, where it is so considered, the necessity which it imposes on states to guard against its exercise, has been always obvious and undisputed. I may quote on this head the language of no less an authority than lord Clarendon, who, after a long and unwearied investigation of this subject, pronounced the result of his inquiries and reflections to be, that any allegiance paid to another power, spiritual or temporal, is taking from that which is due to the state; and that to assert the latter not to be diminished is perfectly illusory, and little better than a species of legerdemain. I would address the catholics in the words of the inhabitants of the north of Ireland—If you cannot give up what you call your faith, neither can we surrender our constitution. The committee must, however, take cognisance of the prayer of the petitions on the table. That prayer appears to me to have been too imperiously urged, and to have been expressed in language too lofty for the occasion. If England should comply with that prayer without



without qualification or reserve, she will be England no longer. Should all religious distinctions be laid prostrate, our political pre-eminence will not long survive. Such, however, must be the effect attending the chimerical project of what is called universal religious liberty, if it is to be pursued at the expense of civil expediency, and to the manifest peril of all our establishments. I am sorry to have occupied so much of the attention of the house; but I was anxious to state on what grounds I could not give my assent to a measure of so general and sweeping a nature, and so subversive in its tendency of the firmest bulwarks that surround the constitution."

A long debate now ensued, in which Mr. Ponsonby and many others took a part.

We shall only notice the speech of Mr. Wilberforce, who said that the circumstance which weighed with him in the vote he should give was, that the elective franchise had already been conceded to the catholics, and it would be absurd and injurious, after having granted such privileges, to deny them seats in the two houses. It had been objected, that the catholics might form mischievous or treasonable connections with foreign powers. But the connection existed now: and while concessions would not increase the connection with a foreign power, it would render the influence of that power less effective. The mischiefs to be apprehended from catholics being admitted into that house he could not perceive; for what measure which they might wish to accomplish, might they not attain through their protestant representatives, who were so much less ex-

posed to jealousy and suspicion? The oath which these catholics would take, whether it bound their consciences or no, must yet impose some restraint on them as gentlemen; for who, after swearing not to "disturb and endanger" the establishment, would have the hardihood to propose any measure which might palpably tend to its detriment? The petitioners against the catholics, though actuated, he was convinced, by the most laudable motives, were deceived in their ideas of the subject, and did not seem aware that the catholics possessed at present all the power which could be exerted to the detriment of the establishment; and the house would encourage that delusion, if they spread the idea that they might remain with safety where they now were. It was very easy to tell the catholics to be contented with the concessions which had been made to them; but he could not conceive any thing more galling to a body of men who were brought, as the catholics had been, into contact with political objects, to be thus excluded from the enjoyment of them. Thinking thus that it was politic to make concessions to the catholics, as that body would be thereby conciliated, while the establishment would be rendered more secure, he thought it peculiarly desirable to grant it at the present moment. The catholics were now advancing (as an honourable gentleman had on a former occasion so justly urged) in wealth and consequence; and if concessions were not made at this moment, they might be made at a less desirable period. We were now suffering for the follies and vices of our forefathers. Ireland had been treated as a conquered country, and the remain-

remaining links of her ancient chains pressed more severely on her, because she had been admitted to a part of the blessings of the British constitution. The more catholic Ireland abounded in men who could take a part in political life, the more irritating would exclusion become; and not only increasing wealth, but advancing knowledge, would cause them to feel most acutely the state of degradation in which it was attempted to keep them. The system of excluding catholics from parliament, was contrary to all the principles which had been laid down on both sides in the discussions on parliamentary reform, that no great body should be without its representatives in parliament. The refusal of the barons to agree to any innovation in the constitution, had been alluded to as an example to modern parliament. But *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, was uttered by men in the full enjoyment of all the privileges of the constitution, to secure to themselves their rights, not to exclude those who were debarred from those privileges from participating in them. The honourable gentleman proceeded to remark, that a circumstance in favour of the claims of the catholics was, that the influence of the priests on the higher orders of that body had diminished: There was an annual excommunication issued against all protestants; but notwithstanding this fulmination, a catholic nobleman (lord Petre) had raised a body of volunteers to defend this excommunicated country. When objections were made to this corps being headed by his son, with a truly British spirit he said, that nothing could absolve him from his duty of defending his country, and that his son should serve in the

ranks of that body which he was not permitted to command.

After some other speeches the house divided:

For Mr. Grattan's motion	186
Against it	119

Majority 67

Some other discussions took place: but still the subject was advancing in its progress, till the 24th of May, when the order of the day for the further consideration of the report of the catholic relief bill having been read, the bill, on the motion of Mr. Grattan, was ordered to be recommitted, and the speaker having left the chair, Mr. Abercrombie was called to the chair of the committee.

The speaker rose and said, that with the views he had taken on the subject of the bill before the committee, it was quite impossible that he should give his consent to it: and he had therefore taken the first opportunity of stating the grounds on which he thought that the bill would defeat the ostensible objects of those who had brought it forward, and by what reasons he was influenced in being adverse to the admission of Roman catholics to political power in a protestant state. As to the bill, together with the clauses which had been incorporated with it, it would be proper to consider it on those principles of policy on which the foundation of our constitution rests. It was now acknowledged that it was on the ground of civil expediency, and not of abstract right, that government existed, and that on this ground only was to be justified any control which was exercised over the free agency of mankind. On this ground it had been determined that power should be vested in those alone who professed the religion of the state: but

but this principle was not to be carried beyond due bounds, and the measure of the danger was to be the measure of the exclusion. On this principle the constitution was established at the revolution, by which the power of the state was vested in those who professed its religion; and, at the same time, complete toleration was granted to all who held different tenets. On this principle the crown was subject to a religious test, best suited to our constitutional principles; and on the same grounds had protestant dissenters been for a century and a half excluded from the offices of the state, because they were supposed to be but imperfectly attached to its government; and thus had catholics been excluded from these offices, as well as from parliament, because their principles were supposed to have been inconsistent with their allegiance. The laws pressing on the dissenters had from time to time been alleviated, but not repealed; and Mr. Windham, in the memorable debates of 1796, had said, that in self-defence we ought not to repeal them. These laws had been relaxed, on the ground of the tried loyalty of the protestant dissenters; but the principles imputed, whether justly or not, to the Roman catholics, were inconsistent with such relaxation with respect to this body. In this principle he concurred, and he was supported by Mr. Burke, in his tract on the popery laws of Ireland, who had distinctly given it as his opinion, that the exclusion of the catholics from parliament was a necessary and politic provision. Whatever he (the speaker) thought of the admission of the catholics to the army and navy, it was essentially different between making them instruments, and taking them

as guides. He did not think that the maxims of our ancestors were safely to be departed from, but he was as willing as any man to allow a wide field for honourable exertion. These were the principles on which he thought the bill should be considered. Of the bill, the object was to admit the catholics into parliament, and into the great offices, civil, military, and judicial. And finally, as to parliament, if that were granted, all other ulterior objects must follow. Taking the catholics as individuals, or as a body, what would be the consequences? As individuals, they might, from their talents, become leaders of parties, and thence the servants of the crown. Here, then, would be a most formidable junction of means and motives; and if their ambition were checked in the ordinary course, to what violent measures would they not have inducements and the power to resort? As a body, the catholics in that house would be a formidable mass of strength, which, aided by the body of discontent which must exist in every state, would form an overwhelming force. He did not say this with any injurious reference to any individual, but he thought that the bill had a tendency to produce such effects; and one of his reasons for objecting to the bill was, that he feared that he should not have the pleasure of seeing in that house the right honourable gentleman opposite to him, (Mr. Grattan,) and other members for Ireland. As to judicial offices, it was not to be supposed that in civil cases, as to the rights of the protestant church, a catholic judge could impartially administer the law; not (setting aside the graver cases of criminal law) was it to be thought that even in cases between indivi-

individual and individual, he could discharge his functions to the satisfaction of the country. To the admission of catholics to all military offices short of those which admitted them to civil power, he could have no objection. Their admission to corporations (he thought) should stand on the footing of protestant nonconformists, that is, that they should be dispensed from taking the sacramental tests, and protected by an annual bill of indemnity. On the same footing they should also have been placed as to admission to the universities, subject to the particular statutes of those corporations. His objections to the bill were not on the ground of what it contained alone, but on the ground of what it omitted. No restraints were imposed on the existing religious houses—no security against their increase. There were at present in this country, Benedictines, Dominicans, and specimens of almost all the monastic orders. The fund at Stoneyhurst was enough (he should have thought) to have awakened the jealousy of the house. By this institution young men were sent for education to Sicily—a suspicious education for the youth who were to officiate through Ireland. There should have been also some restraint on the spiritual excommunication, of which the instances in 1791 were so deeply and feelingly lamented by the English catholics. Such a practice was derogatory to sovereign rights, and should not have been suffered to pass unnoticed. Why should there not have been included in this bill a protection of Roman catholic soldiers in their peculiar worship? Why not include an exemption from the necessity of solemnizing their marriages in protestant churches? The places of worship

also of this sect should have been put on the same footing of protection in Ireland as in England. The omission of these points showed how little regard the framers of the bill had paid to religious toleration. Their sole object was political ascendancy. The dangers he apprehended from this bill were not visionary. On such a subject they must look to the future; for when the flood had begun to rush through, it would be too late to repair the breach. The house should not overrate its guards; they should consider whether they formed an equivalent for which they should barter their protestant constitution. On the great majority of catholics the papal authority had the same influence as ever, and all the catholic prelates bowed to it. This authority might be exercised, too, by mere personal agency, without any commission. It was this feature which made Clarendon and Somers, as statesmen, Locke, as a political philosopher, and king William, as a sovereign prince, declare that such a religion was inconsistent with the British constitution; and from the instance which had recently occurred in Spain, they might see that such a religion would not be safe as a guest, much less so as a co-estate with our civil government. These reasons would govern his vote on the bill, which he had thought it better to state thus generally at that time, to avoid troubling the committee at a future stage. Those however who intended to oppose the bill, should make their stand on the admission of the catholics into the two houses of parliament. He should, therefore, when the chairman came to that clause, move that the clause be left out.

Mr. Whitbread said that the right honours

honourable gentleman had fallen into that common-place and hasty error, of which they had heard so much at the elections some years ago, that because the crown might make a catholic an officer of state, all officers of state would be catholics; that when the doors of parliament were opened to catholics, not a protestant would be returned; there was to be such a combination in favour of catholics too, that even the wearer of the crown in Ireland was to be a catholic. Whence, however, were these combinations to flow? The speaker had referred to the authorities of Clarendon and Somers, forgetting the great difference between a catholic of that and of the present day; the distinction was as great as between light and darkness; not in the tenets of religion, but in the feelings they entertained for the protestants. The political animosity arising from circumstances had, with those circumstances, been extinguished: there was no longer a pretender to be supported, and a protestant sovereign was now the undisputed occupant of the throne: from the wisdom, abilities, and statesman-like views of the authorities quoted, it was fair to presume, that had they lived to witness the progress of this bill, their opinions would have been diametrically opposed to the sentiments they formerly promulgated. Notwithstanding his approbation of parts of this measure, and his declaration that in some respects it did not accomplish all he desired, the speaker had not expressed any willingness, should he succeed in his amendment, to assist in the formation of a new structure out of the ruins of the old pile, with additions and improvements in his own taste. Although he lamented

the situation of the Irish soldier, labouring under his arms without a hope of promotion, he had suggested for him no relief. No doubt this omission was owing to the technicalities of his situation, that did not allow him to interfere; but if the sentiments he had to-night delivered were not the ephemeral productions of the instant, how must he have pitied the long and vain labours of those who had attempted on former occasions to administer a temporary and partial relief to the catholics! with what pain must he have occupied the chair, to which he was by forms confined, and with what difficulty must he have restrained those bursts of eloquent indignation at the defeat of a measure, which it appeared, from his speech of to-night, he deemed of vital importance! At this moment, however, he appeared ready to do nothing: he imparted no plan, not even in a whisper, to his nearest friends; not even to the two mighty pillars of the church (Messrs. Ryder and Yorke) seated together; to those massive props, who, anxious for employment, volunteered to support that which did not need their aid; to those two giants of intolerance, the Gog and Magog of the day, who boasted themselves equal to all antagonists; to those Samsons in debate, who were to defeat millions of enemies, with the same weapon that was employed by their prototype against the embattled Philistines. To them, even to them, the right honourable gentleman had been profoundly silent on the subject of concession, while he had endeavoured to alarm the house by imaginary horrors at the revival of monastic institutions. Where were these institutions, these gloomy convents and terrific inquisitions? To Mr. Whitbread they appeared

appeared dangers in disguise, through which alone the piercing eyes of the speaker, and of an hon. baronet (sir J. C. Hippisley), could penetrate. The dearth of argument on the other side was proved by nothing more than by the pains that were taken to revive and reprint the opinions urged many years ago during the existence of the Irish parliament; when it was said, as at present, that one concession would lead to another, that the first step brought us to the brink of a precipice, down which we must inevitably plunge. The speaker had gone so far as to maintain, that from parliament the catholics would step into place and power, and would not be satisfied until they had attained possession even of the crown of Ireland. [The speaker said across the table, "of the sovereign authority."] It might be so; but the word he (Mr. W.) recollected was the crown, purposely used for the sake of its ambiguity. He did not mean to criticize with too much severity the terms employed, but it was in this case more necessary on account of the weight attached to all that fell from so high an authority. The speaker of the house of commons by many people was considered infallible; and recollecting the unfair use always made of particular expressions out of doors, to what advantage might not the phrase employed to-night be turned by the designing, who would immediately put a dead stop to all reasoning among the lower orders, by observing, "The speaker of the house of commons says, that if this bill is passed, the crown itself may become catholic!"

He (Mr. W.) fervently hoped that the amendment moved by the speaker would be negatived, for without the original clause the bill was worthless. One main advantage of introducing catholics to parliament was to give vent to the catholic mind; to bring catholics and protestants together, that they might know each other better, and not be in dread of imaginary terrors supposed to surround them. The principle was on all hands admitted, and the specific measure was not resisted by the grave authority to-night heard until its latter stages: the battery of argument was now opened—the mine of invective was sprung; but the promoters of the bill would retire with confidence to their citadel, and defy the power of their enemies. The people of England were ripe for the measure which the people of Ireland anxiously expected, and to it he should give his firm support, at the same time being always ready to receive any assistance or advice which the speaker had hitherto withheld, but would now, he hoped, willingly communicate. A long and animated debate ensued, and the speaker's amendment was carried by a majority of 4, there being

For it - - - 251

Against it - - - 247

Mr. Ponsonby said, as the bill without this clause was neither worthy of the acceptance of the catholics, nor of the further support of the friends of concession, he would move that the chairman do now leave the chair; which being carried without a division, the bill was, of course, abandoned.

## CHAPTER III.

*The Speaker's Notice of a Letter from Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, which is read—Mr. Whitbread's Observations on it—Debates on Mr. C. Johnstone's Motion—Petition of Sir J. and Lady Douglas—Declarations of Lord Ellenborough and the other Law Lords—Debates on Mr. Whitbread's Assertions with regard to the Evidence of Mrs. Lisk—on Mr. C. Johnstone's Motion on the Petition of the Douglasses—on Mr. Whitbread's Motion respecting the Earl of Moira.*

WE have already mentioned a notice from Mr. Cochrane Johnstone respecting her royal highness the princess of Wales: we shall devote this chapter entirely to the proceedings in parliament on the very interesting business, without intruding, in this place, any observations of our own.

Mar. 2.—Immediately upon the meeting of the house, the speaker rose, and stated, that he felt it to be his duty to inform the house, that he had received yesterday, while seated in the chair of that house, a letter, purporting to come from her royal highness the princess of Wales, and which it was expressed to be her wish should be communicated to the house. The letter, however, being without date, and having been delivered to one of the messengers at the door of the house, the speaker did not think that it came to his hands in such an authenticated form as warranted him in laying it before the house. This day he had felt it incumbent on him to ascertain whether the letter was authentic or not; and from those inquiries, and from a letter which he had this day received from her royal highness the princess of Wales, acknowledging that the letter of yesterday came from her, and inclosing a duplicate of it, he had now no longer any reason to doubt the letter's being authentic. With the

permission of the house, therefore, he should, if it was their pleasure, read the letter he had received this day, with the duplicate of the letter of yesterday inclosed in it.

The letter of this day, and its inclosure, were then read, as follows:

*"Montague House, Mar. 2, 1813.*

"The princess of Wales, by her own desire, as well as by the advice of her counsel, did yesterday transmit to Mr. speaker a letter, which she was anxious should be read without delay to the house of commons, and the princess requests that the said letter may be read this very day to the house of commons. The princess incloses Mr. speaker a duplicate of the letter alluded to."

The speaker then read the duplicate:

*"Montague House, Mar. 1, 1813.*

"The princess of Wales informs Mr. speaker, that she has received from lord viscount Sidmouth a copy of a report made to his royal highness the prince regent, by a certain number of the members of the privy council, to whom, it appears, his royal highness had been advised to refer the consideration of the documents and other evidence respecting her character and conduct.

"The report is of such a nature, that her royal highness is well persuaded that no person can read it without considering that it conveys

most

most unjust aspersions against her; and although their eagerness renders it impossible to discover precisely what is meant, or even what she has been charged with; yet, as the princess of Wales is conscious of no offence whatever, she thinks it due to herself, and to the illustrious house with which she is connected by blood and marriage, and to the people among whom she holds so distinguished a rank, not to acquiesce for a moment in any imputation affecting her honour.

"The princess of Wales has not been permitted to know upon what evidence the members of the privy council proceeded, still less to be heard in her own defence. She knew only by common rumour of the inquiries which had been carried on until the result was communicated to her, and she has no means now of knowing whether the members of the privy council, appointed to determine on her case, acted as a body, to whom she can appeal for redress, or only in their individual capacity, as persons selected to make a report on her conduct.

"The princess is compelled, therefore, to throw herself upon the house, and upon the justice of parliament, and to require that the fullest investigation may be instituted into the whole of her conduct during her residence in this country.

"The princess of Wales fears no scrutiny, however strict, provided she is tried by impartial judges known to the constitution, and in the fair and open manner the law of the land requires. Her only desire is, that she may be either declared to be innocent, or proved to be guilty.

"The princess desires Mr. speaker to communicate this letter to the house of commons."

After a short pause, without any inclination being evinced on the part of any other member to address the house,

Mr. Whitbread rose and said, that feeling as he did, and as the house must feel, the importance of the question involved in the letters which had just been read to them, he could not suffer those letters to pass with no other notice taken of them than that of their being merely read from the chair; and the more especially as he saw opposite to him a noble lord who held a seat in his majesty's councils during the period, if newspaper report spoke true, in which the investigation alluded to in the letter last read, took place. He had observed the noble lord quit his place, and take it again, during the reading of the letters, but without showing an inclination to address the house on the subject of their contents. Conceiving, as he did, the subject to be one not only of great delicacy, but also of great importance; his object in now rising was, to put a question to the noble lord. Did he, or did he not, mean to submit any motion on the subject of these letters to the house?

Lord Castlereagh said, no man could be more sensible than he was of the delicacy and importance of the subject alluded to in the letters which had just been read to the house; but when he considered that a motion connected with the same subject (the motion of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone) stood on the order book of the house for consideration on a day at no greater distance than the day after tomorrow, he did not feel it to be his duty to anticipate the question. When the motion alluded to came before them, he should feel himself obliged, however delicate the



subject was, to give all the explanations the case might require.

As Mr. C. Johnstone was about bringing forward his promised motion, with respect to her royal highness the princess of Wales, the hon. Mr. Lygon rose and said, that the nature of the subject to be discussed was such, as to induce him to move the standing order for the exclusion of strangers. The gallery was accordingly cleared; but the following is an account of what passed after the exclusion of the reporters.

When Mr. C. Johnstone rose to make his promised motion, the hon. Mr. Lygon, member for Worcestershire, moved the standing order for the exclusion of strangers; on which Mr. Bennett rose, and moved that the house do now adjourn.

The earl of Yarmouth seconded the motion.

On this question the house divided; when there appeared

Against the adjournment	248
For it	139

Majority	109
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On returning to the house, Mr. Johnstone said, that as Mr. Lygon had exercised his discretion in moving the exclusion of strangers, he (Mr. Johnstone) would exercise his by bringing forward his motion only when he should himself choose to do so, and the hon. gentleman then walked out of the house; but on the discussions proceeding further, he returned. In reply to this, captain Vyse, member for Beverley, said, that as it was clear from what Mr. Johnstone had said, that he only put off his motion because the gallery was cleared, and that he did not intend to make it till he should have an audience; he thought it fair to apprise the hon. member, that he thought it highly inexpedient

that the debate on this question should be made more public than was absolutely necessary, and that he should therefore feel it his duty, whenever the motion was brought forward, to move the exclusion of strangers. Upon which Mr. Bennett, member for Shrewsbury, rose and said, that as captain Vyse had promised to exercise his right of clearing the gallery, he (Mr. Bennett) would now employ his, and would move that the house do adjourn. Mr. Whitbread then asked lord Castlereagh whether he did not intend to take some measure on the princess of Wales's letters; to which lord Castlereagh replied nearly as he had done to a similar question the day before.

Mr. Whitbread read from a newspaper what purported to be the report, which, he said, no one could read without agreeing with her royal highness, that it contained aspersions against her character, and that it was the duty of the ministers of the crown not to let a question that involved even the right of succession, lie like waste paper on the table of the house.

Lord Castlereagh said, that he had no motion to make on that paper, he had no share in laying it on the table, and was in no degree responsible for its contents; but if any other member should think it of so much importance as to move upon it, he should be ready, as far as was consistent with his public duty, to state and vindicate the view that the privy council had taken of the case referred to it by the crown. That with reference to the report from a newspaper read by Mr. Whitbread, the house he was sure would feel that he was not called upon to make any reply to a statement in that shape; but thus much he would say, that the newspaper

newspaper report, even if accurate, did not bear out the construction of criminality which Mr. Whitbread gave it; for that report talked only of restraining and regulating the intercourse between the mother and the daughter; whereas it was obvious that, if it had inferred criminality, it should have recommended, not the regulation only of the intercourse, but its total suspension.

Mr. Whitbread then said, the public were ignorant of all the circumstances which had induced the council to make such a report. Was the report of 1806 referred to, to refresh the memory of those who were in the old cabinet, or that of 1807, to give information to the present ministers? It should be remembered her royal highness has no privy council, no members of parliament to command. But if no other member would submit a motion to the house on her petition, he would do so, though this was peculiarly the duty of the noble lord. It was sufficient for a member of parliament, in his common capacity, to say he would wait and give his opinion; but such was not the duty of the noble lord, as a minister of the crown in this house, in such a case.

Mr. Bennett withdrew his motion, and Mr. Johnstone was requested to proceed on his motion: but he deferred it till the next day, when

He rose, and said, that it was the undoubted right of the hon. member (Mr. Lygon) to act as he had done, in clearing the house of strangers: if, however, this precaution had been taken under the impression that any thing he had to say should be unbecoming the respect he owed to that house, or inconsistent with what was due to the feelings of every branch of the royal family, such apprehensions

were utterly unfounded. He thought it a duty he owed, in the first instance, to the princess of Wales, to declare, that for the motion he was about to submit he had no authority from her; that he had no communication with any person or persons whatsoever, and that the proceeding originated entirely and exclusively with himself. The hon. member proceeded to observe, that it was well known that a commission had been granted by the king in 1806, to four noble lords, Grenville, Spencer, Erskine, and Ellenborough, to examine into certain allegations that had been preferred against the princess of Wales. He then read the whole of the report made by the commissioners above stated, containing the most unqualified opinion, that the charge produced by sir John and lady Douglas against the princess of Wales, of having been delivered of a child in the year 1802, was utterly destitute of truth. It added, that the birth and real mother of the child said to have been born of the princess, had been proved beyond all possibility of doubt. The report concludes with some objections made by the commissioners to the manners, or to levity of manners, upon different occasions, in the princess. The hon. member next proceeded to state, that the paper he should now read was a document which, he was ready to prove at the bar of the house, was dictated by lord Eldon, Mr. Perceval, and sir Thomas Plomer, though signed by the princess of Wales; it was a letter written, or purporting to be written, by her royal highness to the king, on the 9th of October 1806, as a protest against the report of the commissioners, just detailed. The letter, being read at length, appeared

peared to be a formal and elaborate criticism upon the nature of the commission under which her conduct had been reviewed: it asserted in the most unqualified terms her own innocence, and called the charges of her accusers a foul and false conspiracy, made *ex parte*, and affording no appeal. Upon this letter being read, the hon. member observed, that he fully concurred in the sentiments it expressed upon the subject of the commission, and he insisted that the charge against the princess before that tribunal, by sir John and lady Douglas, was nothing short of treason; that, if the commissioners had power to acquit her royal highness of the crime charged, they had equally the power to convict her. What was the state of that country in which such a thing was even possible? Besides, he inquired, what became of sir John and lady Douglas? If he were rightly informed, they still persisted in the same story. If all they maintained were so notoriously false, why were they not prosecuted? The hon. member went on to remark, that he understood no proceedings of the late privy council, except the report, had been transmitted to the princess of Wales. This was the case in 1806; but he submitted that copies of all those examinations should be given to her. The honourable member then concluded by moving two resolutions to the following purport:

“1st, Resolved, That it has been stated to this house, by a member thereof, who has offered to prove the same by witnesses at the bar of this house, that, in the year 1806 a commission was signed under his majesty's royal sign manual, authorizing and directing the then lord chancellor, Erskine,

earl Spencer, the then secretary of state for the home department, lord Grenville, the then first lord of the treasury, and the then and present lord chief-justice, Ellenborough, to inquire into the truth of certain written declarations, communicated to his majesty by his royal highness the prince of Wales, touching the conduct of her royal highness the princess of Wales. That the said commissioners, in pursuance of the said authority and direction, did enter into an examination of several witnesses; and that they delivered to his majesty a report of such examination, and also of their judgement on the several parts alleged against her royal highness; which report, signed by the four commissioners aforesaid, and dated on the 14th of July 1806, was accompanied with copies of the declarations, examinations, depositions, and other documents on which it was founded. That it has been stated to this house, in manner aforesaid, that the said written accusations against her royal highness expressly asserted, ‘That her royal highness had been pregnant in the year 1802, in consequence of an illicit intercourse; and that she had in the same year been secretly delivered of a male child, which child had ever since that period been brought up by her royal highness in her own house, and under her immediate inspection.’ That the report further stated, that the commissioners ‘first examined on oath the principal informants, sir John Douglas and Charlotte his wife, who both particularly swore, the former to his having observed the fact of the pregnancy of her royal highness, and the other to all the important particulars contained in her former declaration,

declaration, and before referred to; and that report added, 'that the examinations are annexed to the report, and are circumstantial and positive.' That the commissioners stated, as the result of their examination, 'their perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the princess is the child of her royal highness, or that she was delivered of any child in 1802, or that she was pregnant in that year;' and that the commissioners added, 'That this was their clear and unanimous judgement, formed upon full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation, on the result of the whole inquiry.' That therefore the honour of her royal highness the princess of Wales, the sacred right of the princess Charlotte of Wales, the safety of the throne, and the tranquillity of the country, do all unite in most imperious call on this house, to institute now, while the witnesses on both sides are still living, and while all the charges are capable of being clearly established or clearly disproved, an ample and impartial investigation of all the allegations, facts, and circumstances appertaining to this most important subject of inquiry.

"2d, Resolved, That an humble address be presented to the prince regent, requesting that his royal highness will be graciously pleased to order that a copy of a report, made to his majesty on the 14th day of July 1806, by the then lord chancellor, Erskine, earl Spencer, lord Grenville, and lord chief-justice Ellenborough, touching the conduct of her royal highness the princess of Wales; be laid before the house, together with the copies of certain written documents annexed to the said report."

Lord Castlereagh opposed the

motion, and began by observing upon the singular line of conduct adopted by the honourable mover, in first calling upon the house to agree with him in all the facts stated in his first resolution, and then asking for information on the same subject in his second motion: at all events, the information ought to have preceded the conclusions from it. His lordship could not conceive, from any reasons that had been given by the honourable member, that the house would entertain any serious doubt that the papers called for by the honourable mover were not at all necessary to remove any apprehension as to the successor to the throne of these kingdoms. The commissioners of 1806 had not been commissioners for the trial of the princess, but as privy counsellors, commissioners of inquiry; and the appointment of such privy counsellors for such purposes was the constant practice in all periods of the history of this country. If, however, the honourable mover was serious in his opinion that the commission of 1806 was an improper tribunal to have reviewed the conduct of the princess of Wales, did he think the house of commons a proper place to try either the princess of Wales for treason, or to sit in judgement upon the levity of her manners? It was rather extraordinary in the honourable member to call upon the house of commons to clear up the doubts on a subject, when he had expressed no doubts of his own. The two learned judges who were part of the commission, lords Erskine and Ellenborough, had entertained no doubts: they, with their skill and legal habits, had been able to trace the whole transaction to its source: it was not

a judgement upon credibility of witnesses only, not upon the inconsistency alone of lady Douglas's testimony, but the real mother of this child. Ann Austin was adduced, and its birth, with every circumstance attending it, had been clearly proved to the commission. This report, too, of the commissioners, with all the evidence on which it was founded, had been referred to his majesty's then ministers; and they, upon oath, had unanimously confirmed that report. This was not all—the same report and evidence had been referred to the subsequent administration; and they in like manner, on their oaths, had unanimously declared the innocence of her royal highness. His lordship did not mean to say, that if any great doubt could be entertained by his majesty's subjects on this important and delicate question, some declaration from parliament, as to the succession, might not become necessary; but when such doubts have been so repeatedly negatived, would it not, he asked, be giving a sort of weight and authority to the evidence of lady Douglas? If the affidavits of profligate persons were thus to be sanctioned, where would be the end of such attempts? Fortunately there never was a case that could excite so little hesitation. A more monstrous proposition, than to legislate on lady Douglas's evidence, was never heard. The honourable mover had complained that no proceedings had been instituted against sir John and lady Douglas. His lordship had to state, that the first cabinet distinctly recommended a reference to the then law officers of the crown to consider of such a prosecution; and if it had not been instituted, it did not arise from any doubt in the minds of those law

officers as to the punishment that would be brought down upon the degraded and guilty heads of sir John and lady Douglas, but it was from a wish to avoid bringing such subjects before the public. The noble lord added, that he did not wish to push the subject further; he was treading on delicate ground. He thought the only effect of the present motion would be, to make the house of commons a channel for poisoning the public mind. Upon the subject of the late letter the noble lord declined saying any thing at present, that not being before the house.

Sir S. Romilly commenced by observing, that the honourable member (Mr. Cochrane Johnstone) had indulged himself in such strong terms of censure of the administration of 1806, as to render it impossible for him to preserve silence. No impartial man who knew under what circumstances that inquiry originated, or in what manner it was conducted, would think that any blame was imputable to the persons concerned in it. Some time in the latter end of 1805, he received the commands of the prince of Wales to attend him at Carlton-house: he accordingly waited on his royal highness, when the prince was pleased to tell him that he wished to consult him on a matter of the utmost importance to himself, to his family, and to the state; that it was at lord Thurlow's recommendation he had sent for him; and that he had selected him because he was unconnected with himself, and unconnected with politics. His royal highness then stated information he had received on the conduct of the princess, and said that it should be put down in writing, and submitted to him for his advice. After having considered

dered it with the utmost care and anxiety, he addressed a letter to his royal highness, containing his sentiments on the matter, in December 1805. After he gave that opinion, his royal highness took every possible means to ascertain what credit was due to the parties whose testimony had been given. In the change of administration which shortly followed, he had the honour of being appointed solicitor-general; and in March 1806 he received his majesty's commands to confer with lord Thurlow on this important business. Lord Thurlow desired him to tell the prince of Wales, that the information was of a nature much too important for his royal highness not to take some steps in consequence of it. This he communicated to the prince of Wales, and in a short time afterwards the facts, as stated, were submitted to some of the king's ministers. An authority was then issued under the king's sign manual to certain members of the privy council, to take up the investigation of the whole of the case. Many meetings were held, and many witnesses were examined thereupon; and he (sir S. Romilly) was the only other person present, besides the commissioners, at these examinations, which were conducted by the four noble lords mentioned, and he took down all the depositions. He believed that he was selected for this purpose in preference to the attorney-general, merely because it was thought, that if it should not be necessary to institute any judicial or legislative proceedings upon it, it was desirable that the utmost secrecy should be observed; that he already knew all the facts; and that it was better that they should be known to only five, in-

stead of six persons, which must have been the case if the attorney-general had been applied to. He declared, in the most solemn manner, that no inquiry was ever conducted with more impartiality, nor was there ever evinced a greater desire to discharge justly a great public duty. He was, therefore, of opinion that the motion ought to be negatived.

Mr. Whitbread rose and said, if the motion went off, and nothing was said of this letter, the princess of Wales was most unhappily and unfortunately situated. The noble lord talked of poisoning the public mind, by publishing the case and just demands of the princess of Wales; he only knew by public rumour that the letter written by the princess of Wales, in September 1806, to the king, calling so emphatically for publicity, and a more fair tribunal, had been dictated by lord Eldon, by Mr. Perceval, and by sir Thomas Plomer. This fact had often been asserted in the presence of Mr. Perceval, and never denied by him. The last person named (sir Thomas Plomer) now sat opposite, and might deny it if he could. Mr. Whitbread put it to lord Castlereagh, if it was not known to him, that all that had been said by the honourable mover, aye more, much more, had been printed by Mr. Perceval, lord Eldon, and the cabinet of which he (the noble lord) was one, for the satisfaction, not only of England, but of Europe? He inquired if garbled accounts of this transaction were not now published to the world, under the authority of the present cabinet? Mr. Whitbread then entered into a narrative relating to the recent letter to the regent from the princess. This letter was twice returned unopened;

unopened; the princess then only required that her petition (for such it was) might be read to his royal highness. This favour was at length granted, and a cold answer was sent from the minister, stating that the prince had nothing to say. Then, after twice returning the letter unopened, and refusing to say any thing in reply when it was opened, it at last met the public eye, ministers advise the regent to summon a privy council, and then came the most extraordinary conduct on the part of lords Castlereagh and Eldon: they refer, not to the recent conduct of her royal highness, but to her conduct in 1806; and for such conduct she is to be punished, and not for any thing done by her in 1807, 1808, 1809, or any subsequent year. "Then," exclaimed Mr. Whitbread, "under what circumstances stand their famous proceedings of 1806, for which alone her royal highness is to be punished? All the witnesses against her, perjured and blasted! It is so admitted by the noble lord, and yet he and lord Eldon mix up this old hash of evidence as the only testimony that could be found to affect the princess of Wales. But was not this famous evidence in 1806 laid before the prince's legal advisers, Mr. Adam, Mr. Garrow, and Mr. Jekyll? I should be glad to know how the last insidious paragraph of that opinion came before the public? whether it was not so made public from authority? Again; had not the cabinet of 1807 all the evidence given in 1806 before it, and the legal opinion of the prince's lawyers I just referred to into the bargain, when their verdict of unqualified acquittal was given? From this verdict they now seem to shrink, because the evidence is stale and

forgotten." Mr. Whitbread then read the minute of council of 1807; it was signed by lords Castlereagh and Eldon, and doubted the legality of the commission that sat upon the council in 1806—Yet (added Mr. Whitbread) these noble lords, who in 1807 doubt the legality of the proceedings of 1806, now go back to those same proceedings of 1806 as their only guide. He then read that part of the minute of 1807, that not only entirely acquits the princess of Wales of every charge of criminality brought against her by the Douglasses, but exculpates her likewise from every hint of unguarded levity attributed to her by the commissioners in 1806. "Do then," said Mr. Whitbread, "do lord Castlereagh or lord Eldon mean to escape from their words? There never was a verdict of Not guilty like this. Is it to be permitted to go back to evidence given before this sentence of acquittal, and pronounce a new verdict of Guilty? Was ever woman so triumphant? Let the public recollect that no one act has passed since 1807, that the active breath of slander has dared to bring against the princess of Wales. The honourable member then read the late report, and proceeded to observe that the noble lord had tauntingly asserted that the princess of Wales had, doubtless, some legal adviser, or some friends within those walls, who would be found to advocate her cause. It had been so. She had a powerful legal adviser in that house in the late Mr. Perceval. Many too of the most able men in the country, in the house and out of it, had been her friends and advisers; among them he could name lord Eldon, sir T. Plomer, and sir William Scott. It was due to the memory of Mr. Perceval, to

state,

state, that to his dying day he always publicly proclaimed the innocence of the princess; but as for her other surviving friends, they were mute. No doubt the princess had her legal adviser, and who would never shrink from the responsibility of the duties of his situation, or disown his being such adviser, to him who had any right to question him: for himself, in performing what he did, he would not call himself the friend of the princess of Wales, but the friend of justice. Was her royal highness at least not entitled to the common courtesy belonging to her sex? Had she attempted more than had been done, in the brutal reign of Henry VIII. by the unfortunate Ann Bullen, who asked to be declared innocent, or proved to be guilty? Mr. Whitbread concluded a most animated speech amidst shouts of applause, and moved an amendment for the production of the report recently made by the individuals selected from the privy-council.

Lord Castlereagh said, he would come at once to the letter of her royal highness: and if he spoke of it with plainness, it would be as the letter of her legal advisers. Well would it have been for her, if she now had such advisers as she formerly had. In respect to the complaint that was made of the prince having refused to read her letter, it was not for the house to judge of the merits of the parties under the long and settled separation which existed. This was a matter of private arrangement, and long ago the prince had determined that no correspondence should take place; and he could acquaint the house that this was not the first letter which had been sent back. But this complaint was founded on a supposition that some punishment

had been inflicted on the princess by the restraints that were placed on the intercourse between her and her daughter. He would state to the house how the case was, and then it would see that no such punishment was intended. When the princess Charlotte went to Windsor, the prince altered the arrangement under which the princess had been accustomed to see her, from once a week to once a fortnight, that less interruption of her studies might happen by frequent journeys to London, and it was not intended to require the alteration to continue longer than during the princess's residence at Windsor. This was the whole of what was magnified into a great infliction of punishment, and inference of guilt, and he was sure the house would see it, as he did, to be a matter in no ways sufficient to justify the letter of her royal highness. In respect to the conduct of the prince, he did all that lay in his power to secure sound advice. He called in all the heads of the law and the church, to advise merely to one point, what restraints should be placed on the intercourse between the princess and her daughter. There never was a stronger imputation cast on any one than was cast on the prince by the legal advisers of the letter of the princess—it was an appeal to the country against their prince, and an appeal to the child against her parent. But of all the paragraphs of the letter, that which relates to the canting paragraph about the confirmation, is the most reprehensible; for, if her royal highness had ever spoken to the bishop of Salisbury, the tutor of the princess, on the subject, with a wish on her part to have the ceremony performed, he could have told



told her that it was his majesty's express wish it should not take place till the princess had attained her eighteenth year. The country, he was sure, would feel the prince had discharged his duty; and that his consultation with the council on the education of his child was a proof of his love of his people, by referring for advice to his council; and that he had shown an anxious desire to exercise the prerogative of educating his daughter, with a just sense of its great importance.

Sir Thomas Plomer spoke on the same side.

Mr. Wortley said, he felt very warmly on this occasion, as a man of honour and a gentleman, but he could not vote either for the original motion or the amendment. He must at the same time say, it was not the speech of the noble lord that induced him to come to this determination, for he had left the points which are the most material in the discussion without any answer. He considered this a most galling and disgraceful subject, no less than dragging the royal family before the house. The true question was, whether ministers had done their duty, first to their king, and secondly to their country? In his opinion, the four commissioners appointed in 1806 had gone further than they were required to do. The commission were to examine into a charge of one kind only; but from the evidence brought to support this, they formed another, and thus exceeded their jurisdiction. If their report was only to go to the king, this circumstance would not have been material; but as it was to go to the princess, it was sure to be productive of difficulties, such as no woman could submit, without complaint, to the imputations that were cast upon her. But passing

by this report, the next to be considered is that of 1807, which is a complete acquittal as to every point. This the noble lord has not denied in his speech; but the ministers of that day not only acquitted her royal highness, but went further, and advised his majesty to receive the princess at court. With such a report in existence, why was it necessary now to ransack the evidence of 1806, and to rake together the documents of that period, to found a report upon what regulations were necessary to govern the intercourse between the princess and her daughter?—documents, in crushing which the noble lord had formerly been a party. If, instead of such an unjustifiable proceeding, his royal highness the prince regent had been advised to say, I am the father of this child, and I will act as a father is empowered to do—I am prince of these realms, and I will exercise my prerogative of educating the successor to the throne—the country would have been satisfied, in his opinion, as he did not conceive the princess was so popular as to fear that such advice would not have been universally approved of. The hon. member said, he had as high feelings for royalty as any man; but he must say, all proceedings like these contribute to pull it down. He was very sorry we had a family who do not take warning from what is said and thought concerning them. They seemed to be the only persons in the country who were wholly regardless of their own welfare and respectability. He would not have the regent lay the flattering unction to his soul, and think his conduct will bear him harmless through all these transactions. He said this with no disrespect to him, or his family: no man was more attached to

to the house of Brunswick than he was; but if he had a sister in the same situation, he would say she was exceedingly ill treated.

Mr. W. Smith fully participated in what fell from the honourable member who spoke last: if his sister had been treated as the princess had been, he should feel extremely sore. He regretted he could not see his way clear how justice could be done to the princess, and therefore he wished his honourable friend would explain what further proceedings he had in contemplation.

Mr. Ponsonby could not agree to the motion of his honourable friend; yet he was almost inclined so to do, from the admirable, incomparable, resistless eloquence with which he urged it. He would ask, Is it competent for this house to grant the prayer of the princess's letter? The report of 1806 ought not to be laid before the house. Is there any thing in it that ought to be submitted to their consideration? Suppose the report on the table, what could they do with it? Could they address the regent for a trial? could they condemn? could they acquit? This is truly an attack on the government; and the defence of the noble lord worthy of the newspapers which advocate his cause. He denied that any person in opposition had any connection with the publication of the papers, or with any part of the transaction; he disclaimed all knowledge of all proceedings therein, and he should despise any one who could make the royal quarrels a source to prove a stepping-stone to office: he had never so done; those he acted with had never so done; and he wished he could say as much for the living and the dead, and that all could lay their hands on their hearts and

say the same. He despised such base and despicable conduct from the bottom of his soul.

Mr. Whitbread said, provided he should succeed in his motion of to-night, and obtain the report alluded to in the letter of the princess of Wales to the speaker, it certainly was his intention, in the event of success to his first motion, to have followed it up by motions for such papers as might appear necessary for the further elucidation of the business, and for the justification or conviction of the person who had thrown herself, as a last resource, upon the justice and mercy of the house. But the few hours which had passed since he moved his amendment, had so entirely altered the state of the case, that he should not now even press a division. The most complete defiance on the part of the princess of Wales had been thrown out, in the presence of those persons who had the fullest opportunity of inquiry, and whose duty it was to inquire into every part of her conduct—who have the means of searching her very heart. So completely did she now appear acquitted of all possible imputation of blame, even by the persons from whom the aspersions were, by the world, supposed, in the last report, to have been thrown upon her, that it was in his mind unnecessary to press the matter to a division. Her innocence was acknowledged entire—complete. To such restrictions as the prince regent, in his capacity of father to the princess Charlotte, or by the advice of his ministers, might think proper to impose upon her intercourse with her daughter, she must submit. It was her lot. But she had the satisfaction of knowing that her reputation henceforward was, by the confession of all, without imputation or reproach.

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From these considerations, he should not press a division.

Mr. Canning could not sufficiently praise the honest and manly warmth shown by Mr. Whitbread: but all motions similar to the present he should resist. He never would consent to support that which, however plausible at the moment, would endanger the permanent interests of the country. Besides, the necessity of such motions is lessened, if the object be to declare the entire acquittal of the princess; because, from the tone of the noble lord, as well as his repeated declarations of her innocence, further proceedings are unnecessary. He was prepared to assert and maintain, that the words and meaning of the cabinet report in 1807 conveyed a complete, satisfactory, and unlimited acquittal. He would not have supported the late minute of the council, had he been in the cabinet; he should have been content to say that his royal highness was the master of his own family; as father and sovereign, he had a right to direct and control the conduct of his daughter, and to regulate whom she should see, and whom she should not see. The minute, he was glad to hear owned, left acquitted innocence as it was before the council made their report. It is hard to stop these discussions here; but it is better they should be so done, than left where it would be difficult to control their circulation. He entirely disapproved of the original publication of the letter, as the cause of all the mischief. He would not have raised the flame by calling in the aid of other persons to assist the cabinet, which has given to the proceeding a character of uneasiness and anxiety that has been very injurious.

Sir W. Garrow maintained, that the prince regent was placed, by the appearance of the letter in print, in a situation that forced him to take the opinion of grave and honourable persons as to the line he was to take upon this subject. He denied being a party to the publication of the extract which appeared in a newspaper some days back. What took place was this: he and Mr. Adam and Mr. Jekyll were not called to revise the proceedings of the council in 1806, but they were commanded by the prince to give their opinions upon questions proposed to them. They met at his house, locked up all the papers while the subject was in discussion; they destroyed all the copies but one, and he had not seen the papers since, till he was shown the extract that was printed in one of the newspapers the other day.

Mr. Yorke requested Mr. C. Johnstone to withdraw his motion. Mr. C. Johnstone refused to do so; adding, that it was a proud day for him, because it had completely established the innocence of her royal highness the princess of Wales.

The question was put, and Mr. C. Johnstone's motion was negatived without a division.

March 17.—Mr. Whitbread presented a petition from sir John and lady Douglas, requesting to be permitted to reswear their depositions before such a tribunal as would subject them to a prosecution if they proved to be false. The honourable member expressed his indignation at the obscene and disgusting depositions of lady Douglas and others, that appeared to have been published by authority, though they had been repeatedly declared to be unworthy of credit; and observed, that he had heard that another inquiry was going on  
under

under the direction of the lord chancellor, Mr. Conant the magistrate, and others, without the knowledge of the other ministers, though it was a matter of state. He then read a deposition of Mrs. Lisle, which had been put into his hands, and which explained, that the princess, being taken ill in the night, got up to procure a light when seen in the female servant's room. He likewise condemned the mode of questioning adopted by the lords commissioners, as showing an eager desire to find guilt. A gentleman of integrity and honour, he said, had this morning put into his hands a correct copy of the full evidence of Mrs. Lisle. He did not himself mean to vouch for its authenticity; but he would read some parts of it, to show how much it differed from the deposition given to the public. Some of the questions put to Mrs. Lisle were highly ridiculous, unfair, and improper; nor were several of those said in the evidence to have been put by lord Erskine, such as could be expected of that great lawyer. When they had asked Mrs. Lisle whether captain Manby was not in the habit of always sitting next the princess at dinner, and she had answered in the affirmative, they then put a ridiculous question, to know whether their modes of sitting at dinner resembled that in which she and the four commissioners sat round the table where the examinations were carried on. They also asked, if the princess and captain Manby did not sit apart from the rest; and when Mrs. Lisle answered in the affirmative, they asked—What do you suppose they talked about? To which her answer was, that she did not hear. Mr. Whitbread said, he could hardly suppose that any lawyer would

allow such questions to be put to a witness, especially the two noble lords who were concerned in these examinations. When Mrs. Lisle was asked, whether the conduct of the princess of Wales was such as became a married woman? she did not answer in the manner stated in her deposition, but in a way more collected and dignified. To the question, what was the occasion of her talking particularly to captain Manby? she replied, that she did not know. But he would ask, was it not natural that the princess of Wales, when excluded from that high sphere of society in which she ought to move, should amuse herself in conversation with a stranger who was likely to have something new to communicate to her, rather than that she should confine herself to what she could always command—the conversation of her own ladies? From the nature of several of the questions put to Mrs. Lisle, it would appear as if the commissioners were fishing for something, as if in a cross-examination. After a few remarks on the account given in Mrs. Lisle's evidence relative to captain Hood and Mr. Chester, he remarked, either that this evidence was false, or that the noble lords acted hastily. Was it not very silly to hear them gravely ask her, whether Mr. Chester was not a very handsome man? And did it become the grave character of two eminent lawyers to ask, why the princess of Wales got up at night, and went into her servant's room for a light? Must the princess be denied that which would be permitted to every woman in the kingdom? Mrs. Lisle said, she heard the princess say, that she had done so because she was ill, and wanted a candle. How then could this deposition be admitted as evidence

dence of guilt in the princess, when the answers of Mrs. Lisle were more calculated to show her innocence? The princess had been for eleven years, and still continues, under persecution; and yet, after all, nothing has been fairly proved against her, though a great portion of the talent of the country had been employed against her. Why were fresh examinations instituted last autumn? Why, at the time that the princess of Wales had corresponded with the queen about the confirmation of the princess Charlotte, was no intimation given to her of the king's injunction on that subject? Why was no restraint laid on her intercourse with her daughter in 1806, while the examinations against her were going on? She had not now, as formerly, the happiness of having lord Eldon for her adviser: no, of late he had preferred the duty of being the bearer of stern messages, rather than the office of intercession and consolation. She had acted very properly, in his opinion, of late; for, as soon as the restricted terms of intercourse were communicated to her, she immediately remonstrated; and though her letter to the prince had been blamed by many, he could not but say, upon a comparison of them, that it was infinitely more becoming and respectful than those she sent by the advice of Mr. Perceval in 1807 to the king; and though he would not have advised her to send the letter, he saw nothing improper in her letter to the prince. Even from the confession of her opponents, it was not the prayer, or the contents, but the publication of that letter that was blamed. In speaking of the princess of Wales, he asked, Should she leave the country? Was it for innocence to fly? She

of all persons in the world, in the exalted rank in which she had been placed, was the most unprotected. Let the house look to the circumstances which had brought on those accusations; how she had been elevated to her high rank; and how, because she was not agreeable to the taste of her husband, she had since been brought down! Compare her case with that of Caroline Matilda of Denmark, who, in consequence of a political struggle in that country, being involved in suspicion, was ordered to be confined in prison; where she died of grief. She was described by the historian as suffering in consequence of her being far removed from the equitable tribunals of this country. In Denmark she could not receive that justice which she was certain of experiencing had she been so fortunate as to be subject to the mild and equitable laws of England. Caroline Matilda, an English princess, could not have justice in Denmark; but the case of the princess of Wales was different—she was in England, and she might therefore expect to have her conduct judged of by the laws of England. She was suspected, and she asked to be brought, and to have her conduct investigated, before an English tribunal. An English princess could not obtain English justice in Denmark; but she, a German princess, asked with confidence for English justice in England. She, the niece of this very Caroline Matilda, asked that justice in England, which had been denied to her aunt in Denmark. Caroline Matilda endeavoured to escape from her persecutors: the first person she met was her chief enemy; him she could not meet, and she returned to her room. Again she made an attempt, and though met by a file of men with fixed

fixed bayonets, persevered : but her husband being removed, she was secured, and conveyed to the castle of Cronsberg. Every endeavour was made on the part of her brother-in-law, the father of this very princess of Wales, to rescue her : but she, being removed from her children, died broken-hearted at the early age of twenty-four. The evidence against her, as historians stated, far from warranting a legal conclusion of her guilt, did not amount even to presumptive proof of it. On what, in the present instance, did the princess of Wales stand ?—She stood on this—lord Eldon, as a lawyer, said, the greater part of the evidence was satisfactorily disproved, and as for the remainder, he (Mr. Whitbread) and all men utterly discredited it. The princess of Wales had the consolation of thinking that she was surrounded by ladies of the first rank in the kingdom, who would not, from regard to their own character, have remained about her person were they not satisfied of her innocence. If she wished to quit this country, she had now no father to go to ; nor had she even her father's country to afford her an asylum. He who would have afforded protection to Caroline Matilda, was not now in existence to protect his own daughter. He had forfeited his life in the battle of Jena, having died in consequence of a wound which he there received. The princess, however, had the satisfaction of knowing, that he lived to be informed of her acquittal, and died in the persuasion of her entire innocence. What protection then had the princess of Wales ? She had not that of her husband and of the law. Her father, who had endeavoured to protect Caroline Matilda, was no more. Her husband had 1813.

withdrawn from her royal highness his protection ; and was that house to withhold from her its protection also ? She had, indeed, her noble mother here—the sister of Caroline Matilda ; she had her own bosom to retire to. She had also her gallant brother, though he had not now the same means of affording her protection as formerly. She therefore, or rather he (Mr. Whitbread) in her name, called on that house—the representatives of the people of England—to become the protectors of an innocent, traduced, and defenceless stranger—the mother of their future queen. He wished most sincerely that "The Book," now lying on the table of the house, before him, had never been printed ; he wished that the threatening letter to his majesty in the year 1807, threatening that The Book should be published on the following Monday, had never been written. He did not ask of the house to approve of any subsequent letter which had since been published : he only asked of them to compare that letter with the threatening letter dictated by Mr. Perceval. He should not, however, read the two. He would not do it, on account of Mr. Perceval, who was now no more. He did not wish to execute justice on him, but he would on lord Eldon, if he could, because on him he thought justice should be done. He would read the two letters, for the sake of executing justice on the one, were it not that he might thereby seem to be doing an act of injustice to the memory of the other. One word more, and then he had done. It was never too late to conciliate ; and if even now matters could be brought to that crisis, he was certain the nation would esteem it the greatest boon that could be conferred on the country. He concluded

cluded by putting in copies of the Morning Herald of Saturday and Monday last, the parts of which alluded to were entered as read, and then moved a humble address to the prince regent, expressive of the deep concern and indignation which the house felt at publications of so gross and scandalous a nature, so painful to the feelings of his royal highness and all the other branches of his illustrious family; and praying that his royal highness would be pleased to order proper measures to be taken for bringing to justice all the persons concerned in so scandalous a business; and particularly for preventing the continuance or repetition of so high an offence.

The question being put,

Lord Castlereagh said, he hoped the main attention of the house would be directed to the practicable purposes which could be expected from the motion with which the honourable gentleman had concluded. Was it conciliation which the honourable gentleman had in view? In what respect was his motion, far less the speech with which he had prefaced it, calculated to produce conciliation? The papers of the next day after the letter first published had made its appearance, instead of showing any abstinence from further discussion on the subject, contained two letters of his majesty himself. He agreed that the monarchy itself was concerned in the course now to be pursued, and that it was never more concerned in any thing than in the measure now to be taken by parliament. Much injury, in his opinion, was to be apprehended from such speeches as that which they had heard to-night from the honourable gentleman. He did not wish to interrupt the honourable gentleman, though he must be allowed to

say, that it appeared to him that the honourable gentleman, under the pretext of vindicating the princess of Wales, had indulged in illiberal, unfair, and, as he (lord Castlereagh) thought, unparliamentary observations on the conduct of the prince of Wales himself.

Mr. Whitbread moved that the words of the noble lord be taken down. If he himself had followed the course ascribed to him by the noble lord, it would have been his lordship's duty to have moved that he (Mr. Whitbread) be committed to the Tower.

The speaker said, the rule in such cases was to have the expression taken down, as stated by the person objecting to it to have been used, and then to let the party charged with using it, either admit or deny his having used the words objected to.

Mr. Whitbread dictated the words used by lord Castlereagh; when

Lord Castlereagh said, he had nothing in them to alter.

The speaker observed, that then it remained for the noble lord to explain or vindicate the words he had used.

Lord Castlereagh said, he should go on to make good what he had asserted. The honourable gentleman, in pursuing this question, had gone the length of stating, that if the conduct of the princess of Wales was at all criminal, hers was a crime arising out of the conduct of the prince of Wales.

Mr. Whitbread spoke to order. He denied what had now fallen from the noble lord. The noble lord was sufficiently skilled in debate, and in the practice of that house, to have stopped him (Mr. Whitbread) if he had so expressed himself; neither would the speaker have

have allowed him so to talk of the crown, or of the person virtually holding it.

The speaker was of opinion lord Castlereagh had a right to go on.

Lord Castlereagh said, he had not interrupted the honourable member, because his observations applied only to the prince of Wales, and not to the person holding the crown; and he termed this conduct on the part of the honourable gentleman illiberal, attacking, as it was, a person in his absence.

Mr. Tierney spoke to order. If this mode of proceeding were adopted, a person who had no such intention as that imputed to him, might have any charge fixed upon him argumentatively.

Mr. Whitbread explained, that if any thing which had dropt from him could warrant the charge made against him by the noble lord, he could only say that it was by no means his intention.

Lord Castlereagh said "that was quite satisfactory. The question then was, if the proposition of the hon. gentleman was one which it would be consistent with the duty they owed the public for that house to adopt? his motion being to call two printers to the bar of the house; or rather, to order them to be prosecuted by the attorney-general, after the interval of a fortnight, during which almost every document on all sides had been published. The whole line of argument pursued by the honourable gentleman went to show that there was no use for any trial, rather than to show that a trial was necessary; and indeed, from the speech of the honourable gentleman this night, it would rather seem as if it had been his wish to put the four commissioners on their trial. He thought, if the honourable gentle-

man had intended thus to lay his case, that it would have been but friendly in him to have apprised his noble friend (lord Erskine) of his intention. At all events, it would have been fair to have given an honourable and learned friend of his (sir Samuel Romilly) some idea of his intention, that, as that learned gentleman (then solicitor-general) acted as secretary in the course of the investigation, he might have been enabled to give an explanation, or rather an answer, to the observation of the honourable gentleman. The honourable gentleman said, parliament should interpose, to the effect of giving to her royal highness the protection of the law. His lordship did not know that her royal highness was deprived of its protection. No step could be taken against her but under the law; and when proceedings at law were instituted, then would the protection of the law be open to her, as to every person else. He was not aware of any intention, in any quarter, which should render it necessary for her royal highness to resort to the law. When any seizure should be made for the sake of depriving one of their liberty, as in the case of the princess Caroline Matilda, it would then be time enough to provide against it. The honourable gentleman was rather tardy in complaining of the sin of disclosure in this case. No principle or end of justice could be served by complying with the present motion; and he had no doubt the house would consult its own dignity by negating it.

Mr. Ponsonby stated it as his firm conviction, that his honourable friend, in the warmth of his zeal, had been misled; and that the person who had put that unauthenticated paper into his hands



as Mrs. Lisle's deposition, had deceived him. He was sure, when the matter came to be sifted, that it would be found so; and that the four commissioners had equally done their duty to the crown and justice to Mrs. Lisle. He was sorry, however, those four commissioners being all peers, that they could not be present in that house to answer for themselves; and he was sorry also, that his honourable and learned friend was not present, because of his high character and legal knowledge, and because, if any improper depositions had been suffered to be taken, his honourable and learned friend was as culpable as the four noble lords. But he had such a firm reliance upon the known probity and integrity of those noble lords, that he was satisfied, when the whole came to be thoroughly investigated, it would be found that nothing had been done but what was strictly warranted and legal. He had, however, written a note to his honourable and learned friend (sir S. Romilly) to inform him of what had happened since he quitted the house, and to request his presence in the course of the evening. With regard to the motion, he should certainly support it, but from reasons very different from those urged by his honourable friend. His object, in voting for the motion, was to put an end to it altogether; to extinguish that frightful and horrid scene; and if the house refused to accede to it, might they not expect that other disgusting and nauseous anecdotes would be put forth? And if so, whom would that house have to blame but itself? because, when a motion was before it, whose object was to check the odious stream, they refused to grant it. If it should prove so, he trusted that no man

would say in that house afterwards, that there existed a spirit in the country to revile and traduce royalty; that there was an anti-monarchical disposition in the land: such reproaches he hoped never to hear in that house again, because, let whatever would be printed, they could have no cause to complain. The motion now before them, if accepted, would put a stop to the publications in question; if rejected, would encourage them; and, before another month elapsed, would make them all bitterly lament their refusal of it.

Mr. Bathurst spoke against the motion.

Mr. Stephen rose in consequence of an attack on the memory of an illustrious friend of his, the revered and lamented Mr. Perceval. When the honourable mover took merit to himself for not doing justice to the memory of that virtuous minister; when he talked of sparing his character, by not drawing a comparison between his conduct on a former occasion, and that of the honourable gentleman himself now, it was barely possible to listen to him with patience and moderation. Mr. Perceval had undertaken to superintend a book containing the evidence in the case of the princess of Wales, for her royal highness; and if as her advocate he had omitted any passages, to what would he have exposed her and himself? To the charge of having omitted and withheld parts of the testimony, and thereby invalidated the whole. He believed that this was the first time the mention of immorality had ever been connected with the name of Perceval, or that he had been accused of disregard to the decencies of life, who had been so eminent an example of respect to them all. But did the honourable gentleman

tleman mean to say, that as the princess of Wales's counsel, in an appeal she was about to make to the public, he had any choice in altering or abridging the evidence on which that appeal was founded? And what was the letter which had been called "threatening?" It was written upon the supposition, that, by her exclusion from court being enforced, a sanction would be conferred not only upon the charge of levity, but upon the more serious accusations which had been brought against the princess—that she ought not to acquiesce in this ignominy, but afford the public an opportunity of judging of her conduct. Ought Mr. Perceval, in this case, to have garbled the evidence? Even the honourable gentleman, with all his predilection for garbling, would scarcely say that ought to have been done. If a line had been suppressed, the argument would have been against the princess. He deeply deplored that her royal highness had not such advisers now as she had at that time. The honourable gentleman had undertaken a heavy responsibility by reading the paper relative to Mrs. Lisle's evidence—that paper from which he had drawn accusations against four noble lords, and the learned gentleman now in his place, (sir S. Romilly, who had come in)—accusations which, if true, proved that they had acted in a manner highly perfidious to the trust reposed in them, and dishonourable to men in any rank in life. For what was the charge? That they had put words into the mouths of witnesses which they had never used, and extracted evidence by means of questions improper for a judge to put, and which would not have been permitted if the parties had had any legal advisers with

them. If these were so, these noble lords were more reprehensible than he had words to express. But he doubted the honourable gentleman's information. He ridiculed the knight-errantry of the honourable gentleman, which, instead of procuring the evidence to be revised, was evaporated in an attack upon two editors. As for that conciliation which, he said, belonged to the letter he had written for the princess, and read to the house, he (Mr. Stephen) did not see all that conciliatory temper in it. To him it looked more like a triumph on what had passed in that house. But he gladly relinquished the subject, having fulfilled the object for which he rose, to vindicate from the aspersion of want of a reconciliatory spirit between man and wife, Mr. Perceval, who was himself an ornament to the conjugal state.

Sir Samuel Romilly having entered the house, rose and said, he was informed a statement had been made since he quitted the house, which he was compelled to do from urgent professional avocation, that very nearly concerned himself. He did not impute it to any want of candour on the part of his honourable friend, that such a statement took place in his absence; and he was extremely sorry it was not possible for him, at that moment, to give the explanation that might be wished. The house would have in its recollection, that he stated on a former evening he had been present at all the examinations but one, on which day he did not receive the notice time enough to attend. It unfortunately happened that day was the last one; it was the third of July; and on that day Mrs. Lisle's examination took place. He was sorry it so occurred, not only for himself, but for the noble lords

whose conduct had been questioned. But he could say, that unless the examination on that day differed from all former days, it was impossible that the statement put into the hands of his honourable friend could be correct. The witnesses were uniformly examined by the two law lords, Erskine and Ellenborough; the questions were never in any instance taken down; only the answers; in the same way as was always done, he believed, when depositions were made before a magistrate. The information was then read over before the witnesses, who altered and corrected whatever they thought required it; after which they signed the whole. That course had been regularly pursued; he had himself taken down the evidence; never asking any questions himself, nor suggesting any; and if he were upon his oath, (though he believed it was hardly necessary to say so,) he would affirm that the answers were taken down precisely as they were given. Some of the witnesses, after their depositions had been read to them, requested to read them themselves, which they did, and sometimes made alterations, which alterations would be found as they were made in the originals, for no fair copies were ever made of them. Unless, therefore, quite a different course was pursued on the last day to what had been adopted on any other day, the evidence on that day would be found as taken down in the handwriting of one of the four lords.

House of lords, March 22.—Lord Ellenborough, alluding to the evidence of Mrs. Lisle, read by Mr. Whitbread in the house of commons, and commented on by that gentleman, said that his name had been inserted in the commission of inquiry without any previous inti-

mation. That, regarding it as a proof of his majesty's opinion of his zeal and integrity, he did his duty to the best of his power: but it was in the performance of that duty that some person, with the most abandoned and detestable slander, had dared to charge him with a gross act of dishonesty; him, on whose character for integrity, diligence, and care, depended more of the property and interests of the people than on those of any other man in the country; yet of him it was foully and slanderously alleged, that he had falsified the evidence given before the commission, giving in as a document evidence that was not received, and suppressing that which was actually given. This was all a lie,—a vile slander,—all false as hell. He would not violate the propriety of that house; he knew the respect and decency it required; but he must give the lie to falsehood. The noble lord then explained, that one night, when the commissioners had met to examine witnesses, the solicitor-general (sir S. Romilly,) who had been appointed to arrange and take down evidence, was absent from home, and could not be found. The examination proceeded, and the commissioners requested that he would take down the evidence of the witnesses in attendance. He declared upon the most sacred asseveration that could be made,—the most solemn sanction of an oath,—that every word of that deposition came from the lips of the witness in question,—that every word of it was read over to her, if not paragraph by paragraph as it was taken down, certainly all after it was taken,—and every sheet signed with her name.

Lord Erskine deemed it scarcely necessary to vindicate himself from such an imputation as falsifying evidence.

evidence. He should have thought that his professional character, his situation in life, the rank he had held, might have been enough to wipe away every stigma.—If magistrates were not permitted to put leading questions to witnesses, very fatal consequences might follow.

Lord Grenville and earl Spencer expressed themselves in milder terms than the lord chief justice, but to the same effect.

Earl Moira denied that he had covertly sought evidence on the subject alluded to. He not only never spontaneously sought information, but he had never been instigated so to do. His inquiries having led him to believe that the statement was unfounded, he had reported that no further proceedings were necessary. The commission of inquiry was not appointed until three years after. He characterized Mary Lloyd as an unwilling witness, and declared that the examination of Drs. Mills and Edmeades at his house was to prevent publicity as much as possible.

March 22.—Mr. Whitbread, in the house of commons, begged to say a few words relative to some parts of his speech in the house on a former evening. From what he had just heard, it had been stated elsewhere (see report of the house of lords), by a high and grave authority, that what he read to the house on a former night, as a copy of the evidence of Mrs. Lisle, was wholly fabricated and false. From the account which he had just received, it appeared that the truth of this evidence was disclaimed by all the noble commissioners; from which it would appear that he had been imposed upon. But before he would declare his settled opinion to the house, on that point, he wished

also to learn what was the declaration of the witness herself (Mrs. Lisle) on the subject. He was anxious to know whether she considered it a fabrication; and would not wholly disbelieve it, until that was ascertained. He would say, for his own part, that he neither sought or bought this evidence; and that it was not sent to him by the princess of Wales herself, or officially in her name. He would, therefore, suspend his opinion, until he could procure further information.

Mr. Tierney was sorry for the course adopted by his honourable friend, and regretted his intention of postponing his declaration till he should hear from Mrs. Lisle.

Mr. Whitbread said, that he had come to the resolution of postponement, on mature deliberation, nor should he now depart from it. He would to-morrow send the evidence to Mrs. Lisle, and on Wednesday evening, as an honourable member's motion stood for that night, (Mr. Cochrane Johnstone's) would declare his further sentiments, should he by that time hear from Mrs. Lisle. But should the honourable member delay or postpone his motion, he would take an early opportunity of declaring whether he had been grossly imposed upon, as had been asserted. If he was imposed upon, the gentleman who gave him this evidence was so likewise; and it would be time enough to make the declaration when he had it in his power to do so with truth.

Mr. Bathurst said, the course pursued by the honourable gentleman (Mr. Whitbread), instead of furthering the cause of justice, as the honourable gentleman expressed, and as it was natural to suppose his object should be, went, if coun-

tenanced, to overturn one-half of the judicial proceedings of this country. Did not the honourable gentleman know that in many instances, at the quarter-sessions particularly, where the honourable gentleman himself was in the habit of attending, the answers only, and not the questions, were taken down in writing? Was it not also a fact, that the judges, in recapitulating the evidence to juries, gave the answers only, and in no one instance both questions and answers? Yet what said the honourable gentleman now? That he would not pay respect to the declaration of all the four noble lords who had acted as commissioners on the occasion alluded to; but that he would wait till he was satisfied by the declaration of Mrs. Lisle, not made under the sanction of an oath, as her deposition already referred to had been. The honourable gentleman had read the paper in question, not knowing that it had come from Mrs. Lisle. The four noble lords utterly disclaimed it, and declared it to be a fabrication, and it did not appear that Mrs. Lisle set it up as being true. Instead of the honourable gentleman being surprised that the paper had been so long in being disclaimed, he (Mr. Bathurst) thought he might rather have been led to the conclusion that it was an imposition, from seeing that it had not yet been authenticated in any shape. It appeared to him (Mr. Bathurst) that the honourable gentleman did not consult his usual judgement in keeping this matter pending, seeing that the paper could never be authenticated, and that, at the least, if Mrs. Lisle should say that certain questions had been put to her, it would only be the recollection of the witness setting up

the questions as well as the answers. In only one single point, the honourable member had said, the deposition, and the paper from which he had read the questions and answers, did not agree: and was this paper, he asked, to be taken in direct contradiction to the testimony of Mrs. Lisle, as taken down by the commissioners; read over by them to the witness; and, on due deliberation, authenticated by her signature? This proceeding on the part of the honourable gentleman, he was sorry to think, was one of the most extraordinary which had arisen out of this most unfortunate discussion.

Mr. Whitbread declared, whatever might be said on the subject should not change his determination.

March 23.—Mr. Whitbread rose and said, he begged permission to mention what had passed, in consequence of the step he had taken, relative to a certain paper, from which he had read parts a few nights ago, concerning the examinations into the conduct of the princess of Wales. As much misrepresentation had gone abroad, as to the manner in which he had read those passages, and commented upon them, he must take the liberty of recalling to the recollection of the house, that in the comments which he had felt himself justified in making on the examination of Mrs. Lisle, he did not vouch for the authority of the paper which he then quoted; but only stated, that from the manner in which he received it, he had reason to believe in its authenticity. He had stated that copies of the depositions had been published; and that he understood that many of those copies published in the newspapers were incorrect.

incorrect. He had also stated further, that it was his opinion, that if the questions which were put to Mrs. Lisle, according to the paper he had read, had been published along with the deposition, the unfavourable impressions against the princess of Wales, conveyed by the deposition, would be greatly relieved. But it certainly was in the recollection of the house, that he had never said of the four noble lords commissioners, that they had fabricated, or falsified, or withheld evidence given before them. What he had said was this: that if the paper put into his hands was correct in that point, respecting the question put to Mrs. Lisle, as to her opinion whether the princess of Wales conducted herself as a married woman ought to conduct herself, contrasting her supposed conduct with that which became a married woman? then, unquestionably, he found that there was no answer given to that question. He never said that the commissioners kept back any part of the statements. He had not read all, but only a part of the questions said to have been put; and he had in observation added his opinion, (the opinion, of course, of an ignorant person,) that certain questions ought not to have been put to Mrs. Lisle. He had certainly supposed, and believed, that the questions had been put down as well as the answers. If he could not state the authenticity of the paper, still he did not think himself imposed upon. Respecting his idea of the questions being put down, he could say, that he knew that in commissions instituted either by act of parliament, or by the crown, on which reports were made, the questions put were always taken down and recorded. Such was also the case in similar

matters in the court of chancery. He was, therefore, misled by those considerations, into the belief that a similar practice had obtained in this instance. He was extremely sorry that his honourable and learned friend (sir S. Romilly) was not now in his place: but he nevertheless felt it expedient to give the house the result of his inquiries into the subject. He was convinced, that the paper could not be received as an authentic document, after what had fallen from his learned friend: but he was still impressed with the belief, that the witness considered it correct. In introducing it, he stated it as an illustration of his argument, and had said, that if the examinations had gone forth along with the depositions, the sting would have been taken out of the deposition of Mrs. Lisle. He had, pursuant to what he stated in the house last night, written a letter to Mrs. Lisle, which he should trouble the house by reading.

(Copy, letter to Mrs. Lisle.)

*"House of commons, March 22, 1813.*

"Dear madam:—I am exceedingly sorry to be troublesome to you, and especially on such an occasion; but when I have stated the cause to you, I have no doubt you will acknowledge the necessity I am under of addressing you.

"On Wednesday last, before I went to the house of commons, a paper was put into my hands, of which I send you a copy inclosed.

"I was assured it contained an authentic account of your examination before the lords commissioners, on the conduct of the princess of Wales.

"Believing in the integrity of the person who made the communication to me, I used (as I was told I might truly do) the paper in the house

house of commons, and as I thought that justice demanded I should.

"Lord Ellenborough has this evening declared in the house of lords, that the paper is a false fabrication, as I understand from those who heard him; and the other commissioners have expressed their opinions, although more mildly, to the same effect.

"So circumstanced, I am compelled to ask you, whether you agree in the character ascribed to the paper by the noble lords? If you do, I shall only have to lament, that I have been imposed upon, and to acknowledge the imposition practised upon me.

"If the paper should ever before have been seen by you, I shall be extremely glad to receive all such information as you may have it in your power to give respecting it, that I may trace the fabrication to its author. I have the honour to be, dear madam,

"Your faithful servant,  
"SAMUEL WHITBREAD."

Mr. Whitbread said, he selected the softest words used by the learned lord. There were other words used, which were banished from the communications of the intermediate ranks of society; words which were not considered necessary for personal justification, or even for offence. In the lowest ranks, indeed, they had sunk into disregard; and if they could find a place anywhere, it must be only in the sacred person of the lord chief-justice of England. To this letter he had received an answer from Mrs. Lisle, which he also read.

(Copy, answer, Mrs. Lisle to Mr. Whitbread.)

"Canbury, March 23, 1813.

"Dear sir—I received this morn-

ing your letter, with the accompanying account of my examination when before the lords' commissioners in the year 1806; and having compared it with the original document, I find them exactly similar.

"On my return from the lords' commissioners, I, to the best of my recollection, committed to paper the questions which had been put to me, and my answers; and I transmitted a copy to the princess of Wales, having previously received her royal highness's commands so to do.

"It has never been my intention to set up these recollections against my deposition; and as little has it been my wish that they should be made public. Indeed, so scrupulous have I been in this respect, that, with the exception of the copy sent to the princess, immediately after my examination, the paper now in question was not, till very recently, seen by my nearest connections; even now it would not have been seen by them, had not erroneous statements, and garbled extracts from my deposition, appeared in some of the public papers.

"How the paper has found its way into your hands, I guess not. As I have already stated, it has not been by any act or intention of mine; but certainly the paper which you have sent me is a correct copy of the one that I had written. I am, dear sir,

"Your faithful & obedient servant,  
"HESTER LISLE."

Now, (Mr. Whitbread observed,) he hoped, that neither the house nor the public would say that he had been imposed upon! or that there was any intermediate fabrication by the person who gave him the paper, or by Mrs. Lisle herself. The paper contained the ques-  
tions

tions and answers put down by Mrs. Lisle on her return from the investigation; but Mrs. Lisle observed, that she did not set up her recollections against the deposition: neither did he. It was fitting to remark a singular coincidence: Mrs. Lisle wrote from her recollection; but there was no difference in the answers she put down, and those stated in the deposition, except in one instance. The answers followed in almost exactly the same order, in the account of the examination and in the deposition. He must return to his original intention, and say, that he should have thought it unfortunate for the cause of justice, and that he should have considered himself extremely blameable, if he had not, under all the circumstances, endeavoured to take the sting out of the deposition. There, then, the house had an account of the way in which the examination was taken. If the questions were wrongly stated, and the commissioners could contradict the account, it was so far well. For his own part, he could not throw any such imputation upon Mrs. Lisle, as to imagine that she had made the slightest attempt at fabrication. There was, indeed, in another part of the paper itself, internal evidence of its authenticity: for, in taxing her memory, Mrs. Lisle had, in one instance, said, that she could not put down an answer to one question, having forgotten the precise answer which she made to it. He felt very sorry, in these unfortunate circumstances, to have done any thing which could give pain to noble lords, and friends for whom he entertained a high respect; or to any magistrate, such particularly as the lord chief-justice of the king's bench: but he had felt the paramount im-

portance of a sense of justice to the part he had taken in the business, and which occasioned his comments. On that feeling he relied, and was upheld by it now. He thought it his duty to take some course for setting himself right; and he placed himself on the justice of the house.

Lord Castlereagh must lament, that when the learned gentleman (sir S. Romilly) was present, early the other evening, the honourable member had not communicated to him the contents of the paper, in order to ascertain what its character was, and what was that of the other authenticated document whose credit was to be impaired by it. He could only hope, that in this age of disclosure, the honourable member would admit, that in this respect it was imprudent to hazard such a document as he had produced, before he knew that it contained a description entitled to that credit which he seemed to mean to attach to it.

Sir S. Romilly said, that his honourable friend (Mr. Whitbread) had been quite incorrect in his supposition, that any part of the evidence had been burnt or destroyed. There had been only one examination taken down of the evidence of any witness, and no minute or copy was kept of it. In many of these depositions, there had been considerable alterations at the request of the witnesses. He could not, however, absolutely take upon him to say, that in some cases where there were many of these alterations, there might not have been a copy made.

Mr. Ponsonby thought that there could not be a stronger illustration of the frailty of memory, than that his honourable friend (Mr. Whitbread) could not now remember, with any accuracy, what was his

statement



statement the other night. The impression which his statement had conveyed to his mind was certainly, that the commissioners had set down something contrary to what the witness now alleged to have been her evidence. That this had been the impression on his mind he had then stated to the house, and had thought it necessary to send a note to his right honourable and learned friend (sir S. Romilly), to request an explanation relative to this statement. If a witness were afterwards to give an account of a transaction different from his deposition regularly taken, the effect of this would be to destroy the credit of such witness. He thought he had some cause of complaint against his honourable friend (Mr. Whitbread), who having sat near him for some time before he made his statement, never intimated to him, that it was his intention to bring forward such a charge against the four noble commissioners; with three of whom, at least, he had lived in the greatest habits of intimacy, and whose honour was as dear to him as his own. He could not help saying, that the impression made on his mind, by the statement, was, that the commissioners were charged with having submitted to his majesty, as the deposition of Mrs. Lisle, something which was substantially different from what that witness meant to say. A graver and more serious charge could not have been made on men, who were upon their oaths, discharging a painful duty, in which the character of one of the most illustrious persons in the nation was concerned. If they had acted in such a manner, he thought they would be deserving of impeachment, and the most serious punishment.

Sir F. Burdett could not see any

grounds for attacking the honourable gentleman (Mr. Whitbread), who had brought this important subject forward in a manner which was highly creditable to his great abilities and to his strong sense of public duty. So far from regretting that the subject had been brought forward in the manner it had been, he thought that it was most fortunate for the public that it had so come forward. He thought that it must be supposed to convey the greatest satisfaction to every person in the country, to find, that in consequence of the manner the business was brought forward, innocence had been made apparent to the world, and the fullest conviction was produced on the public mind, that the object of all those inquiries was completely innocent. He thought that the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Ponsonby) had himself shown want of memory in the representation which he had given of the words of the honourable gentleman. The whole of the proceedings before that commission were so anomalous, that he could not be surprised if irregularities had taken place. When he considered the mode of the examination, he could see no analogy between it and the usual mode of taking examinations in open court or before magistrates. It was altogether a secret proceeding, and a witness might be allowed to feel and express her sense of any thing which appeared to her to be incorrect in it. If the honourable gentleman (Mr. Whitbread) had not verified this document before the statement, he had done so since: and he did not see any thing in his conduct deserving of the reprehension which it had met with from many members. He could not avoid returning his thanks to the honourable gentleman,

gentleman, for the manner in which he had brought forward this great question; and he thought that it had been productive of the happiest effect, as nothing could be more important than that the innocence of the illustrious personage should be so completely vindicated to the world.

Mr. Ponsonby said a few words in explanation, and the conversation dropped.

March 24.—On the motion of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, the petition of sir John and lady Douglas was read; and

Mr. Cochrane Johnstone then said, in rising to call the attention of the house to the petition which had just been read, he would, as he laboured under severe indisposition, be as brief as possible. He believed—he was persuaded that the house would agree with him, that the petition of sir John and lady Douglas was nothing more than an impudent attempt to give a colouring of truth in the eyes of the nation to the falsehoods they had sworn. The petition, however, was before them; but in justice to her royal highness the princess of Wales, he thought it ought not to be entered on their journals without giving it some mark of their reprobation. Some might think it was wholly unworthy of their notice, and that by noticing it they would give it a degree of importance which otherwise would not be attached to it. He thought differently, as he felt they ought not to confine their view of it to the case as it stood at present: he therefore wished some mark of reprobation to be put upon it, to guard against such an effect. The petition appeared to him to originate in a wish to persevere in the most detestable falsehoods. He concluded by moving—"That the

petition of sir John Douglas and Charlotte his wife, laid on the table of the house on the 16th of March, is regarded as an audacious effort to give, in the eyes of the public, a colour of truth to the falsehoods before sworn to by them, in prosecuting their infamous designs against the honour and life of her royal highness the princess of Wales."

Sir F. Burdett seconded the motion.

Mr. Herbert rose, but could not be heard for some time, from the loud cries of "*Question, question!*" which burst from all parts of the house. He opposed the motion. He could not consent to express such an opinion on the evidence of the petitioners, on which they might still have to act as judges; against such a resolution he would raise his voice, and, though he might stand alone, take the sense of the house on the subject.

Mr. Whitbread contended that no regular grounds had been laid for the motion, which declared that sir John Douglas had attempted to set up, in the eyes of the public, that evidence as good, which had been proved to be false. They had not that evidence before them; and therefore, whatever his sentiments were on the subject, and the more he reflected on it, the more he was satisfied that their evidence was false from beginning to end, and a part of a most wicked and atrocious attempt on the honour and life of the princess of Wales; still, as they had not the documents before them, on which such a resolution should be founded, he would not concur with the motion. He thought it would be better that the house should resolve not to take it into consideration at all; and that the previous question should be moved

to get rid of the subject, or the order of the day passed on to, or any other mode adopted, which would enable them to quit the subject without giving an opinion on it: if, however, he must say aye or no to the question, his vote would be no, for the reasons he had already stated.

The solicitor-general, after a conversation had been carried on to some length, moved that the house do adjourn; which was carried without opposition.

March 31.—Mr. Whitbread assured the house that it was with great pain and reluctance that he now came forward to call the attention of the house to a circumstance connected with a subject which he had hoped it would never have been necessary again to discuss or allude to in that house. Nevertheless, some circumstances had since occurred, so novel, and so important in their nature, that he felt himself obliged by his public duty to submit them to their consideration. On Saturday last, a letter, purporting to be from the earl of Moira, to a member of the grand lodge of freemasons, appeared in many of the public papers. There was every reason to believe that the letter did really come from the noble lord, and he understood that his lordship avowed it. The public had lately been told, or at least induced by general rumour to believe, that all further investigation had been stopped; and they had heard with great satisfaction that the princess Charlotte had visited her royal mother. They had hoped this unhappy business was on the point of being favourably terminated. The letter, however, which had been published under the sanction of the high name of lord Moira, contain-

ed paragraphs, which he thought required a full explanation; and as the noble lord was upon the point of leaving this country, to execute the high duties with which he was intrusted in India, it appeared to him absolutely necessary, that before his departure he should explain the meaning of certain paragraphs (of which he alone could know the meaning), but which, according to the obvious construction of them, were considered by the public as reflecting upon her royal highness the princess of Wales. He should now point out the paragraphs which, as he thought, his lordship should be called upon to explain before he left England. In that letter there was the following sentence:—

“When the prince did me the honour of relating to me this representation of lord Eardley’s, expressing great uneasiness that the asserted notoriety of the interviews at Belvidere, and the comments of the neighbours, should force him to take any public steps, I suggested the possibility that there might be misapprehension of the circumstances; and I entreated that, before any other procedure should be determined upon, I might send for the steward (Kenny) and the porter (Jonathan Partridge) to examine them. This was permitted. I sent for the servants, and questioned them. My report to the prince was, that the matter had occasioned very little observation in the house, none at all in the neighbourhood, and that it was entirely unnecessary for his royal highness to notice it in any shape. The servants had been desired by me never to talk upon the subject: lord Eardley was informed, that his conception of what had been stated by the servants was found to be

be inaccurate; no mention was ever made to any one, not even to the lords who conducted the inquiry, three years afterwards, of the particulars related by the servants; and the circumstance never would have been known at all, had not the legal advisers of the princess, for the sake of putting a false colour on that investigation, indiscreetly brought it forward. The death of Kenny, in the interval, tempted them to risk this procedure. Jonathan Partridge having been known at the time when he was questioned to be devoted to the princess, from his own declaration to the steward, no one can doubt but that her royal highness would the next day be informed by him of his having been examined. The measure was most offensive, if not justified by some uncommon peculiarity of circumstance. Yet absolute silence is preserved upon it for so long a period by her royal highness's advisers: a forbearance only to be solved by their being too cautious to touch upon the point while Kenny was alive."

When first he read the paragraph, he could not avoid putting the same construction upon it which he found by the public papers had been put upon it out of doors. He did conceive it to mean that there was something in the evidence of Kenny which made the advisers of the princess afraid to advert to it during his lifetime; and with this impression on his mind, he had intended to have brought the matter before the house last Monday, in order that an impression should not go abroad injurious to the princess, after the earl of Moira should have left the country, and explanation was impossible. Upon reading the paragraph, however, over and over again, to try whether he could find out another meaning, it

occurred to him, that perhaps his lordship only meant that Kenny, if alive, could have contradicted any person who said that his lordship examined the witnesses in any manner that was improper, or unbecoming his dignity. Thinking that this might possibly be the meaning of the noble lord, he did not conceive it necessary to bring the business before the house; but finding by some observations in one of the public papers of this day, that the subject was viewed in another light out of doors, and that the public understood that part of the noble lord's letter according to its plain and obvious construction, he thought it now of the greatest importance that lord Moira should have an opportunity of explaining his meaning before he left the country. As any assertion which came from a man so high in rank and so high in character as lord Moira, must carry with it great weight, he thought that an impression ought not to be suffered to remain on the public mind, that either the princess or her advisers were ever afraid that her honour would have been in danger from any evidence which Kenny might have given. There was another paragraph which lord Moira, and none but he, could explain. When it was stated in the letter, that Partridge, lord Eardley's porter, was known to be entirely devoted to the princess, he thought it ought to be explained what was meant by the devotion of one of lord Eardley's menial servants to the princess of Wales. As the noble lord was so soon to quit the country, and as this was a point of such high importance, he felt himself justified, even without previous notice, in making a motion for the purpose of allowing the noble lord an opportunity for explanation. He had before stated, that he had  
from

from time to time indulged the hope that there would no longer be occasion to mention this subject in parliament: but if new documents and new matter were thus laid before the public from day to day, he must say that he despaired of any termination of this business, unless it should be put finally to rest, either by a formal recognition of the innocence of the princess being recommended to the crown by its advisers, or by some parliamentary proceedings. He should not say in what manner this recognition should be made; but he thought, that if the advisers of his royal highness would advise him to grant her an establishment suitable to her rank, either from his own civil list, or in any other way, such a measure would give the greatest satisfaction to the public. After a few more observations, he concluded by a motion to the following effect:—

“That a message should be sent to the house of lords, desiring that the earl of Moira should be allowed to attend that house for the purpose of giving them information as to the knowledge of certain circumstances relative to the conduct of the princess of Wales.”

The speaker said, that before he put the question, he felt it his duty to state to the house, that a grave consideration arose in his mind as to the parliamentary usage with respect to such a motion. The house was not in the habit of desiring the attendance of any noble lord, unless upon some investigation or matter pending in that house. If it was not stated to their lordships that there was some matter pending in the house, on which the evidence of a noble lord was required, he thought that their lordships would undoubtedly reject the application. If such an inquiry or

investigation were resolved upon, then it would be regular to make such an application; but his memory could not furnish him with a single precedent in the history of parliament, of such an application having been made, unless on a matter pending in the house.

Lord Castlereagh said, he thought the house must feel, that according to the custom of parliament, the present motion could not be received. He should, however, not confine himself merely to the forms of the house, but would say, upon the substance of it, that he was surprised that the honourable gentleman should (after six times that the subject had been brought forward in different shapes, and the feeling of the house well known upon it) think it necessary again to bring the subject before them. He could conceive no other purpose which this could answer, but to agitate the public mind, and wound the delicacy of the house. This was merely a collateral point of a subject, into which the honourable gentleman well knew that the house did not wish to enter. He was also surprised that, at the close of his speech, instead of calling upon them to pronounce upon the question of guilt or innocence, he should merely have suggested an increase of the establishment of her royal highness. If no question of form had rendered the motion inadmissible, he should have opposed it in its substance, as he was convinced that no possible good could result from the interference of parliament; and he thought that, on the contrary, it might in every quarter prove injurious. He concluded by moving the order of the day, which after a short debate was carried, and thus the matter ended.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Debate on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Notice respecting the Finances of the Country—on the Army Estimates—on Mr. Giddy's Motion respecting Copy-Rights of Books—Mr. Whitbread on the Exchange of Prisoners—on Lewis XVIII's Address to the People of France—Debate on the Marquis of Wellesley's Motion for a Committee to inquire into the Campaign in the Peninsula.*

**M**ARCH 3. — The house of commons having formed itself into a committee to consider the finances of Great Britain, the chancellor of the exchequer said that he had for a considerable period devoted a great share of his attention to this subject, and should communicate to the committee the result of his labours. At the same time it was impossible to doubt, that the late important events in the north of Europe had produced a great improvement in our financial prospects. The credit of the country might now be considered as standing on more solid grounds, and requiring measures of less rigor and severity than might have been contemplated six months ago. A very general impression at that time prevailed, that France would be successful in the war which she had commenced against Russia; but these gloomy prospects had been totally altered by the most extraordinary and eventful campaign ever recorded in the page of history; and though, as a man, he felt for the horrible destruction of human life in such various forms of aggravated misery; yet it might be hoped that this glorious struggle, between remorseless ambition and hardy stubborn patriotism, would be attended with the greatest benefits to the cause of humanity. In the course of a former discussion, he suggested that further measures might be taken for promoting and

facilitating the redemption of the land-tax: This was the first measure which he had again to press upon the consideration of the committee; and he had to observe, that the commissioners for this redemption had framed an elaborate report on the subject, which was now on the table, and would form the groundwork of a bill which he meant to introduce: The principal object of the measure would be to simplify and facilitate the arrangements necessary in the redemption of the land-tax, by dispensing with many of the formalities which it was at present necessary to go through. He should have to propose, as one clause of the bill, that upon a simple notice given to the collector, by any person desirous of redeeming his land-tax, the collector might be allowed to charge his tax double or treble, as might be agreed upon, for a certain number of years respectively, at the close of which the process of redemption would terminate; and that the produce of such tax should be annually applied to the reduction of the national debt: The second proposition which he meant to make was, that on all loans hereafter to be contracted, there should be an additional 1*l.* per cent. to the sinking fund for their liquidation. Besides which, he proposed that on exchequer bills, and other floating unfunded property, a sinking fund of one per cent. should be annually

voted; and he had to observe, that some of those exchequer bills had been outstanding for so long a period, as since 1795. There was a third proposition to which he wished to call the attention of the committee. It was his intention to submit a measure for the repeal of the act of 1802, as far as it directed that the produce of the sinking fund should accumulate at compound interest for the extinction of the national debt. At the time of the establishment of the sinking fund, the inconveniences attending the rapid increase of the national debt were contemplated, and the object of that measure was to correct them; but the inconveniences which might attend the too rapid reduction of that debt, were then kept out of view (*a laugh from some members*). It was not, however, the less true, that a too rapid reduction might produce injurious effects on the property of the country, by throwing too great a quantity of money into the market at one time; and these effects had been ably and judiciously stated by his noble friend the marquis of Lansdowne, in 1806. The only instance which he had heard of a great portion of national debt being paid off, was in the case of the elector of Saxony; but that instance, as referring only to a small country, had no peculiar reference to this great and opulent empire. The point then was, that the sinking fund should be sacredly supported to a certain amount; but he believed it might be shown that its enormous increase, by throwing into the market immense sums of money at one time, would produce effects similar to those of a national bankruptcy. Whether the sinking fund had now reached that point in this country, beyond which it would be impolitic to carry it,

would be a fair subject for the consideration of the house: its operation was, of course, counteracted by the effect of the loans which were rendered necessary by the war; but it might unquestionably be said, with truth, that in no country during peace had twelve millions been annually thrown into the money market. From the period of the complete introduction of the funding system, in the early part of the last century, to the close of the American war, the object of our measures of finance during war appeared to be only to provide for the immediate expenses of the year, by borrowing such sums as were necessary for any extraordinary charge incurred, and by imposing such taxes as might meet the interest of the loan, leaving to the period of peace the consideration of any provision for the repayment of debt; and this being attempted at irregular periods, and on no permanent system, was never carried into effectual execution; the total amount of debt redeemed between the peace of Utrecht and the close of the American war being no more than 8,330,000*l*. The accumulated expenses of the American war, and the depressed state of public credit and of the revenue at the close of that war, impressed on the vigorous mind of Mr. Pitt the necessity of adopting a more provident system, of which he laid the basis, with admirable judgement, in the sinking fund acts of 1786 and 1792. At the commencement of the war of the French revolution, Mr. Pitt thought it sufficient to meet the charge of military and naval expenses by loans, accompanied by that provision for gradual redemption, which had been established by the act of 1792. The increased expenses of the war, and the prospect

of its long continuance, induced him however, in 1797, to plan the most efficacious system by which a long duration of war could be supported, that of equalizing the income with the expenditure of the country. For this purpose he proposed, in 1798, the establishment of a general tax on income; intended, with the aid of some other war taxes, to provide within the year for a great part of the public expenses, and also to repay, within a few years after the conclusion of peace, all the debt contracted beyond the amount of the sinking fund in each year. The plans adopted for increasing the national income upon the renewal of the war, by lord Sidmouth, and afterwards by lord Grenville and lord Henry Petty, in 1803, 4, and 6, were on a much larger scale; and there was every appearance that the income of the nation might at the present time have equalled or exceeded its expenditure, if the necessity of a large increase in our foreign expenses had not arisen. The total amount of the public expenditures, exclusive of the sinking fund, was, on an average of the years 1806 and 1807, about 61,600,000*l*. The income of 1807 (taking the property tax, according to its assessment, at 11,400,000*l*.) was about 59,700,000*l*. The net produce of the public income, on an average of the years 1809, 1810, and 1811, deducting the arrears of property tax paid in beyond the assessment of each year, was about 64,000,000*l*. which, with the addition of the taxes imposed in 1811 and 1812, would appear to leave a considerable surplus beyond the amount of the expenditure of 1807: but to this expenditure must be added the increased charge of unredeemed debt since that year. This amounted to about 2,300,000*l*.

which, added to the before-mentioned sum of 61,600,000*l*. being the expenditure of 1807, made together nearly the above sum of 64 millions. The expenditure of the same years, 1809, 1810, and 1811, amounted, it was true, on an average, to nearly 73,000,000*l*. and that of the year 1812 might be estimated at about 81,000,000*l*. exclusively of the repayment of exchequer bills and loyalty loan. The amount therefore of the sum to be provided, in order to equalize the receipt and expenditure of Great Britain, on an average of the years 1809, 1810, and 1811, allowing for the increased charge of unredeemed debt, might be estimated at 9,000,000*l*; or, taking the expenditure at 81,000,000*l*., at about 17,000,000*l*.: from which sums must, however, be deducted the future produce of the taxes imposed in 1811 and 1812, which might be estimated at about 2,500,000*l*. and which would reduce the former sum to 6,500,000*l*. and the latter to 14,500,000*l*. To raise even the lowest of these sums by an immediate imposition of new taxes, in addition to the great exertions already made, would, however, be considered as a very heavy burden; and one, the severity of which might be felt still more sensibly, from the apprehension, by no means unreasonable, that such a sacrifice might eventually prove to have been unnecessary, as many supposable and even probable cases might arise during the continuance of the war, in which it would be possible very considerably to reduce our expenses. Nothing more, therefore, could be expected as a permanent war system, than to provide for such a scale of expense as must necessarily arise out of the state of war, without including that great



increase which had been occasioned by our extraordinary exertions abroad in the last four years; and which, in whatever way it might appear to the wisdom of parliament most proper to provide for it, must be considered as of only an occasional nature. In the foregoing statement he had assumed, that the sinking fund was no portion of the national expenditure. In fact, by cancelling a certain portion of debt in each year, it reduced the debt really incurred to the amount in which the sum borrowed exceeded the sum to be redeemed. It was evident indeed, that whether the fund was applied in the purchase of stock already existing, or in reducing the amount of stock to be created, the effect would be nearly the same; and the equalization of the public income and expenditure might consequently be considered as a primary advantage of the sinking fund, no less than the actual redemption of debt. The former of these objects, so far as was requisite to meet that part of the expenses of the war, which might be considered as necessarily permanent, appeared by the foregoing statement to have been already accomplished. It had, indeed, been effected by means which, while they evinced the extent of the resources of the country, and its firm and unshaken spirit, pointed out at the same time the expediency of not calling for any further avoidable sacrifices; for this great object had, in fact, been accomplished by the extraordinary payment of more than two hundred millions of war taxes. This unexampled exertion might be considered no less powerfully co-operating with the sinking fund, in its other great object of the reduction of the debt, since the creation of a new debt to an equal amount

had thereby been avoided. These considerations might be thought sufficient to prove to the committee the general expediency of any alteration of the present arrangement of the sinking fund, which, without violating the provisions of the act of 1792, might diminish the weight of those further burthens which the progress of the war might impose on the nation; and with this view it might be proper to advert to the remarkable period at which the redemption of the debt had actually arrived. When the establishment of the sinking fund was proposed by Mr. Pitt in 1786, the debt amounted to near 240,000,000*l.*; a sum, of which few then living ever hoped to see the redemption, but which, by the steady perseverance of parliament in this important measure, had already been redeemed. Having entered into various other statements, he said it was his object to propose to the committee a plan, by which a gradual and equable reduction of debt might be provided for, with great immediate advantage to the public. It was only necessary to enact, that the debt first contracted should be deemed to be the first paid off, whether purchased by the sinking fund originally provided for its redemption, or by any other. He had already shown, that this supposition involved no absurdity; the old stocks, and the additions to them, being so mixed, as to render all discrimination impossible: and it was surely very allowable in practice to assume that any given portion of the public debt was discharged, when an equal sum, funded in the same securities, had been paid off. A sum equal to the capital of the whole public debt existing in 1786, having already been purchased by the commissioners, or transferred

transferred for the redemption of land-tax, or the purchase of life annuities, the execution of this plan would only require, with regard either to that sum, or to any debt hereafter to be redeemed, that a certificate of such redemption should be published in the Gazette, and laid before parliament by the commissioners; and that, thereupon, the stock so redeemed and standing in the names of the commissioners should be at the disposal of parliament, and liable to be cancelled, in such proportions and at such times as parliament might direct, to such an amount as might be necessary for charging, upon the same securities, the dividend and sinking fund of any loan which might have been contracted for the public service; but that the whole sinking fund created by the act of 1789, or by any subsequent act, should be continued and applied, until the total redemption of all debt existing, or to be created during the present war. In order, however, effectually to secure the means of redeeming all future loans within 45 years, and to preserve a proper proportion between the sinking fund and the unredeemed debt, it would be expedient to enact, that whenever the sum borrowed in any year should exceed the sum to be paid off, a sinking fund should be provided for the excess of loan, equal to one-half of its interest; and for the remainder of the loan, or for the whole, if not exceeding the amount to be redeemed within the year, a sinking fund of one per cent. conformable to the act of 1792. He might also observe, that all this arrangement involved the repeal of those provisions of the act of 1802, under which the whole sinking fund then existing was directed to accumulate at compound interest. Till the

complete redemption of the debt which then remained unredeemed, it would be proper to make good to the sinking fund the annual sum of 870,000*l.* which would have been appropriated to the redemption of the different sums provided for in 1802, if that consolidation had not taken place, and if those sums had been accompanied by the usual redeeming fund of one per cent. And while in this respect the proposed plan would revert to the original arrangements of the sinking fund, it would also conform to them by returning, with much greater advantage, to the principle of those provisions, by which relief would before this time have been obtained to the public by the limitation of the sinking fund, as established by the act of 1786, and then restricted in its accumulation to the annual sum of 4,000,000*l.* He might observe, in favour of the proposed plan, that it was less liable than any other modification of the sinking fund to be abused as a precedent for encroachment upon it; not only because it arose out of the principles of the sinking fund itself, but because it turned entirely on the application of the stock purchased by the commissioners, which must, in any possible arrangement of the sinking fund, be cancelled sooner or later; the only question being as to time and mode. In considering the subject, the committee must not forget that the great and ultimate object of the sinking fund was to relieve the nation from the burden of taxes which would be entailed upon it by the indefinite extension of the public debt. It answered other collateral purposes of considerable importance, but that was its direct and immediate object. The right honourable gentleman observed, in conclusion,

clusion, that he was sensible, in detailing a plan of such magnitude, that he took upon himself a great load of responsibility; but if he should be so fortunate as to render a great service to his country, as was his anxious wish, he was willing to risk his reputation in the attempt, with as entire a devotion as numbers of his gallant countrymen had exposed their lives, feeling that the one was as precious to him as the other could be to them. He did not wish, however, to force any plan of his upon the house or the country with unbecoming precipitation. It was his desire, that full time should be given to weigh every part of the plan he had submitted; that the gentlemen opposite should consult the ablest men and the best authorities upon the subject; and that every member should come to the decision of it with a disinterested and pure desire to serve the country. If, as he hoped, the plan he had submitted was solid and well founded, he should, in that case, think that he had performed the duties of his office, and deserved the confidence of the public. The right honourable gentleman then read the resolutions which he proposed to submit to the committee, which were nine in number, and embraced all the topics urged in his speech; and he finally said that he hoped by Monday se'nnight to be prepared to enter into the discussion of the subject.

Mr. Huskisson said, that he for one acceded to the postponement of the discussion upon the plan of his right honourable friend until a future day; and as he did not understand his plan, he should, for the present, carefully abstain from any comment upon it further than this—that it appeared to him, upon

the face of it, to be the most important change in the financial arrangements of the country that had ever been proposed in the course of a long and eventful war.

Mr. Tierney and others spoke to the same purport, and the subject was adjourned.

March 8.—Lord Palmerston moved the order of the day, for the house resolving itself into a committee of supply, and the speaker accordingly left the chair. Mr. Lushington being seated at the table,

Lord Palmerston rose, for the purpose of submitting to the house the army estimates. He said that it would be unnecessary to detain the house at length, since the variation between the estimates of the present and of the last year arose only from a slight augmentation of effective numbers, and not from any change of the military system of the country. The total increase of effective numbers was 12,000 men, and the increase of charge was 390,000*l.* to be referred principally to the land forces and to the foreign corps. As upon former occasions, he would advert to the various heads under which the estimates were arranged *seriatim*, and notice the increase or diminution in money or men in each of them. Having done so, he said the number of men raised by ordinary recruiting amounted to upwards of 14,000 men, considerably more than the number of the preceding year. For three or four years back, recruiting for the army had been progressively improving; it had risen from 9000 to upwards of 14,000. The whole number added to the British army by the accounts of last year, including those who volunteered from the militia, amounted to upwards of 20,000; and for the service of the

the army and the militia, there was raised altogether from the population of the country upwards of 24,000 men. It would seem as if the military spirit of the country had been roused, and that to this the great increase in the number of men enlisted was in a great measure to be attributed. The total amount of men who had entered the British army in the course of last year, including those raised by enlistment, by volunteering from the militia, by desertion from the enemy, by the enlistment of foreigners at home and in the peninsula, with the Spaniards, amounted altogether to 39,700. The casualties for the same period amounted to somewhat more than 29,000. Of this number 17,000 were contained in the statements on the table of the house—2000 had been subsequently returned from the peninsula, and upwards of 4000 from various other foreign stations. The loss in prisoners amounted to above 1800. In the course of the year, also, 900 privates were promoted to the rank of serjeant. Taking all the casualties together, as they appeared from the returns, they amounted to upwards of 26,000, leaving 2,600 men unaccounted for. This circumstance required some explanation. When a regiment was sent abroad, the commanding officer was considered responsible for all the men under his charge. In the course of service, many of the men became unfit for duty, and were sent home to be taken care of. As soon as these men left the foreign station, they were struck off the foreign establishment, and did not enter the home one, and they were not returned till their fitness or unfitness for future service could be ascertained. There was, therefore, always a certain number of men, constituting a sort of floating mass, not

included in the army at home, and not returned among the casualties. Having stated thus much, he should conclude with moving his first resolution, that a sum not exceeding 3,000,000*l.* be granted for the service of the land forces for the current year.

Captain Bennett objected to the mode of recruiting which now prevailed. The last quarter during which the plan of Mr. Windham was allowed a fair trial, produced no fewer than 7000. The present system, during the years 1808, 9, 10, 11, had been much less productive; and though during the last year the recruiting was said to have improved, it was, even including the volunteering from the militia, by no means equal to what it ought to be. The great objection to that system was, that it crippled one service for the sake of another, and had a decided tendency to destroy the character of the militia. The noble lord had stated the increase of the army at 39,000, and the casualties at 29,000. He was, however, prepared to maintain that the army, instead of being improved, was worse by 700 than it was the former year. The house had been congratulated on the flourishing state of the army, and the increase which had taken place during the last year; but of 10,000 at which that increase was stated, 8,000 were not Englishmen. In every action the loss of Englishmen was much more considerable than that of foreigners; and if to this loss four foreigners were to be added to the army for every Englishman, that army would soon come to be almost entirely composed of foreigners. Already they constituted more than one-fifth of the army. The noble lord had stated the loss in prisoners at 1800, but in the Gazette not more men than 1500 had appeared.

Why were the lists not published fairly and openly? Did they imagine that this was a country which could not bear to be told the naked truth? He should have liked to hear of some plan for the reduction of the expense of our army, which at present was so enormously great.

Mr. Huskisson said, he had been in the habit of calling the attention of the house to the general state of the expenditure of the country, on occasions similar to the present; but as the chancellor of the exchequer had given the outline of a plan which he was soon to submit to them for their consideration, he should defer his observations on that subject till that plan came under discussion. He would only state at present, that if any person thought that he was less called on to retrench in consequence of that plan, he would be paying a very bad compliment to his right honourable friend. No person could look at his plan without feeling that it could be justified by necessity alone; and that, if the war should continue for any length of time, the country would, in consequence of it, be involved in very serious difficulties. He wished at present merely to state some objections to certain parts of the proposed estimates. Having enumerated several items, he came to the subject of the local militia. He said, looking to our armies in the peninsula, he hoped he might flatter himself with the expectation, that they were about to resume offensive operations with better effect than they had hitherto lately done; and if this should be found to be the case, he thought it extremely probable that we might be able to avoid calling out the local militia for the present year. Let no gentleman suppose that he undervalued this

class of our national force; but still he thought there could be no necessity for calling it out at present. Why call it out this year for fourteen days, when there was no appearance of there being any occasion for it for years to come? Would it not be better not at all to call out the local militia this year, and to call it out for twenty-one days during the next year, when in all probability our foreign expenditure would be reduced in amount? Look at the character of the force itself—it was not a force calculated to keep up the regular army. Calling it out into actual service could be of little avail where there was no dread of invasion; and when to this was added the inconvenience of taking away from the agricultural districts one-third of the farmers' servants for fourteen days, when they could not be required; he hoped ministers would be induced to relinquish that idea for this year, and rather to call them out for twenty-one days in the following year, when their services might be more effective. In these different ways, the expense would be greatly reduced without the effective force being at all broken in upon.

Mr. Addington observed, that few or no officers belonging to the militia had now any objection to the volunteering into the line. Much to their credit, they had (he should not call it conquered their prejudices, but had) overcome their objections on that head, feeling how important it was to do so in the war in which we were engaged. As to the local militia, it was to be remarked, that three-fourths of them were newly raised men, and then it would be seen how dangerous it must be to allow them to go forth without knowing their officers, or their officers knowing them. How far it might be prudent

dent to adopt the suggestion of his right honourable friend in a subsequent year, he was not prepared to say; but he did not see any decided objection to it. The system, it was to be recollected, was now in its infancy, and ought to be cherished in time of repose and absence from external danger.

Mr. Freemantle and several other members spoke, after which lord Palmerston replied: on which

Mr. Whitbread said, he regarded the day on which the army estimates were voted as an important day in every session, and he was a little disappointed on the present occasion, that none of those gentlemen who had maintained that our operations on the peninsula should be conducted upon a more extensive scale, had come forward with some plan to show how greater force, and how more money to support that force, could be obtained. The object of the committee, however, now was to see that so large a sum as 17,000,000*l.* was so expended, as to make it go as far as it could. The noble lord, he thought, had talked with too much levity about saving 10,000*l.* here, or 20,000*l.* there; if 10 or 20,000*l.* could be saved any where, it ought to be saved; nay, if 1 or 2000*l.* could be saved, it was certainly the bounden duty of the committee to do it. It was said there were great difficulties in supplying the deficiencies in the army. He did not mean to go back to Mr. Windham's plan; but he would say, he was firmly convinced, that if that most wise, salutary, and comprehensive mode had been adopted in all its parts and principles, no such difficulties would now be felt. It was, however, too late to think of that plan now; and all we could do was to go from hand to mouth, and sup-

ply our wants with foreigners as well as we could. With respect to the dress of the soldiers, he regretted to see such mummery—every Englishman laughed at them as they passed along the streets. He could wish also that the national colour had not been departed from. All the continental troops were nearly clothed in blue uniforms; why had we adopted that colour? Many fatal accidents had happened in consequence of it. Our men, mistaking the enemy, had fallen into their hands: sometimes they had fallen by the hands of their own comrades, who mistook them for the enemy. He saw no occasion for any change. Red was the established English colour, and the soldier was proud of it. With regard to the estimates themselves, he thought they ought to be deferred. The noble lord had not satisfactorily accounted for the 10,000*l.* for repairing the Horse Guards. He had talked of buildings at Kew and barracks at Knightsbridge; but there was no distinct specification of expenses. As to the barracks in Ireland, he felt much inclined to divide the committee upon that point, if it were only to punish the negligence of the noble lord, in coming to that house unprepared with proper information on the subject. He knew nothing about them; neither where they were to be built, nor of what they were to be built: but he would inquire, and tell the house another time. The noble lord ought to wait till another time than before he had the money voted. He hoped that his honourable friend's resolution about the paymaster to the forces would be pressed to a division; for that it was a sinecure, appeared from the mouth of the noble lord himself.

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It was better to have one paymaster at 4000*l.* a year, than two at 2000*l.* a year each, for then ministers would have one vote the less in that house perhaps. It was perfectly within the power of the committee to annul the office, and it would become them to show the country that they were anxious to save the public money, and likewise to abridge the influence of the crown in that house.

Lord Castlereagh allowed, that this was the time for entering into a detailed examination of the expenditure of the army, but thought that the arguments which had been brought forward respecting insufficiency of detail, were only some of those parliamentary shifts to put off a decision on a question, which were so well known to the honourable gentleman (Mr. Whitbread). Much had been said during the discussion concerning the dress and equipage of the soldiery, but this was one which he thought the house was peculiarly unfit to judge of. In support of this assertion, the noble lord observed, that though the foreign saddle was so much decried, it did not subject the horses to sore backs, as was the case with the English saddle; and though he, in common with other gentlemen, preferred the old japanned cavalry helmet to the modern brass one, yet on consulting a cavalry officer, he found that the former, in hot countries, cracked, and consequently, in the event of rain, was immediately destroyed. After remarking that the 10,000*l.* proposed for the horse guards included also the repairs of other barracks, the noble lord said that he consoled himself with the thought, that the honourable gentleman (Mr. Whitbread), who was so acute at picking holes in a statement in any line,

had raised such trifling objections to that of his noble friend (lord Palmerston). The objections to the state of the office of paymaster could not bear to the expense; and as to the constitutional point, if any objection were raised on the score of influence, it should be brought on as a separate motion.

Mr. W. Smith disapproved of the mode of enlisting men for life, in the moment of intoxication, or under circumstances equally improper; and thought that the way to ascertain the superior eligibility of the two methods of enlisting for life, or for seven years, was not to ask a man who was enlisted the other day, whether he repented of his resolution, but to ask him seven years hence. With regard to the manner in which the army was clothed, he did not see why gentlemen in that house might not form an opinion on it, when their opinion was the same as that of every man they met in the streets, as well as of the persons who were condemned to wear these trappings, only fit for a mountebank. The honourable member agreed that permanent barracks might be less expensive than temporary ones, in time of war, but contended that they would be more expensive in the intervals of peace, which he hoped would be longer than they had lately been. He considered the argument of his honourable friend near him, with respect to the joint paymastership, as being perfectly conclusive.

Several other members objected to many of the items; but the whole of the resolutions were at length carried.

March 11.—Mr. Giddy rose to make the motion of which he had given notice, on the subject of copyrights of books, by entering the  
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same in Stationers'-hall. There were existing acts of parliament, by which those who wished to secure to themselves the exclusive right to the property of their works, could do so by entering the same in Stationers'-hall, and furnishing a certain number of copies to the universities, &c. There were other acts which seemed only to apply to the penalties to which booksellers and authors would be entitled on condition of furnishing such copies, but by which, if the penalties were not sought to be enforced, the universities did not seem to be secured in their copies. By a recent decision, it had been held that the universities were entitled to those copies, whether the proprietors of the works chose to enter them in Stationers'-hall or not. The booksellers thought this was a hardship upon them, and that there were certain points relating to it, in respect of which they were entitled to relief. 1st, They were required to furnish copies of each work printed on paper of the very best quality. Now, there were some books of which a few copies were printed in a splendid manner and upon the very best paper. This regulation, however, they thought would be sufficiently satisfied by copies on less splendid paper. Another thing to which they objected was the furnishing copies of new editions, with trifling additions, which they thought might be sufficiently satisfied by furnishing the additions alone. Another objectionable point was where there were reprints of ancient works, or where only a few copies were sold. To illustrate this last, he alluded to the "*Flora Græca*" of Dr. Sibthorpe, of which only 34 or 35 copies had been sold in the whole of Europe. If to be compelled to give away 11 copies

of such a work as this, must it not be esteemed a very great burden indeed? The honourable member undertook the making of the present motion, not as a partisan of the booksellers, being himself much attached to the university of Oxford, where he had spent four or five of the happiest years of his life. All he desired was, to fall on what might be esteemed the best plan of promoting the interests of learning. He should, therefore, propose that a committee be appointed, to consist of 21 members, to take into consideration the state of the laws on the subject, and to report to the house their opinions and observations thereon.

Mr. Rose agreed that some mode must be fallen on to secure their copies to the universities, without too much trespassing on the property of authors and booksellers.

Mr. C. W. Wynne, much as he respected the universities, would rather see them supported by the public than made a burden on authors, which he conceived the depositing of copies of every book to be. This too was a tax only on authors of merit; for the universities did not think it worth their while to claim all the trash that issues from the daily press; but only meant to impose this tax as a reward for superior learning and ability.

Lord A. Hamilton thought the only inconvenience arising from the practice of depositing copies of all publications in the universities, &c. would be, to create a small additional charge on the price; which would affect the bookseller rather than the author.

Mr. J. H. Smyth thought the object of the present application was to get rid of the obligation imposed by the act of queen Anne, and to retain the benefit conferred

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by it. His honourable and learned friend (Mr. Wynne) called the regulation alluded to, a tax on authors: it was incumbent, however, on those who thus characterized it, to show that its evils were less than its advantages. No author, he was convinced, would object to such a distribution of his work, if its effect would be to show it to thousands of eyes which would never otherwise see it, in which same proportion his own celebrity would be increased. As to the idea of works printed on fine wire-wove paper not being subjected to the operation of the act, he thought those were exactly the works on which, more peculiarly, such a burden ought to fall. The time for allowing to authors a property in their works, he thought ought to be enlarged; and also, that an alteration should be made in the act of the 42d George III. by which the works to be furnished to the Irish libraries were limited to those actually entered at Stationers'-hall.

Mr. J. P. Grant, though connected with one of the great bodies affected by the regulations in question, declared that he had no private feeling on the subject; on the contrary, he was certain that the body to which he belonged would be happy to meet the question liberally, and that the only object was the advancement of learning.

Sir S. Romilly said, the honourable gentleman who spoke last but one was under a great mistake, when he stated that the object of the present application was to get rid of the obligations of the act of queen Anne, and to retain the benefits of it. No man could do so without depositing 11 copies of his book: and by the late decision, though a man did not claim any exclusive benefit under the act, still

he must give the 11 copies. There was another mistake under which the honourable gentleman laboured, in supposing that the act of queen Anne conferred a benefit on authors: no such thing. Before the passing of that act, authors had the exclusive property in their works; and the act in question went to limit that right to 14 years in the first instance, and to another period of 14 years if the author should be alive at the expiry of the first period. The only privileges conferred by this act, which authors did not before enjoy, went to some penalties which were immaterial. It was extremely desirous that every encouragement should be given to the public libraries; but was it necessary that this should be done by a tax upon learning? This was said to be a tax not on authors but on booksellers. Was it not, however, a tax on authors wherever they kept their works in their own hands? As the case now stood, no doubt the privilege was absurd and unequal. A man had a second period of 14 years in which he had an interest in his work, if he survived the first 14 years; but if he died before the expiry of the first period, then his executors had no further interest in the work. This was to hold out rewards only to jejune works, and to suffer works of experience and merit to go without any reward to their authors.

The motion of Mr. Giddy was then put and agreed to; and a committee appointed, containing, among others, the names of Mr. Giddy, sir W. Scott, sir J. Nicholl, lord Palmerston, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Plunkett, Mr. Rose, lord A. Hamilton, the lord advocate of Scotland, Mr. C. W. Wynne, &c. Nothing effective being done this session, the subject need not to be referred

ferred to again in our Parliamentary Debates.

March 12.—When the chairman came to put the supply for sick prisoners,

Mr. Whitbread asked, whether there was any truth in the report which had appeared in the newspapers, that a late negotiation for the exchange of prisoners, proposed by France, had been broken off in consequence of the interference of a foreign power? He said, that there were at present 60,000 French prisoners in England, and he could conceive no terms of negotiation for their exchange which should not be listened to, and very few which should not be acceded to. He therefore proposed that the correspondence relative to the late negotiation should be laid before the house.

Lord Castlereagh said, that in all such negotiations we were entitled to reasonable terms; and if we listened to any other, we should never obtain them: he therefore differed with the honourable gentleman that all terms should be accepted.

The conversation then dropped; and the resolution was put and carried.

The house was then resumed, and the report of the committee was ordered to be received on Monday.

Mr. Whitbread rose to ask, whether the manifesto of Louis XVIII. to the people of France was published with the knowledge or concurrence of ministers?

Lord Castlereagh replied that it was done without their sanction.

Mr. Tierney said, he had heard that many copies of it had been sent on board of our ships for distribution on the coast of France; and asked, whether this were the fact?

Lord Castlereagh made no reply; and

Mr. Whitbread added, that such a measure would do more than any

thing to unite the people of France against this country, and prolong the war.

Lord Castlereagh. "All I can say is, that his majesty's ministers disavow such a measure."

Mr. Whitbread. "Ah! that won't do."

In the house of peers lord Wellesley rose, and spoke to the following purport:—Under all the sentiments which inspire all ranks, with respect to lord Wellington, in the midst of the splendid scene which his exertions have opened, what was the circumstance which has checked his career of victory— which, amid the very acclamations of triumph, has baffled all the hopes and all the labours for success? What was the reason why an army, of which he did not know how to use language adequate to express his own feelings, and those of the world,—an army never equalled in gallant spirit, and uniting qualities which never before met in such a body,—with a general, to say the least, not excelled in ancient or modern times,—the hope and glory of the great cause in which he was engaged, and the refuge of his army in all difficulties and dangers;—combining in himself all those characteristics which are usually reckoned incompatible,—in a cause in which generosity and justice kept equal pace with the soundest and discreetest policy,—with the eyes of all Europe and the world fixed upon our transactions,—why was it that the nation's hopes were only excited to be blasted? Why was it that expectation was raised almost to certainty, merely to be prostrated and overthrown at the very crisis of completion? Why was it that, at every period of advantage, advance was turned into retreat,—that victory, which graced the very bosom of retreat, was immediately snatch-

ed away,—that the conquerors of Salamanca were pursued by the conquered over the fields of their former glory, and the solid principles of vigorous offence sunk at once into retreat and defence? These were circumstances which required the severest consideration and investigation from their lordships. Were they the result of the weakness of the empire, of the failure of its resources? Was the imbecility in the thunderbolt, or in the hand that wielded it? Had the powers of the country been inadequate to support the great and proud attitude which she had assumed,—or was the want of success to be traced to those who administered the resources of the nation? If their lordships saw any ground to believe that the failure lay, not in the empire, but in the administration of it, what ought to be pronounced on the conduct of those who had enfeebled its means, and betrayed a mighty cause? If, on the other hand, the effort made had been complete, and England had done her utmost,—all that a patriot, zealous for his country's glory and the welfare of mankind, could devise,—all that a nation, inspired, as this has been, with the noblest motives of generosity and justice, could execute,—if, in spite of all these exertions, England has not been able to advance one step nearer to her object, then let it be considered whether she should not retrace her steps, and correct, though late, her errors. Which-ever view was taken of this important subject, the fullest investigation was required. He did not impute to ministers any want of feeling as to the magnitude of the cause, which concerned all the civilized world; but he wished to inquire whether, on a comparison of the means of the country with its exer-

tions, its resources had been adequately administered? When any individuals held themselves out to the country as fit to manage an arduous contest, they should, it might be thought, be equal to meet, not only obvious and probable dangers, but also unexpected and unforeseen difficulties. But, perhaps, even the most moderate persons would require that ministers, proceeding by gradual steps through a known path, with signs and beacons to guide and confirm them,—acting not unexpectedly, but in an established cause,—and in possession of the means destined by providence, and settled by experience, for the accomplishment of the desired end,—should be equal to the crisis which came upon them, and that a system of acknowledged policy should regularly proceed by adequate causes to adequate ends. He would recur to the state of affairs at an early period of this important struggle. It soon became a question, whether, by securing Portugal, we were not likely to establish a system which might effectuate the salvation of Europe,—operating as an admonition to those who wanted admonition, and as an incitement to those who wanted spirit? For it was most true, that there was no people so degraded and spiritless,—no nation over which a bad government had so spread its baleful wings,—that could not, if roused to a sense of its strength, and of the glory of independence, furnish men willing and capable of correcting whatever is erroneous and mischievous in its government. This seemed the natural course of things:—but there were others, and one in particular, whose opinions disagreed with his own, but whose person and character he now and always regarded with love and veneration. To these it seemed better to wait  
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the event of circumstances in other places. But his own decided opinion,—his own firm belief and conviction, expressed in that house, in the cabinet, out of the house, everywhere, had always been, that the great hope of Europe lay in the exertions of Spain and Portugal, aided by the British arms; and that this was the only scheme to restore affairs, not only in Europe, but in the world. There were at that time favourable circumstances which influenced his opinion. [Here his lordship gave a detailed account of the plans of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and spoke with strong indignation of the government at home for not seconding with all their might our once victorious armies in Spain, but who for want of proper supplies were obliged to measure back almost all their steps.] As to the moral impression, he said, of all others the most important, what was to be conceived more terrifying to the people, more subversive of the popular respect, more exhausting to the popular spirit, than to see us thus alternately advancing and retreating, with so little space between, that it was almost one movement? “To-day,” said the noble lord, “they see us driving the French before us; to-morrow, the French driving us before them; and all their demonstrations of joy, and natural gratitude, and patriotic pride, visited by bitter and angry vengeance. I fear that this system will engender, if it has not already engendered, a feeling of all others the most to be dreaded in such a cause and in a quarter of all others to be kept the most untouched, the noble and ardent mind of the lower orders of Spain. This system of bustling beginnings and feeble results, of lofty promises and sad disappointments, must, of all others,

harass and alienate the public heart. Must they not say, What have you brought to us but increased sufferings? We felt the yoke of France, we felt its grievousness; but patience helped us to make it lighter, we were accustomed to it, we endured it: but then you came, and we were relieved from it for a moment, only to find the pressure come upon us with a keener and more crushing violence. I fear, I strongly fear, from what I have known, and what I have heard, that our folly has gone far to depress a living and vigorous spirit, whose life and vigour may be of the highest import, not merely to Spain, not merely to England, but to Europe,—but to the whole world.” What must (said lord Wellesley) be the feelings of the people when, after our success, they see the enemy quietly taking up his quarters in the heart of the country, with its richest resources at his mercy; and after retreating, and being defeated, pursuing us across the frontier, and seating himself in the capital? What must be their feelings on the sight which our retreating troops afforded? the disorder, the loss of discipline, the loss of character! —On this subject the public were already sufficiently informed. The source of their information was only a new proof of the loftiness and candour of heart of their commander, who looked for no popularity, stooped to no arts that were inconsistent with the plainness of a great mind zealous only for the good of his country. The letter of that general distinctly stated the disorders which had arisen on the retreat, and the danger which must arise in future operations from their repetition. The difficulties of the movement were, however, to be considered. It was known to all men that had experience of military proceedings

proceedings, that few movements of rapidity, either in advance or retreat, could be executed without some degree of disorder: A movement in retreat was, of course, more liable to irregularity; but still more a movement in such a season made disorder more inevitable. But why was the deficiency suffered to exist, that made this perilous movement necessary? Had we not a right to inquire, whether it was owing to a failure in the resources of the country, or to a failure in their management? If the British general could have left a force in the north sufficient to have kept Marmont's army in play, or a force to have secured the flanks from Joseph's troops, his further motions would have been in the fulfilment of his original plan; and the success of the Sicilian expedition would have brought an important accession, or taken off a formidable opponent. It was not to be doubted, that that expedition had kept Suchet from detaching the whole of his force; but then it had not kept him from detaching all that was necessary to answer his purpose: Was there not the strongest evidence of mismanagement in all this? He (lord Wellesley) would take his stand upon two points. The first: was there a force in the country that could be sent to lord Wellington's assistance, to the amount already stated? The next: were there financial means, were there any insurmountable impediments to the supply of specie? He laid down those queries, taking it for granted, that the crisis was one which required the strongest and most animated efforts of the country, that our whole strength should be displayed, that nothing should be neglected which would enable us to bring our whole power to the exigences of the moment.

"Yes," said lord Wellesley, "I have no doubt that others are of the same opinion; yet I cannot but fear, that the noble lord opposite (lord Liverpool) is scarcely a convert yet. I remember his fear of great exertion, I remember his abhorrence of exhausting our force by mighty and general efforts. But have not his eyes been opened yet? Is he to be still an admirer of husbanding and hiding the national strength? Has he not seen Russia, and seen there the result of a vigorous and bold application of the whole power of a great people? I protest, my lords, Russia has done in this war what I expected. Whenever she turned to the war with the whole sudden and mighty impulse of her mind, I was prepared for the event; for we know her resources, her faculties for the struggle,—and I could not be surprised at the ruin of her adversary. The character of that man would even lead me towards what has happened: I recollect to have once had a conversation with a noble lord, then in office, in which some question arose on a project of the assassination of Bonaparte in some newspaper of the day. I of course expressed, as was natural, my utter abhorrence of those modes of getting rid of an enemy; but I recollect to have observed, even then, that independently of its strong hostility to every Christian and moral principle, the assassination of Bonaparte might be among the most impolitic things that could be done; that as he was probably the only man in the world who could have raised his power to such a height, so that he was probably the only man who could bring it into such imminent danger,—his eagerness for power was so inordinate,—his jealousy of independence so fierce,—his keenness of appetite so feverish in all that touched his

his ambition, even in the most trifling things,—that he must plunge into desperate difficulties. He was of an order of minds that by nature make for themselves great reverses. But in all of the question that touches upon England, I cannot doubt, I never doubted, that the most decided stretch of our means was due,—not merely as a duty to Russia,—but was in every view of it the most discreetly economical, the most considerately prudent, the most plainly wise, as well as the most grand, the most magnificent, the most worthy of the cause and of the name of England. He requested to know of the noble lord at the head of the military department, why he did not send his reinforcements, when he knew of the state of affairs between France and Russia? He had been told, that lord Wellington thought that between Christmas and March was the proper time for sending them. Though that was unquestionably the best season, yet it afforded no sufficient and solid ground for acting upon, under all the circumstances. Might not our commander, in the operations, have gained a victory, or suffered a failure, either of which might require additional support? That opinion could not justify ministers. It was true, that the efficiency of our force was desirable in all our possessions at home or abroad; but common rules might not apply to extraordinary cases. In case of conquests in the East or the West Indies, which required more troops in those quarters, the ordinary regulations respecting the sending them out would not be taken as invariable rules. How much more strongly did this apply here! Did not government see the approaching conflict of Russia and France, in time sufficient to show the propriety of

1813.

increasing our military strength in Spain early in 1812? If their lordships would grant a committee, he pledged himself to show them, that the reinforcements wanted were ready in the early part of the year. Ministers talked about reinforcing only between Christmas and July, as if it would be a sort of outrage and insult to the feelings of the commander in chief to do so! Men are sent off at the chosen period: but on what principle, he again demanded, were the rest kept back till after the battle of Salamanca,—when, they say, they sent all the men they could? Well: these men were sent at the equinox, suffering in the greatest degree even while their vessels were riding at anchor; and they did arrive at Lisbon in November, at a season when the roads were in such a state as to make an immediate junction impracticable. When told that men ought only to be sent at the proper season, how happened it, but through providence, that these troops were detained till they were at last sent out at the very worst season? [His lordship went into a variety of other details, in which we regret that our limits will not allow us to follow him.] He had no doubt that the noble lord (lord Bathurst) would rise and answer him; but he desired a clear, a direct, and satisfactory answer: he wished to be informed why the noble lord had not sent out his troops in time to be of service to the cause of the peninsula? He trusted that the noble lord would not revive the days of Marlborough, and bring down the heroes of antiquity, for the purpose of illustrating his arguments by comparative views and reference to past ages; but that he would candidly submit to be tried by what he had really done, and by what was then actually passing. "I am not,"

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continued

continued the marquis Wellesley, "to be told that all things have been conducted with wisdom and true policy; that every thing is as it ought to be, because lord Wellington is satisfied; nor am I to be told, because lord Wellington is satisfied, that therefore the parliament is satisfied,—the people of England are satisfied,—and the country is satisfied. There is in such an assurance a very strange and striking singularity of statement, accompanied by an unaccountable absurdity of inference. Why (am I not justified in asking) were his plans rendered abortive? Why were his objects defeated? Why did he retire before the very army he had conquered? Why did the co-operation of the Sicilian expedition fail him, at the very crisis when he most wanted, and most relied upon, its assistance? But if the marquis of Wellington be satisfied, let me put it fairly to the house, and to the noble lord, can that be a reason why all inquiry should be stopped? What grounds has the nation for being satisfied, unless, indeed, it be a just ground of satisfaction, that because their general, in want of the means of doing more, has done his duty? I cannot, my lords, consider this as a reason why your lordships and the country ought to be satisfied. I stand before your lordships to assert the vigour of the British empire, to maintain the strength and copiousness of our resources, and to uphold the magnitude of our means. I contend, that inquiry has become necessary, though solely for the purpose of ascertaining from what causes, and by what neglect, the system adopted with respect to the prosecution of the war in the peninsula has proved weak and defective. We find in the failure and discomfiture of our in-

veterate enemy, a strong argument in favour of this inquiry. For what has been the result of the triumphs of our ally, and of the defeats of the enemy? The vast armies which he marshalled and led with all the proud anticipation of victory, and the full confidence of success, have perished. Yet is he still allowed to wield the sceptre of dominion, and to raise his baleful crest in France. But what has enabled him to do so? It is because ministers have not hesitated to declare that England is unequal to the contest in which she is engaged; that her vigour, her resources and means are inadequate to maintain the war in the peninsula; and that she has tried every effort, and strained every nerve, in vain. I say, my lords, it is impossible that you can sanction the principle, that England is so reduced—so worn out—so exhausted, as to be unable to carry on the war, with that proud and conscious sense of the strength and energy which she must and does possess. Although she has been foiled in the expected accomplishment of her wishes and object; although she has not attained that exalted station in the scale of national glory and national prosperity to which she had a right to aspire, were her native means and resources but wisely and providently applied—I feel, and I trust your lordships feel with me, that her vigour and energies are competent to meet greater trials, and surmount difficulties still more serious and perplexing. I am, therefore, my lords, justified in thinking that you will not, by your vote this night, sanction the weakness and inadequacy of the country in such a cause, and that whilst she is struggling for objects equally dear to her interests and to her glory." His lordship concluded one of the ablest

ablest speeches ever delivered in parliament, by moving, "That a committee be appointed to inquire into the circumstances and result of the last campaign in the peninsula of Spain."

Lord Bathurst began by observing, that no inferences could be drawn of any dissatisfaction felt by the marquis of Wellington, in consequence of the allusions made by the noble lord who spoke last, to the causes why the marquis of Wellington ought not to be satisfied. For himself, he could safely say, that there existed every convincing proof that the marquis of Wellington was perfectly satisfied with the conduct of his majesty's government on the subject of the war in the peninsula. Yet, although he entertained no apprehension of being contradicted in that decided statement, he should not therefore think himself justified in maintaining that their lordships ought to be satisfied, if a full and proper case were made out as the proper ground of inquiry. He certainly would not follow the noble lord through all his statements and assertions; but when the noble lord maintained, that the system pursued with respect to Spain was fundamentally wrong, he felt it his duty to press upon the noble lord the justice and necessity of supporting his assertion by authentic proofs. What, he would ask, were the circumstances of the campaign which were made the subject of such reproach to his majesty's government? Badajoz was taken; and after the capture of that strong fortress, the battle of Salamanca was gloriously gained, the siege of Cadiz was raised, and Seville was cleared of the French troops. Were these events no proofs of the triumph of the British arms? and was it no circumstance

of moment and congratulation, that 20,000 prisoners and 80 pieces of cannon had been taken? These, he begged leave to say, were great and glorious results. Was the occupying one of the best armies, commanded by the best generals of France, to be considered as nothing? When the noble lord undertook to support his assertions, by remarking on the advance of the marquis of Wellington to Salamanca, he forgot the fact, that it was the plan of the marquis of Wellington himself. He should be equally explicit in assuring the house, and the noble lord, that no engagements had been made with the marquis of Wellington on the part of his majesty's government; that no proposals had been made by him to them; that they had received no representations from him; and that the plan upon which he had formed and conducted his operations was entirely his own. The noble lord, when he complains of the paucity of force sent out, must have forgotten that the unfortunate disturbances in the beginning of last summer required the presence of some regiments, particularly cavalry. He forgets that the 40,000 troops on home service were necessarily extended over England, Scotland, and Ireland. (*A cry of Hear, hear! from Lord Grey and other L.r.s.*) He understood this expression of feeling as alluding to the catholic claims, and their supposed effects; but he merely stated the fact of the distribution of the troops over the united kingdom. Many of the regiments, it should also be recollected, were skeletons, sent home for the purpose of recruiting, refreshment, and the recovery of their health deteriorated in active service. The greater part were mere



second battalions, employed in receiving and disciplining recruits; very few of them could muster more than 500 men, and he would ask, could they admit of large drafts being made from them? He would not presume to follow the noble marquis into all the points of his elaborate speech; but there were one or two matters, connected with the military expenditure of the country, to which he must shortly allude. The noble lord seemed to suppose it an easy thing to increase our foreign expenditure by an additional million. But besides the raising of the money, it was difficult to calculate the effects of such application. A million sent abroad was not like the same sum spent at home; a considerable part of it was lost by the unfavourable exchange; and the addition of such a sum, operating still further on the exchanges, might affect the whole of our foreign expenditure. If, for instance, you resolved to expend 12 millions instead of 11, such might be the effect in the present state of the course of exchange, that it might in fact require 15 millions, instead of 12, to attain your object. When the continent was open to our commerce, the foreign expenditure of the country operated as a sort of bounty on the export of our manufactures; thus indirectly assisting our industry and resources: but, unfortunately, the establishment of the continental system had diminished our exports at the moment when our foreign expenditure was largest, — doubly, in this way, depressing the course of exchange. One word with regard to licenses: He would assert that, in point of fact, they were lately the only means of trading with a great portion of the continent. But as far

as licenses were concerned, the balance of trade was in our favour; and thus they enabled us better to support the burthens which the exertions of the country required.

Lord Grey and lord Boringdon spoke in defence of the motion, and the lords Aberdeen and Liverpool against it: the last in conclusion said: The noble marquis had stated, that the expenses of sending out an army would only be the difference of keeping them abroad and at home. This was not exactly true; the difficulties of supporting an army abroad should be taken into consideration. The support must arise either from supplies, specie, or credit. The first were necessarily limited, and became more difficult, and less available, in proportion as the army marched further from the coast. As to the second, there had been no limit but practicability: notwithstanding the state of the market, and the price of bullion, more specie had been sent out in the last than had been supplied in the two preceding campaigns. The resources arising from credit had necessarily been greatly affected by the state of exchange, which all over Europe had been unfavourable to England, and by the disturbed state of South America; owing to which latter circumstance, only eight millions of dollars had been imported into the peninsula, instead of the 35 millions sent in time of peace. This proved that there were necessary limits which the expenses of the country could not exceed. But, said the noble marquis, why not send an army of 50,000 men? Because, to send such a force, without the means of supporting it, would not be to strengthen, but to weaken lord Wellington. Whatever could be done, the ministers had done; they

they had every disposition to receive new lights, if new lights were to be afforded; no such lights had been supplied. He trusted the noble lords would see no ground for an inquiry, no reason to suppose that any of the expectations of lord Wellington had been disappointed. The ministers had two enemies to contend with; those who thought every thing, and those who thought nothing could have been done; those who thought Portugal was indefensible, and those who thought the French might be driven out of Spain. The predictions of failure were at any rate falsified. Portugal was secured, and Spain relieved. But the great advantage of the campaign was the example which

Spain presented to Europe; it had operated upon Russia; what Spain had done, she, possessing indeed the superior advantage of an united government, had done also: and he hoped that every country, attaching itself to its own constitution and sovereign, would look to its own energies for the means of defence and security, Spain had led the way, and Russia had followed it with success: and he trusted the brilliant example would not be lost on the other nations of the world.

The house divided; when the numbers were,  
 Content 31 Proxies 8—39  
 Not content 70 Proxies 45—115

Majority - 76

## CHAPTER V.

*Debates on the Mutiny Bill—on Lord Castlereagh's Resolution on the Renewal of the East India Company's Charter—On the Finances of the Country—Examinations of Mr. Warren Hastings and Lord Teignmouth on the Affairs of the East India Company—Debate on the Ways and Means—Mr. Lockhart's Motion on the Bankrupt Laws—Debate on the Marquis of Wellesley's Motion on renewing the East Indian Charter—Sir William Scott's Motion for the Regulation of Ecclesiastical Courts—Mr. Wharton's on Westminster Improvements—Mr. Ro. d's on Apprenticeship Laws—Mr. Smith's on the Trinity Acts—Debate on Lord Darnley's Motion on the Naval Administration—Important Appeal Cause and Decision—Civil List,*

**MARCH 15.**—The house of commons resolving itself into a committee on the mutiny bill:

Lord Palmerston moved for leave to insert a clause, inflicting a penalty on those persons who raised recruits under false pretences, Leays given.

Captain Bennett moved to insert several clauses relating to the infliction of corporal punishment in

the army. The first clause was to make it unlawful for any general, commanding officer, court-martial, &c. to inflict the punishment of flogging on any of the troops serving in Great Britain, Ireland, the Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, and the Isle of Man. 2. To make it lawful to sentence the troops serving abroad to receive corporal punishment, provided this punish-

ment did not exceed 100 lashes. 3. To make it unlawful for any officer, after a part of the sentence had been inflicted, to order any man to be brought out a second time to receive the remaining lashes. In the proposal to insert the last clause, he hoped for the concurrence of the judge advocate (Mr. Manners Sutton), who had on a former occasion declared his opinion that such renewal of the punishment was illegal. He then mentioned an instance related to him by an officer lately come from the peninsula, of a general who, disapproving of the mode of punishing a soldier by confinement, had ordered the black book to be brought, and finding him debtor so many lashes, immediately had him tied up to the halberts to receive them.

Lord Palmerston said that, after the repeated discussions which had taken place on this question, he should not trouble the house with any observations, but he should feel it his duty to resist the introduction of the proposed clauses.

Sir F. Burdett said, that the system of flogging was reprobated by every thinking and humane mind, as an ignorant substitute for the only proper mode of punishment for smaller offences, namely, confinement. The facts and arguments which had been brought forward on this subject, had had the beneficial effect of bringing this punishment into comparative disuse; but he should never rest contented without its total abolition. He wished to have known from the noble lord, how far the restriction imposed by the orders of the commander in chief, respecting the number of lashes, extended? For nearly 1500 were often given, and the unfortunate victim was sometimes brought out three, four, or

five times, to receive them. But whatever was now the disuse of this barbarous and humiliating custom, or the limitations imposed on its exercise, he wished that no discretion should be left on this subject to court-martials, or commanding officers. At present a brave and veteran soldier might be sentenced to this punishment by an unfledged ensign, and not only have the flesh torn off his bones, but an indelible stigma fixed upon his character, and upon the peace and lasting happiness of his mind. This punishment could do no good; it was never known to reform a bad soldier, but had often destroyed good ones. Those regiments were uniformly the best disciplined where corporal punishment was the least used. The honourable baronet thought that there should be a scale of rewards in the army, as well as a scale of punishments; and that if a decent provision were made for those who had served for so many years in the army, to which however they would not be entitled without a good character, this would be a strong inducement to good behaviour.

Mr. Manners Sutton thought it quite impossible to get rid of corporal punishment at present. It had, however, fallen very much into disuse. Though the number of court-martials now were three times as many as formerly, the actual aggregate of cases in which corporal punishment was inflicted, was considerably less. The sentence of flogging was exchanged, in two cases out of three, into that of general service; and in most other cases confinement was adopted. There was a general disposition, almost an *avidity*, in commanding officers, to avail themselves of any mode of punishment in preference to

to flogging. He then adverted to some cases of a peculiar hardship brought forward by sir Francis Burdett last year. Into all of these supposed cases inquiry had been made, and the accusation was found in every one of them to have been utterly groundless. As to the system of reward proposed by the hon. baronet, he would only say, that if such a system were shown to be practicable, there was no one who would more gladly assent to it than himself: but the theory of philanthropy was one thing, and the power of making every body rich was another.

Colonel Duckett spoke in favour of the present system. He at the same time repelled an insinuation of Mr. Bennett, that in the militia they sometimes flogged all round. In the militia, he said, there was much less flogging than in the regulars, and yet it would be found that the discipline of the militia was superior to that of the regulars.

Mr. Whitbread congratulated the house on the temper with which the question had that night been debated, and the progress which had been made towards the abolition of the punishment in question. About 20 years ago, when he was a young member of that house, he mentioned for the first time, in his place, this practice, so much to be reprobated, of bringing out men twice to receive one sentence. It was then said, in opposition to him, that it was most horrible to mention any thing of the kind in the house,—that the soldiers had by no means too much flogging,—that a lash could not be spared. Now, however, owing in a great degree to the honourable baronet behind him (sir F. Burdett), who had brought the matter repeatedly into discussion, and

owing to the interference of the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. M. Sutton), the punishment was in a great degree got rid off. He (Mr. Whitbread) should not press the point at that moment, as it was not then ripe for discussion; but he was convinced that by the silent progress of time, when the officers should find the disadvantageousness of this sort of punishment, it would gradually diminish, until finally abolished.

March 22.—The house of commons having resolved itself into a committee on India affairs, and to consider a petition which had been presented by the company for the renewal of its charter,

Lord Castlereagh said they had to discharge a duty unprecedented in any other state. They had to provide for the happiness, comfort, and government of a body of men exceeding three-fold the population of the parent state. He had no difficulty in stating, on his own part, and on the part of those with whom he acted, that if the regulations which he was about to propose for the adoption of the house, in the form of resolutions, must have the necessary consequence of endangering—far more if it must have the effect of pulling down the system by which the Indian empire had hitherto been acquired and held together—they would feel themselves called upon to hesitate much before they recommended the adoption of such a mode of proceeding. At the same time, however, he must be allowed to say that the lapse of years and existing circumstances had rendered a partial change in the system of policy hitherto observed towards our Indian possessions indispensably requisite, and that there was no part of the empire more concerned in

adopting that change than the East India company itself. The mode of government adopted by the East India company had certainly raised and preserved an empire unprecedented in the history of the world; and they had governed the people under their control, on a principle eminently calculated to produce the happiness of the governed. He did not believe the history of the world had ever produced its parallel—a system by which a population of 50 millions of native subjects were governed, while the civil officers of the company by whom the government was conducted did not exceed 1600; and this too under a government than which there never was a milder, nor one by which the happiness of the people was more consulted. He did not know that there was ever a government possessed of servants of greater ability or character than those of the East India company. He said, and he said so with sincerity, that he did not know of any set of public servants whose merits were so conspicuous, or whose acts of delinquency were so few, as those of the East India company. Ministers, he said, were called on to form a judgement as to what was fit to be done, so as to consult the just rights of the public of this country, and of the East India company, taking care at the same time, not to lose sight of the happiness of the native inhabitants of our Eastern empire. They might have formed an erroneous judgement in these respects. They only wished, however, to be convinced of this to retract. They had proceeded on a firm conviction that what he had now to propose was safe and expedient. They were open, however, to conviction; and if convinced they were wrong, they

should feel it no reproach to their understandings to admit that they had been mistaken, and that the plan which had occurred to them was not that which was most comensurant to the interests of all parties concerned. He hoped, however, when he had stated the view he entertained of the matter, the house would be of opinion, that it was not such a proposition as went in any unnecessary degree to break in upon the chartered rights of the company. The first question to be considered was, whether the house ought to persevere in the old system as to India; whether it ought now to adopt a new system; or if it would not be better to pursue a middle course, without going to either of the two extremes? With reference to the first proposition, and being of opinion that the charter, if to be renewed, ought not to be renewed for any shorter space than 20 years, his lordship had no hesitation in saying, that the system acted on for the last 20 years could not be persevered in for another space of the same endurance, with regard to the interests of the public at home, to those of the native population abroad, or to the general interests of the East India company itself. It was not desirable that discussions of the nature of the present should too frequently be gone into: therefore, if to be renewed at all, he thought the company's charter should be renewed for 20 years. If this was to be the case, then he could see no principle of justice or policy which could warrant the house in tying up the capital of one-half of the globe, and confining the exclusive trade to India to the company, and to foreigners. That was so monstrous a proposition—one so much out of the course of nature—that

that no principle could be found to support it. On what pretence could it be argued that all British capital was to be excluded from trade to British settlements, except the capital of this company; and that, in addition to the company, foreigners only were to be allowed a free trade? When it was said that the company had extended the trade to India to the full amount to which it could be carried, he could not help doubting the assertion. But supposing that to be so, he could by no means go along with the idea that the trade to India was to remain stationary for the time for which it was his intention to propose that the charter should be renewed. He was aware that great danger was to be apprehended from an over-speculation at the first throwing open of such a trade. Good, however, often came out of evil; and though he looked with apprehension to the burst which might be expected at the first opening of the trade, that was not a sufficient cause for a great country to despond, or to shut out the enterprising spirit of her merchants. It was with commerce as with war; in the latter, many valuable lives were sacrificed for the country; and though the immediate loss was to be deplored, yet the country would thereby often have her dearest interests promoted. So it was with commerce. The first adventurers in a new trade might go too far. They were the pioneers, however, who cleared the way for others; and though, at first, a loss might arise from excessive speculation, there could be little doubt that new channels would, in that manner, be opened for the trade and manufactures of an enterprising and persevering people. His lordship apprehended

that the private trade had of late years greatly increased, notwithstanding all the restrictions to which it had been subjected by the East India company. Within the last 19 years, it had risen to within one-third of the total of the company's trade: this too, notwithstanding it was a trade not carried on by those interested in its extension, but rather through the medium of an adverse commerce. It was impossible, in these circumstances, that this could be an inviting commerce, but much the reverse. Looking to it even in its present state, it was a trade much beyond the strength of the company to carry on to its full extent. He had long been of this opinion; and that, the trade to India being one which was capable of being gradually extended, it was quite inconsistent with the duty of parliament to confine it within the trammels of a chartered company. The only way of extending the trade to its proper limits was, by opening it to the public of this country, as it was only through the shipping of this country that the object could be effected. Feeling the magnitude of the question, and the great length of statement into which he must necessarily enter, his lordship said, he should at present avoid going into arguments in support of his propositions, reserving to himself to do so on some future occasion; his object to-night being rather to develop his resolutions generally. The first resolution would be, in its general character, declaratory of the principle, that the whole system of the East India company, as by law established, should continue in full force, except so far as it might be modified by the resolutions subsequently to be moved: the course of legislation, therefore, intended to be proposed, was the recognition of

of such a system for 20 years, subject to such other modifications as the bill when brought in would provide. The two next resolutions would involve the consideration of the East India company's trade, and the opinions of two large classes of individuals, viz. those who concurred with government that the trade with India should be thrown open, except that with China, which should be secured to the company, and those who agreed upon the former question, but who contended that the China trade should equally be free. With a view to give both these questions a full and separate discussion, he had framed two distinct resolutions, one of which went to declare that the restraint upon the China trade, as now by law established, should still exist; in fact, that the East India company should be secured in their monopoly of that trade. His lordship proceeded in his argument, till he came to consider the subject of the shipping: and he said, with regard to the question, on what footing ships built in India should be considered? he wished them to be placed on the same footing as all other vessels, namely, that they should be manned, according to the navigation act, with two-thirds British sailors, but with the provision that this should extend only to times of peace. The Indian vessels would thus afford a nursery for British seamen, who might be immediately transferred to the more effectual service of their country in time of war, by then allowing a greater proportion of Lascars to navigate our vessels. He should also wish some provision to be made, by which all persons bringing the natives of India from their own country should be bound to take proper care of them, and

carry them safely back. Another regulation which he should propose, as to the application of the funds of the company, was to enable them to grant pensions to their civil and military servants, which they were not at present authorised to do, except to a small amount. By a singular incongruity in the statutory enactments which regulated the proceedings of this great body, while they were enabled to grant sums of money to any amount, they were not allowed to grant a pension of 300*l.* per annum. This, therefore, would form the subject of another resolution.—The more he looked at this question, as to its general effects, and its particular details, he was persuaded that, while the government of the continent of India remained in the hands of the company, far from weakening those hands, it was, if that could by any means be effected, desirable to strengthen them. This led him to the consideration of an important part of the question—the command of the native army of India. Formerly the leaning of his opinion was, that it would be expedient to separate the command of this army from the company, and give it to the crown. This opinion arose probably from the weight which the sentiments of an illustrious connection of marquis Cornwallis had with him (lord Castlereagh). That noble marquis had afterwards, however, been satisfied with some arrangements on the subject, without so great an alteration. There were great authorities on both sides of the question; and it seemed at first sight an objection to the present state of this species of force, that so large a military body should be in other hands than those of the sovereign. But, after a mature consideration of the ques-

question, his (lord Castlereagh's) colleagues and himself were of opinion, that to separate the command of the army from the civil administration of India would be to sap the authority of that government. The army, if transferred to the crown, must remain in the condition of a local force, formed on no other principle than that of seniority, without reference to the rest of the military force of the empire. As, therefore, no material alteration could be made in this body, if transferred to the crown, it would be a gratuitous sacrifice of the interests of the company to take this force out of the control of the local sovereign; and so long as the company retained the government of India, it would be an anomaly to take from them the power of the sword, while they were permitted to hold the power of the law. There was another branch of the subject nearly connected with this, and which would form the subject of a resolution, on which he apprehended no difference of opinion. The king's troops were sent to India, but in very uncertain numbers; and it must be obvious, that inconvenience must arise from this uncertainty, particularly as to the finances of the company. There were times at which it had been advisable that there should be a force in India sufficient to meet the attacks of France, when that power was making rapid strides towards universal sovereignty. But whenever the defence of India became necessary for the interests of the whole empire, it was unjust that the company alone should defray the whole expense of it. What he should propose on this subject, therefore, was, that there should be a stated number of troops, to form, as it were, the garrison of India, and

that any additional troops which it might at any time be necessary to send there, should be paid by this country. It was his wish that the company should be upheld in India, and that all the acts of government should bear their name; but there were cases of great importance to this country, in which it was desirable that the company should receive, and in which they were willing to receive, the advice of government. The only regulation which in his resolutions he should have to propose, in addition to the existing ones, was as to the different appointments to the presidencies. The crown has at present the virtual power of appointment, by its power of recall. Whether or no this power was originally designed to apply to cases of misbehaviour only, it was now applied to the extent which he had stated, and was a most invidious way of exercising the power of disapproval of appointments. The resolution which he should propose on this subject, would leave the appointment of the members of the presidencies in the hands of the directors, but would render necessary the approbation of the crown, under his majesty's sign-manual. Another resolution which he should propose would be on the subject of religion—he was aware, that it was unwise to encroach on the subject of religion generally, and that this, under the circumstances of our government in India, was a most delicate question. But there was one regulation on the subject, necessary even for the sake of decency. The company, intrusted with the supreme government in this as in other matters, had permitted the free exercise of religion at their settlements; but there was no sort of religious control, and the members of the church



church of England could not receive the benefits of those parts of their religion to which the episcopal functions were necessary; for example, the ceremony of confirmation. He hoped the house did not suppose that he was coming out with a great ecclesiastical establishment, for it would only amount to one bishop and three archdeacons, to superintend the chaplains of the different settlements. The company, he hoped, would not think it an encroachment on their rights, that while British subjects were governed in India by British law, they should be permitted to exercise their national religion. There were two considerations of importance, one of a general, the other of a commercial nature, on which it might not, however, be necessary to propose any resolutions. It was desirable, whatever the resolutions of parliament at this time might be, to take care that no impediment should hinder the judgment of parliament from adopting in future such regulations as it might from time to time think expedient. The principle on which the trade with India was at present regulated, was on the principle that it should be carried on between that country and this: and it was a wise policy to endeavour to procure to this country the intermediate profits which resulted from the carrying trade between our eastern possessions and foreign nations. But a time might arrive, when the foreign traders, who would trade directly between the east and foreign nations, might only be to be met by British merchants, by a similar direct commerce, such as was permitted by the act of navigation in other branches of trade. At this time, when America and the other nations, which engaged formerly in

the carrying trade, were crippled, or unable from peculiar circumstances to embark in it, it was not wise to alter our present system of policy; but when the stream turned another way, and it was only by conforming ourselves to a direct trade with foreign states that we could compete with foreigners, it would be advisable to conform to it, and this not for the purpose of getting all the trade of the world into our own hands, for he was one of those who thought that there was commerce enough for all nations of the earth, if they would engage in it in amity; but because he was unwilling to travel in a course so opposite to the natural course of things, as to force British capital out of a line of commerce so peculiarly British. Having gone through all the heads of the measures he had to propose, with as much rapidity as possible, he was sensible that he had left much unsaid; but he hoped that the committee would not receive any of his propositions the more unfavourably on account of the incompleteness of the statements with which they had been ushered in. He hoped the committee would suffer the resolutions to be read *pro forma*, and to be printed, and the consideration fixed for a day as near the present as was consistent with the magnitude of the question; and of the greatest importance it certainly was, whether the magnitude of the commerce, or the numbers of the population affected, were considered. As his majesty's ministers had not volunteered to bring this subject forward, but had been bound in duty to propound these arrangements, he hoped the house would receive their propositions with the greater indulgence. Though there were conflicting interests in the country,

country, yet these interests had so many points of union, and so few of difference, he hoped that by some sacrifices of interest, and, what were still greater sacrifices, by those of feeling, he hoped the British parliament, which had raised the empire to its present pitch of prosperity, would not be found insufficient to surmount this difficulty, in the overcoming of which the prosperity of the British empire in so high a degree depended. Lord Castlereagh then handed his resolutions to the chairman, which were accordingly severally read. The resolutions provided, 1. That all the present immunities of the company, and the regulations respecting the same, should continue, except as hereinafter provided. 2. That the China trade should continue under its present restrictions. 3. That it should be lawful for any British subject to export to any other part included in the company's charter from any port of the United Kingdom. 4. Also to import thence to any port in the United Kingdom. 5. Provided the warehouses at the said ports should be deemed safe for the purposes of the revenue. 6. And that this be notified by an order in council. 7. Provided the vessel in which goods be imported or exported be of a burthen not less than 350 tons. 8. And that on approaching port, the vessel notify its arrival by a manifest. 9. Regulations as to importation and sale of silk and hair goods. 10. As to the order of the application of the revenues of the company:—1. To the payment of the troops and support of the forts. 2. To liquidate debts on bills of exchange. 3. Other debts except bond debts. 4. To pay a dividend of ten per cent. and a contingent half per cent. 5. To liquidate the

bond debts until they amount only to 3,000,000*l*. 6. The surplus profit to be divided in the ratio of five-sixths to government and one-sixth to the company, with a provision for repaying the capital stock.—11. Regulations respecting the employment of India shipping. 12. Provisions for the support and return of the Lascars brought to England in private vessels. 13. Provision to enable the company to grant pensions and gratuities. 14. Provision for the appointment to the different presidencies, and to render necessary the approbation of the crown. 15. Appointment of a bishop and three archdeacons, to be paid by the company.

Messrs. R. Thornton, Grant, and Gordon, spoke against the noble lord's propositions, as the height of injustice to the company.

Mr. Tierney thought it would be necessary to examine evidence at the bar, on both sides.

Mr. Canning approved of the principal propositions laid down, and of the arguments advanced by the noble lord; yet he thought there were some points which required the most attentive consideration.

Mr. Protheroe and general Gascoyne spoke in favour of the claim of the outports.

Mr. W. Keene called for evidence.

A desultory debate then took place concerning the communication of religious and moral instruction to the people of India; in which Messrs. Wilberforce, Stephen, Baring, W. Smith, and lord Castlereagh, took a part. Progress was then reported; and the committee obtained leave to sit again on Tuesday, it being understood that evidence would be produced and heard.

March

March 25.—The chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day for taking into consideration the finances of the country.

Mr. Huskisson rose and said, that he had never offered himself to the attention of the chair with feelings of so much anxiety as on the present occasion. He hoped he should meet with the indulgence and candid interpretation of the house, not only on account of the vast importance of the measure, which affected our establishment in peace as well as war, the internal and external resources of the country, but on account of the difficulty and intricacy of the subject, which not being very familiar to many gentlemen, would require a greater degree of clearness and perspicuity to make it immediately intelligible, than, he was afraid, he should be able to give it. Though he might fail in the task which he had imposed upon himself, he should have considered it as a dereliction of duty not to have made the attempt. Trusting that he should have credit with his honourable friend, and with the house, for the perfect sincerity of the motives by which he was actuated, he should proceed to state the grounds of his opposition to the proposed measure. Its effects, if persisted in, would be no less than to risk the loss of all the fruits of the last twenty years. If the war continued, it would expose us, he would not say to the possibility, but to the probability, of forfeiting that public credit which was the best support of our internal prosperity, and of the rank which we so proudly held among the nations of the world. This was not the only evil of the measure. It was a violation of the public faith and justice; and he trusted that the house would look upon this ques-

tion, not as a mere financial discussion or arithmetical calculation, but as involving the more extended considerations of national character and honour. A narrower ground of objection to the proposed plan was, that it would end in the ruin of the sinking fund system. It would disfigure and half pull down the edifice which had been erected by Mr. Pitt as the monument of his fairest fame. It had been always held by himself, by his friends, and by his enemies, as the greatest service he had performed for his country. On his friends then he would call, and he would call on the candour of his political opponents, to assist his feeble efforts to preserve the immortal fabric which that great statesman had left us, in all the beauty of the original design, the strength of the material, and symmetry of the proportions. He should trouble the house with a short sketch of the history of the sinking fund. At the close of the American war, Mr. Pitt found our credit at the lowest ebb, our resources apparently exhausted; yet such was the solidity of those resources, that at the end of three years, in 1786, he was able to provide for the current expenses, and to lay aside one million annually for the liquidation of debt. The original plan was, that a certain sum should be placed in the hands of commissioners, to remain there till it amounted to four millions, at compound interest, then to be applied to the purposes of a sinking fund, and the surplus to be set free for defraying any additional expenses, or meeting any unexpected exigency. This was not all. He wished to make provision for a future period, by devising means against the excessive accumulation of public debt; hence it was a primary

mary object in his mind, when he formed this plan, to guard against the possible alienation of the sinking fund to any other purposes whatever. In 1792 he brought forward a plan, of which the greatest recommendation was this, that the principle of redemption was interwoven with the debt itself—that the moment any debt was contracted, that debt furnished out of itself the means of repayment within a limited period. This Mr. Pitt had insisted on as its principal recommendation; and this very feature had been made a ground of objection, inasmuch as it placed the reimbursement of the debt incurred out of the reach and beyond the control of parliament. The effect of the clause to which he had referred was simply this, that some such redemption was to take place as should liquidate the debt in 45 years; and that whenever any loan was made, from thenceforth there should issue from the exchequer, as a matter of course, from which there could be no deviation, a sum equal to a hundredth part of the capital stock created. The government might say they would pay it off by instalments quarterly, or by raising a sinking fund, not immediately, but within the time prescribed, so that the loan might be repaid within 45 years: but failing in either of these modes, then the one per cent. must issue as a matter of course from the exchequer. The principle on which the rate of one per cent. had been fixed upon was this, that one per cent. in three per cent. stock would reduce the whole 100 in about 45 years. At the period when the act passed the public debt consisted chiefly in three per cent. stock; consequently, the sinking fund accumulating at three per cent. would reduce the

whole amount of debt contracted in 45 years, but not sooner; so that this period of 45 years was fixed upon as a sort of *maximum* of time in which the sinking fund, if not acting with accelerated velocity from the depression of public credit, would necessarily reduce the public debt. Since the period of 1792, whenever any debt was contracted, this was understood to be the basis of the agreement between the chancellor of the exchequer and the contracting parties; or, if he did not tell them so, the law did, that the one per cent. would issue as usual. If the funds were at par, it would clear the debt in 45 years: in proportion as they were depressed, the period would be accelerated. At the time when many of our loans were contracted for, the funds were at a depression that would give to the regular operation of the sinking fund the effect of a two per cent. issue, and pay off the loan in about 23 years: consequently, the lenders were induced and compelled to give the public better terms. This was the advantage on the side of the public; and the advantage and the obligation were surely reciprocal. If he had succeeded in making himself intelligible, the application was obvious. All loans since 1792 had been made on the option of one per cent. This was the foundation of that system. But the foundation of the present plan is, that parliament is at liberty so to modify and regulate the redemption of debt incurred since 1792, as to extend it to the full period of 45 years, instead of the shorter term (in some cases one-half) at which it would otherwise have been reduced. If so, then the question of public faith arising is this, whether, having made the option of one per cent.

cent., and having derived a benefit from this, the issue of that one per cent. does not infer a plain duty? The words of the act of 1792 were so plain, that he thought it useless to explain them to the committee. With regard to the grand object of postponing the imposition of new taxes, the plan in the opinion of his right honourable friend might possess advantages which Mr. Huskisson could not discover; but all the minor calculations of benefits seemed calculated to perplex, and to withdraw the public attention from the real design. Those advantages were stated to be four: 1. That this plan provides for the gradual and equal reduction of the national debt. 2. That it provides against the evil of too rapid a diminution of the rate of interest. 3. That it affords a subsidy of 120 millions for the immediate purpose of carrying on the war. 4. That it enables government to accumulate after the conclusion of the war a further treasure of 100 millions, as a provision against future hostilities. The last-mentioned benefit was stated to be an advantage that no other country in the world ever enjoyed. The chancellor of the exchequer seemed to think, that too much had already been done for the reduction of the national debt, as if he forgot that there yet remained 600 millions unredeemed; and at the very time when we were increasing that amount, by borrowing in every year twice as much as had been usual, it was proposed to reduce the means of liquidating it to one-half its present power. In two years a debt had been incurred that could not be liquidated in six years; and yet it was recommended that the means of defraying it should be lessened in the proportion of one-half. For the service

of the present year, a loan would be required of little less than 40 millions, including the sum for India; and yet this was the period chosen for putting a stop to the reduction of the national debt. All the recent fortunate events on the continent, all our successes in the peninsula, had not enabled the chancellor of the exchequer to raise a single pound, much less 40 millions, at the legal rate of interest; and yet this was the period selected for a financial experiment. Last year, his right honourable friend had been called upon to lend his aid; he was desired to visit and examine the patient; he reported that he found the pulse of the nation in a very low state; something must be done, and he promised a restorative that would restore the patient to all the former vigour of his constitution. He had now visited the sick for the second time, and what was the report he made? "Why," said he, "upon turning the case over in my mind, it strikes me that there is something in your constitution, that, about the year 1830, may, if care be not taken, expose you to the inconvenience of repletion; therefore, instead of the powerful invigorating restorative that I promised you inconsiderately, I must prescribe an immediate copious bleeding. To be sure, I see you are in a very weakly state, but you must be instantly phlebotomized; there is nothing like it for restoring a man in a consumption to health, and this bleeding must be followed by three others in rapid succession!" Such was the prescription of his right honourable friend; but every other man in the profession dreaded the most fatal consequences from such mistaken treatment. When this magnificent and  
astonish-

astounding scheme was first ushered into the world, Mr. Huskisson had imagined, that his right honourable friend had done nothing less than made a discovery of that which many had lost their lives to obtain, the philosopher's stone, which was to obtain for himself and his friends the title of the golden administration : at least, it might have been concluded that, in the diligence of his search, the chancellor of the exchequer had discovered a hidden treasure in some secret drawer ; but little was it imagined that the whole plan was to accumulate fresh debt, and that the hopes of millions were to be disappointed by the destruction of the funding system. He talked of accumulating treasure such as no nation ever before possessed : true, and for this reason, because no nation was ever qualified to possess it, since the necessary preliminary was to run into debt : this was the first time he had ever heard that the way to become rich was to involve yourself as deeply as possible in debt : such a treasure any other country never did possess, never would wish to enjoy, and never would envy us the accumulation of. The right honourable gentleman seemed to make no distinction between incurring debts and amassing wealth : because we were gradually devoting a certain sum to pay off incumbrances, it was immediately concluded that unbounded wealth was pouring in upon us from all quarters. The right honourable gentleman ought to be informed that the national debt was not wealth, but the melancholy record of wealth consumed. He admitted that this plan would postpone the necessity of raising taxes ; but he warned the house against rejecting the experience of former

1813.

parliaments upon this subject : the utmost extent of the postponement would be three or four years : and in alluding to this part of the subject, the right honourable gentleman made a statement which appeared somewhat paradoxical, that at the end of the period the country would find itself with a debt greatly increased, and yet with the charge upon the debt rather diminished ; for it was impossible in 1830 that the debt should not be much greater if the means of diminution are lessened. [We regret that our limits do not allow us to follow the honourable gentleman in his very luminous speech.] He concluded by saying, that one of the arguments of the chancellor of the exchequer, in support of his plan, was rather an argument against it. He had said that, in the last session, the prospect of the country in the north was more gloomy than at present, that there was but little expectation that Russia could successfully oppose France, and that the continental system would not be fully established ; and now, with well-grounded exultation, he had adverted to the successes of the Russians, and the probable revival of commerce. If our resources had been in the condition which they must have been reduced to if the efforts of Russia had been unsuccessful, it was natural to have called for vigorous measures ; but on what ground was our system now departed from, when our commerce was reviving, and when notwithstanding that public credit was not at all improved, as his right honourable friend would perceive by the inability of negotiating a loan on the same terms for the present as for the last year ? He was ready to admit the difficulties under which

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his

his right honourable friend laboured, and should be very willing to do his best to alleviate the burthen. As he had so long detained the house, it would be perhaps better to leave his own opinions untouched. There were in the circumstances of the war, however, means of relief not available in time of peace, and among these was relief to be expected? In the year 1819, continued the honourable gentleman, no very distant period, the imperial annuities would fall in; and in 1821, the whole of the charge of the year 1807 would also fall in. If peace were to be restored, the five per cents might be reduced to a lower rate of interest, by which a saving of a million would be effected. He would not be disposed to go the whole length with his right honourable friend with respect to the sinking fund. He wished them to avail themselves, during the war, of the resources which the war itself furnished. The situation of the country was this: there was a temporary revenue which was co-extensive with the war. The permanent revenue could not, with safety, be touched till the temporary revenue ceased to be available. What objection could there be, instead of breaking in on the sinking fund, by which the security of the public creditor might be affected, to the exchanging of a portion of the war taxes with a part of the sinking fund? His right honourable friend, in the speech with which he introduced the subject to the house on a former evening, said he was ready to lay down his life in the cause of his country. No one who knew him could doubt either the patriotism or the fortitude of his right honourable friend. It occurred to him,

however, that this sentiment had arisen in his bosom, when he was contemplating some very different measure from the present. When he had thoughts of following up the vigorous measures, which he announced at the close of the last parliament, and which he supposed would draw down upon him a great deal of clamour and unpopularity, it seemed to be the prologue to a drama of a very different description from that which he had at last thought proper to bring forward. The measures which he had at last proposed were by no means new in the history of this country. Something similar had been done by a chancellor of the exchequer of a very different description from his right honourable friend, sir Robert Walpole. If his right honourable friend yielded to the temptation which his measure held out to him, he might procure to himself a short period of delusive peace, but he must not expect to be honoured with the praise of fortitude, or the crown of martyrdom: while imitating the conduct of Cæsar, he must not aspire to the fame of Cato.

Mr. Vansittart replied, and a long debate ensued; after which the resolutions were agreed to, and the report ordered to be received.—A bill was afterwards brought in in pursuance of the report, and was with modifications passed into a law.

March 30.—The house, on the motion of lord Castlereagh, resolved itself into a committee on the affairs of the East India company; and Mr. Warren Hastings being called to the bar, and a chair being provided for him,

Mr. Adam, as counsel for the East India company, intimated his intention of examining him touching two points, viz, as to the effect which

which the free admission of Europeans to reside in Hindostan would be likely to have on the state of that country; and as to the probability that at any future period such a change might be effected in the habits of the population of India, as would produce a greater consumption of European commodities than now took place there. The learned counsel then proceeded in his examination, first desiring to know if Mr. Hastings, while residing in India, had observed the effects resulting from the residence of Europeans in India?—Mr. Hastings said he could not speak as to the Carnatic; but that, generally speaking, he was of opinion that if Europeans were to be permitted to sojourn in India according to their own pleasure, and without any restraint whatever, the effect would be most ruinous to the government, the interest of the company, and the peace of the country. The Hindoo was feeble in body, and timid in spirit; and, in consequence, liable to be much depressed by the bold and daring spirit of Englishmen, whose very name was to them a sufficient protection; who, relying on the countenance and support of each other, committed offences which they would not dare to commit at home; and, in short, were enabled to practise all the excesses of despotism. To other questions of a similar import Mr. Hastings replied, that the unrestrained residence of Europeans would undoubtedly give birth to many acts of tyranny and oppression which would be extremely prejudicial to the British power in India, inasmuch as it would render the Hindoos disaffected to the British government, and would thus afford a strong temptation to the neighbouring states to

invade the territories which were subject to it.—Mr. Adam then asked, whether he was of opinion, if a free intercourse were permitted with India, that regulations could be devised, by which Europeans could be compelled to reside within certain limits in the principal settlements? Mr. Hastings thought that Europeans, not in the company's service, might be so restricted, and the introduction of private traders would be attended with no injurious effect, if they were amenable to the company; but if adventurers were empowered to go out without being so amenable, he conceived that it would lead to such an unrestrained sojournment of Europeans in all parts of India, as must be highly dangerous to the power of this country in India. He did not mean, he said, to speak of the effects of a free export and import trade with India, as unconnected with residence; but if Europeans were allowed to go where they pleased in the country, it would be extremely injurious to its safety and tranquillity. Mr. Adam next proceeded to the second of the two points to which he had proposed to confine his examination, viz. the probable increase of the consumption of European commodities in India. Mr. Hastings stated, that the habits of the Hindoos were simple, and their wants few, being confined to a rude dwelling, their food, and a proportion of cloth, which latter articles were obtained at their own doors, and with very little cost. The Mahometans were not able to purchase many articles, they were in a very impoverished state: on the whole he was of opinion that no material increase of consumption could be expected. Mr. Adam then asked in what manner the natives of India



disposed of their superfluous wealth? To which Mr. Hastings replied, In modes common to all countries, in dissipation and pleasure, but there were some forms of luxury from which they refrained; for instance, the pleasures of the table, particularly inebriety. In answer to the next question, whether the disposal of their superfluous wealth was likely to create in any way a consumption of European commodities? he said, that wealthy persons were in the habit of purchasing European furniture, broad cloth, and British lace, but not in great quantities; and that in Bengal such goods would certainly find purchasers. He stated that the character of the native Indians had hitherto been stationary, but that any new system of policy might give a different direction to that character. The instances of the natives affecting European habits and manners were very rare. European commodities were certainly exposed to sale in all the chief settlements; but he conceived that the European inhabitants were the principal purchasers.

The examination by Mr. Adam here closing,

Mr. Hastings begged permission to make an observation to the committee. As it might, although he trusted it would not, be suspected that the evidence which he had given with respect to the danger of allowing European adventurers to settle in India, was so given under the bias of attachment to the East India company, it became necessary that he should, if possible, obviate the injurious effect which such an imputation would have on the credit of his evidence. Attachment to the East India company he certainly felt. He felt gratitude for that service which had for-

merly given him bread, and which had employed all the active portion of his life; and he was no less grateful for that bounty to which he owed his present means of subsistence. But all this did not affect the evidence which he had that night given, and which was founded on opinions that he had not taken up on slight grounds. To prove this, he stated that he had addressed, at different periods, three letters to the chairman of the court of directors on the subject to which his evidence that night had principally referred. The first was written twenty years ago, when the existing charter was under consideration. In that letter he had strongly urged the necessity of providing against the irruption of British adventurers in India beyond the boundaries of the British settlements; arguing that they would assuredly molest and oppress the natives, and thereby occasion incalculable mischief. This letter he had the pleasure to think was approved of by the gentleman who then presided over the board of control (Mr. Dundas), a man of whom it might be said, if it could be said of any one, that he required no light from the judgment of another to aid his own. He had not, therefore, the arrogance to suppose that the regulations which then ensued were attributable to his own recommendation: he mentioned the fact of his having made the suggestion, only to show that his opinions on that subject had long been established. On the 12th of March 1802, he had addressed another letter to the chairman of the court of directors, with reference to the licenses contained in the preliminary clause of the act of parliament of that day, stating it as his opinion, that thus to allow favoured and licensed individuals

dividuals to settle in India, out of the boundaries of the British settlements, would be productive of still more mischief than if all individuals who chose to do so were allowed indiscriminately to settle there. The third time that he had addressed the court of directors on the subject was in April last, when he again recommended the restrictions to which he had already alluded in his evidence. He trusted that what he had said would satisfy the committee that his opinions were not suddenly embraced, or produced for the occasion, but that they were the result of long and deliberate conviction, as the documents which he had just described, and which might at any time be referred to, would sufficiently testify.

Mr. Grenfell inquired, whether, during Mr. Hastings's residence in India, he recollected that any persons were employed in that country as missionaries?—Mr. Hastings replied, that he recollected a German in the Carnatic so employed, whose name was Schwartz, and another in Bengal, by whom one Indian had been converted, whose conversion was celebrated with great pomp. He recollected also a catholic priest in the Decan, who had a large flock of men about him, whom he called Christians, although he (Mr. Hastings) was persuaded that the ignorance of this person of the common languages of India must have rendered it impossible for him to communicate to the natives the divine truths of the Christian revelation.—In answer to further questions on the subject by Mr. Grenfell, Mr. Hastings stated, that the individuals whom he had described, while they were in the territories of the company, were certainly

amenable to the laws of the company. If, during the time that he administered the government of India, there had been persons there of that description unlicensed by the company, and subject to no restraint as to the mode they might choose to adopt for the conversion of the natives,—as long as those persons demeaned themselves with propriety he would have taken no notice of them; but if he had found that their conduct was such as to justify apprehensions of mischievous results, he should certainly have interfered.

Sir H. Montgomery inquired what Mr. Hastings's opinion was as to the political effects which might result from a church establishment in India?—Mr. Hastings replied, that it was a question of great intricacy and delicacy, on which he would be glad to decline offering any opinion, but for the respect he entertained for the house. He could not judge of the present necessity which might exist for such a measure, but it was impossible for him to conjecture the effects which might flow from it. He hoped he might be allowed to say, that he wished any other time had been chosen for the experiment. A rumour had gone abroad, of its being the intention of ministers to force the religion of the state upon the consciences of the natives of Bengal, and he could not venture to say what effects might be produced upon the minds of men, to whom, in the maintenance of our sovereignty, we should have recourse in the last resort. He feared to say all that crowded upon his mind upon the subject, but he conceived it to be an experiment of great hazard.

Mr. Ward asked, whether it was the opinion of Mr. Hastings that

the same danger would exist now, from the introduction of missionaries into India, as twenty years ago, considering the great political changes which had since taken place? Mr. Hastings replied, that he considered the danger as greater now, from the change of circumstances which had taken place, and the religious discussions which had gone abroad.

In answer to some questions by Mr. Forbes, Mr. Hastings stated that he thought the residence of European merchants in the interior of India would be attended with bad consequences, for the reasons he had already stated. The union of the sovereignty and commerce of India in the hands of the company, he considered to be unattended by any bad consequences, and the confinement of the commerce to the company to be much more beneficial to the interests of Great Britain and India, than if free admission was given to all the subjects of the British dominions. With respect to the opinion expressed by him in a work entitled "A Review of the State of Bengal," and written some years ago, he did not conceive that he had come to the bar of the house to defend any inconsistencies in his opinion. Several of the sentiments contained in that work he now abjured, as not suited to present circumstances. He might have thought it expedient to admit American ships to Calcutta, as a matter of favour or policy; but not as a right, which he should have considered unwise. In reply to some further questions relative to the policy of sending missionaries to India, who might speak in opprobrious epithets of the religious rites of the Bramins or Mahometans, Mr. Hastings stated it to be

his opinion, that it was neither consistent with the safety of the British empire in India, nor with the dictates of humanity, to treat the religion of any people with contempt or insult. It would be to declare a religious war, and it would be impossible for him to tell the consequences of exciting the zeal of thousands in the defence of their religion. He would not say that such evils would happen from any measures now in contemplation, but it was known that they had often happened from similar causes.

In answer to some questions by sir William Geary, it was stated by Mr. Hastings, that in his calculation of the consequences which might result from the residence in India of persons who were not the servants of the company, he certainly meant to make a distinction between British subjects and Americans, which distinction consisted in the laws and prejudices to which they might be respectively subject, and which gave to one an advantage over the other.

The chairman having signified to Mr. Hastings, that the committee had no further trouble to give him, that gentleman withdrew from the bar amidst the loud and general cheers of the house, after having given his evidence in the most clear, distinct and perspicuous manner.

The next witness called was lord Teignmouth, whose examination was commenced by Mr. Randall Jackson, counsel for the company. His lordship stated, that he had been thirty years in the service of the company, from 1768 to 1798; that he had chiefly resided in Bengal; that he filled the office of governor-general four years and a half; that he had been chiefly employed in the

the revenue department before he succeeded to the situation of member of the supreme council; that he had formed an accurate opinion of the character and habits of the natives of India, and was acquainted with the common language of India and the Persian. He was inclined to think that an unrestrained influx of Europeans into India would be prejudicial to the interests of this country, as connected with India. He admitted that there were many ports at a considerable distance from the principal seats of government, but there were some of the government authorities residing at each. According to the regulations at Bengal, it would be easy for the government to prevent Europeans from proceeding into the interior. It would be difficult to regulate Europeans with respect to conduct and abode, in proportion to the number that might proceed to India, but he did not think that such a regulation was altogether impracticable: wherever the authority of the country could extend, he did not think restraint impracticable. If, from the circumstances of Europeans trading from port to port, the restraints imposed by the government were not found to be sufficient, that fact must imply their defect, and would in short amount to a suspension of the government. Evils certainly would result if individuals were allowed to go into the interior without the approbation or knowledge of the government. Knowing the habits and manners of the natives of India, even though there were to be a more extended European intercourse, he did not think that there would be a greater demand for the commodities of this country than there was at the present moment. He knew of very

few articles that were likely to be used by them that were not used now; and so far as he had ever observed, all the wants were amply supplied by the existing regulations. He was not aware of any wants that could not be supplied by the present regulations. He had never known any instances of natives desiring European commodities, without also having the opportunity of gratifying such desire by the articles being in the market.

Here Mr. Jackson closed his examination; and in answer to questions put by different members, his lordship stated to the committee, that he did not think it would be consistent with the safety of India for missionaries to preach publicly, particularly if they were to inveigh in opprobrious terms against the customs and idolatries of the Brahmins; but he did not deem it necessary, nor was it the practice of the missionaries, to proceed in any such manner: they commenced by holding conferences, and they never preached publicly until they had obtained a congregation of converts. From all that he had seen and learned, he had no reason to apprehend that danger would result from these conferences; on the contrary, he thought that such a mode of proceeding was calculated to raise the esteem of the natives towards us. The exercise of indiscriminate zeal might be dangerous, but there were proofs that a judicious and prudent zeal might safely be exercised for the conversion of the natives. He thought it would be much better to leave the control over those persons, who might go with the professed object of endeavouring to convert the natives, to the government in India; in India they would be the best judges

how to exercise that control. As to the episcopal establishment that was proposed to be sent out, he thought the natives would view it with perfect indifference. There had been instances of conversion on the Malabar coast; but of his own knowledge he did not know any one instance of the conversion of a respectable Hindoo to Christianity; for, when he was at Bengal, there were not any missionaries in that part of the country till a very short time before he left. If a law were to be passed for converting the natives of India to Christianity in such a manner as to have the appearance of being a compulsory law, he had no hesitation in saying that such a law might be attended with very dangerous consequences.

In answer to questions put by Mr. Tierney, his lordship stated, that the native police, as it at present existed, consisted of one person under the character of a magistrate, and there were natives under him who regularly made their reports of every occurrence, such as the arrival of strangers, &c. He thought the only regulation that could be devised to prevent improper conduct on the part of European adventurers arriving there, the whole coast being open to them, must consist of increased vigilance in the native police. It would be difficult for Europeans to penetrate beyond the limits of the settlements without being detected and detained by the way, and proper legislative enactments might prevent any danger from arising on that account.

Questioned by another member.—There were parts on the coast of Coromandel and Malabar in the possession of the native powers. Owing to the low rate of wages in

India, the demand for our finer manufactures would not be increased. He did not know of any commodities for the common people that would be purchased so as to extend the present trade. He had forgotten the amount of the rate of labourers' wages in India, but provisions were cheaper there than in any part of the world: for three shillings a month a man might live luxuriously. He did not know how much money was required to clothe a labourer yearly; but it could not be much, for the cloth was cheap, and the quantity required was little.

Questioned by Mr. Stephen.—His opinion of the general standard of moral character of the people of Hindostan was, that it was very far below the Christian standard of this country.. Falsehood formed a prominent part of their character; they were a compound of servility, fraud, and duplicity. Their character might have originated in some degree in the despotism of the ancient government. Their crimes were the burning of women on the funeral pyres of their husbands, which he had learned was a common practice, and also infanticide in some particular districts. They immolated themselves sometimes by prostrating their bodies before the procession of their idols, permitting the car to pass over them and crush them to death, which they considered a meritorious sacrifice. He had likewise learned that on particular occasions they leaped into the rivers, where they drowned themselves. He was not aware that their religious festivals were celebrated with rites of unnatural obscenity; he had seen indecent pictures on their temples, but never witnessed any obscenities. The murder of a Bramin by a stranger,

stranger, and the murder of a stranger by a Bramin, were not punished in the same manner; for a Bramin might suffer punishment much worse than death, but none might put him to death; while he who killed a Bramin was held guilty of the commission of an inexpressible crime. He had heard that Bramins were known to offer violence to themselves, after having suffered insult from strangers, for the purpose of making them guilty of inexpressible crimes. He did not know whether the Gentoo religion was an insuperable obstacle to the advancement of civilization and moral character. Their women were so concealed that he knew nothing concerning them. The introduction of Christianity among them would improve their civil condition. He did not recollect that any efforts of that kind had been made by the East India company. The discreet and well-ordered efforts of missionaries would not be dangerous to the British dominions in India. Other nations had been more active than Britain in the cultivation of the gospel. The Danish government had made some efforts; the Dutch had christianized many of the people of Ceylon; and considerable numbers were also reformed by the Portuguese without any dangerous consequences.

The examination was carried on some time longer, and many other persons were examined before the committee: but what has been said will suffice for the brief outline to which we are confined.

March 31.—In a committee of ways and means, Mr. Vansittart said, that in an interview with a number of bankers and others that morning, he had proposed that the authority of parliament should be

obtained, for funding twelve millions of outstanding exchequer bills, in the five per cents. navy annuities; for every 100*l.* of exchequer bills, 115*l.* 10*s.* of the navy annuities would be granted; the interest both of that and of the sinking fund being 6*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.* As it had been deemed expedient to give the holders of exchequer bills an opportunity of subscribing 50 per cent. at their own option, an intermediate kind of security had been fixed upon—that of debentures transferable by indorsement, and bearing an interest of 5 per cent. payable in April and October of each year. The holder was to have the option of having it paid off in money, or converted into stock in April 1815, or on every succeeding 5th of April during the war, or to be paid off finally within 12 months after the conclusion of peace; or he might, if he thought it more to his advantage, exchange his debentures for stock at the following rates: for every 100*l.* in debentures, the holder might receive 100*l.* 5 per cent. navy annuities; 120*l.* 4 per cents. or 150*l.* 3 per cent. reduced annuities. By this plan a sum of money would be obtained for the public service at a charge of 13*s.* less than by the original mode. It was likewise proper, that the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt should be allowed one per cent. upon this new public burden, as upon the other securities, so that the ultimate liquidation might keep pace with the old debt. The whole amount of the charge upon the public would thus be 240,000*l.* Mr. Vansittart next proceeded to the new taxes he had to propose, and by which he should avoid reproach in case his plan with respect to the sinking fund should not be adopted.

adopted. The sum to be raised was 1,136,000*l*. He would provide for it thus:

By a duty on tobacco, in lieu of the auction duty which had never passed into a law, estimated at per annum. . . . 100,000

Additional duties on the consolidated customs, excepting tea, sugar, wine, raw silk, and cotton wool, would produce 870,000

French wines, additional duty of 18*d*. per bottle, making 18*d*. per bottle to the consumer . . . 30,000

War taxes taken at 360,000*l*. would make up the remainder of the sum: thus—

Import duty on goods the produce of France and its dependencies, increased two-thirds . . 200,000

War duties on exports increased generally to one half of the present amount, about . . . 150,000

Additional duty on the export of foreign hides 1*d*. per lb.

Additional duty on the importation of American cotton at 1½*d*. per lb. in British ships—and in foreign ships 6*d*. per lb. (amount not stated)

Mr. Vansittart said, that the product of the war duties he calculated at 360,000*l*. and as in the ordinary state of trade they would produce three times as much, he had thus made ample provision for all reverses. Any surplus would go into the war taxes, in aid of the other resources of the country. A power should be given to ministers to suspend or reduce, by an order

in council, any of these war duties.

The first resolution being moved, Mr. Baring said, that the supply of India cotton was inadequate to the wants of the manufacturers, and inferior in quality, being sold at half the price of the cotton from the islands. The power vested in the hands of ministers, of suspending the duty, would not be exercised until all the evils predicted had been felt; when it would be too late. We should still, therefore, have American cotton from Georgia, through Spanish Florida; and, from the improving state of Europe, it would be brought by neutrals, and imported from the Elbe, the Baltic, and Lisbon, and all the additional expenses of this circuitous navigation must be borne by our manufacturers, who would be unable to meet competition in foreign markets.

Sir R. Peele, Messrs. Lascelles, Gordon, Findlay, Phillips, and sir J. Newport, spoke to the same effect; but Mr. Vansittart said that he should not press this tax at present. The resolutions in regard to the other taxes were agreed to with expressions of satisfaction.

April 6.—Mr. Lockhart rose, in pursuance of notice, to call the attention of the house to the consideration of the bankrupt laws. He observed that he had deferred his motion from time to time, in order to give an opportunity for a more deliberate reflection on the subject, and for the production of the returns which were now on the table, all which tended to confirm in his mind the necessity of some alteration both in the system itself, and in the administration of it. Although in the course of his remarks he might find it expedient to advert to several acts of parliament on

on the subject, he hoped that it would not be necessary for him to occupy the time of the house at any considerable length. Our ancestors, in the establishment of the bankrupt laws, and in the provision which they had made for the administration of those laws, conceived that they had devised the most effectual means of depriving the bankrupt of all his property, and of distributing it among his creditors. They had not foreseen that the day would come when those laws, and that administration, would turn out to be so beneficial to the bankrupt, that bankruptcies would no longer be avoided, as in their time, but be sought with avidity. They had constructed a great system of insolvent law, without those checks and guards which were indispensable against abuse. In support of his opinion on the subject, he quoted a passage from Blackstone, the substance of which was, "that the existing system of bankrupt laws encouraged prodigality and extravagance, for that the most prodigal and extravagant persons received the greatest benefit from those statutes, they being unaccompanied by proper conditions." What were the conditions annexed to these statutes, as those by which a bankrupt's certificate was to be obtained? On his last examination before the commissioners, the bankrupt was to disclose how he had disposed of his effects. If he made what appeared to be a true statement of what he had done with that part which was gone, and gave up the remainder, the law said that, 3-4ths of his creditors in number and value consenting, and the lord chancellor allowing, the bankrupt should be discharged from all the demands, not only on his personal estate, but on his person. There certain-

ly were other statutes in existence—for instance, there was a statute existing, that if a bankrupt could be proved to have gambled in the funds, or at any game, to a certain extent, or to have given a portion of 100*l.* to a daughter, he should not be allowed a certificate. But this and similar statutes had long been obsolete. As the practice of the law now existed, a bankrupt might be a person who had begun business without any capital, who had obtained credit on false pretences, who had despoiled confiding individuals of their whole property, who had conducted himself in the most profligate and extravagant manner, and who, nevertheless, if he could obtain the consent of three-fourths of his creditors in number and value, could, notwithstanding all his enormities, avail himself at a small expense of the benefits of the statutes, without any other check whatever. This absence of a sufficient guard did unquestionably operate as a great encouragement to dishonest proceedings. It did also manifest injustice to an honest bankrupt. Far was it from him (Mr. Lockhart) to condemn commercial enterprise founded on fair and probable expectations. But an extravagant and profligate individual, whose life had been one scene of fraud and dishonesty, ought not to receive the same reward of exemption as the fair and open, but unfortunate, trader. The existing system compelled the public to view every bankrupt with the eye of suspicion. But it was grievously unjust that the honest and the dishonest should thus endure a common and indiscriminating reproach. To such an evil it was fitting that a remedy should be pointed out. In order to consider what should be the



the nature of this remedy, the house ought first to look at the examination of the bankrupt. What was the examination that the law now required? The person claiming a certificate had merely to discover and surrender his remaining property. This was insufficient. The commissioners ought to be told how the bankrupt obtained credit, with what capital he had commenced business, whether he had preyed on the property of others, how he himself had lived. If it should be discovered that his conduct had for a series of years been reprehensible in these respects, he ought not to be entitled to his certificate; nor should he be permitted to have any allowance. But, on the other hand, if the commissioners found that the bankrupt had failed in consequence of a fair and honest commercial enterprise, then not only should his certificate be granted him, but his allowance should be increased, as a testimony to his good behaviour. There was in existence an obsolete statute—the 10th of James I. section the 7th, by which it was enacted, that if any bankrupt could not make it appear to the commissioners that he had sustained some casual loss, which he had been unable to foresee or guard against, he might be indicted for his conduct at the assizes or general sessions; and, if convicted, sentenced to stand in the pillory for two hours. The severity of this law had defeated its object. But it by no means followed, that because this statute, from its severity, had never been acted upon, and had become wholly obsolete, that there ought not to be any punishment for improper conduct. It would require a great deal of consideration to determine who ought to be the judges of the bankrupt's conduct.

He himself entertained very serious doubts as to the creditors being the fit judges. In his opinion it would be infinitely better that the commissioners should decide whether or not the bankrupt ought to have his certificate; for in the other case many innocent individuals might be deprived of their certificates by the irritation of their creditors, and many guilty individuals obtain their certificates by the partiality of their creditors. Justice in this respect, as well as in every other, ought to be administered on a fair and immutable principle; and the administrators ought to be influenced by no motive but a consideration of what was due to the parties and to the public. Bankruptcy frauds had been rapidly increasing from the time of lord chancellor Apsley, who in the year 1774 issued an order to the commissioners carefully to examine the reality of the debts attempted to be proved before them, stating that many commissions were taken out with the sole view of fraudulently deceiving the creditors. These evils arose from the bankrupt law—a law which disagreed from the law of the land—which disagreed with every other law of insolvency—which disagreed from the principle of the insolvent bill on the table. If this last should pass, there would be two great insolvent laws in the country, acting in direct contradiction to each other. By the present system, bankruptcy was not compulsory, but elective. A trader wishing to become a bankrupt, had only to get together a few friends under the name of petitioning creditors, and, at an expense of only 60 or 70*l.* he might procure a commission of bankruptcy to be sued out against him. This was an evil rapidly increasing. Connivances, and frauds of every kind, debts attempted

tempted to be proved which had never before been heard of, &c. &c. were perpetually occurring. In illustration of this opinion, he (Mr. Lockhart) read a passage from the opening speech of Mr. Gurney on the celebrated trial of the Folkards; the assertions in which passage he declared to be in his opinion strictly founded in truth. Under all these circumstances, it appeared to him to be extremely necessary to revise the system of bankrupt law, and—which brought him to his second head—to revise the administration of that system. He was happy to see in the house honourable gentlemen who were themselves commissioners, and who he hoped would declare whether the evils of the system, and of the administration of it, required remedy, or whether it was the best possible system, and the best possible administration that could be devised, equally incapable of any amendment. Far was from him the intention of throwing any stigma or imputation on the character of the commissioners, with many of whom he was in habits of personal intimacy, and for all of whom he entertained those sentiments of respect, which their talents, learning, and integrity inspired. But this he would state, that from the vast accumulation of bankrupt business, it was utterly impossible for 70 persons, forming 14 lists of commissioners, to get through it properly, unless new regulations were made for the purpose of compelling the execution of commissions in such a manner, as, by a strict examination into the circumstances of every individual case, should prevent the possibility of fraud being successfully practised by the bankrupt. To elucidate this part of the subject, he moved for several returns, which

had been, in consequence, laid on the table, and which had been, by his motion, limited to the space of one month, as affording the fairest means of forming a judgement on the case. These returns he held in his hand, and the first thing that struck him in them was, that the commissioners executed commissions only on two days in the week—that was, they did the main duty of their office on those two days alone. It was impossible, therefore, considering the vast recent increase of business, that they could accomplish it in those two days, especially when it was considered they sat only from eleven to one; or, as he was told it was to be understood, from ten till two. It appeared by the returns, that in some instances the gentlemen on one list had to execute 12 or 13 commissions in that short period of three or four hours. He appealed to the house, whether it was possible that, under such circumstances, the commissioners could strictly perform all the complicated duties of the office? It was true that some bankruptcy cases were of a trifling nature; but others were highly important, and demanded the most serious and deliberate attention. One of the principal duties of the commissioners was to watch the proof of debts. For, owing to the increase of dishonest bankruptcies, and the great press of business, it frequently happened that debts never due had been attempted to be proved by persons who had never before been heard of. If so many cases were disposed of in one morning, how was it possible for the commissioners to attend with sufficient vigilance to the accuracy of every particular proof?—If any honourable member who heard him would take the trouble to go to Guildhall, he

he would also observe a total absence of solemnity in the proceedings before the commissioners. The bankrupt, the creditors, the witnesses, and the individuals connected with the administration of the law, were all huddled together, without any distinction of persons; and the bankrupt was not expected to feel that just sense of shame, which it was extremely fit that all individuals in that situation should feel, and the apprehension which would operate powerfully on many minds to stimulate them to such exertions as might save them from being subject to it. There was nothing, however, of all this. The bankrupt sat by the side of the judge, in perfect familiarity one with another. There was not even any distinction of dress. In his opinion, the commissioners ought to wear their professional habiliments, as one mean of imparting more gravity and solemnity to the scene. It was in the power of the lord chancellor to declare that the commissioners should sit on every day in the week, and not on two days only. The lord chancellor might also prevent that which frequently happened—if it were otherwise, the honourable and learned gentlemen present would contradict him—namely, more commissions than one being executed at one and the same moment. Was it not true, he asked, that many commissions were executed at once? Was it not true that the examination of a bankrupt was carried on by one set of commissioners, and the proof of debts by another, at the same moment? Was it not true that the multifarious operations attendant upon a commission were proceeding at the same hour, or in the same class of hours? If all this was true, it ought to be remedied. For, however trivial the in-

cidents, no court of justice could by possibility be trying the merits of two causes at once with any expectation of a fair and impartial determination. Another objection to the existing administration of the bankrupt laws was, that the commissioners were paid by the number of commissions which they executed. It was most unwise to remunerate a judge in such a manner that he was compelled to compress a great deal of business into a very short space of time, in order to reward himself sufficiently. Such a practice induced every kind of irregularity and absence of attention; and frauds thus proceeded, not only from the bad system of the laws, but from the imperfect administration of them. At present the fees were too small. Three pounds divided among five persons of talent and learning was not an adequate compensation for their labours. Let workmen be well paid, and it might then be justly expected that the work should be well done. So much for the evil. It was not his intention at present to propose any explicit remedy. He might, it was true, move for the introduction of some remedial bill on the subject. It really, however, would be imposing too heavy a burden upon him to load him with the endeavour to effect such material alterations as those which were suggested in the whole system of the bankrupt law and its administration. But he knew that there were honourable and learned members of that house who were eminently qualified to afford great assistance towards the attainment of this most desirable object. He should, therefore, abstain, in the motion with which he should conclude the speech which the house had so indulgently heard, from proposing any immediate remedy;

remedy; but, having stated what he conceived to be the evil, and hoping to hear explanations on the subject from honourable and learned gentlemen, who were necessarily more conversant with the facts than himself, he should content himself with moving a resolution:—"That the house would, in the course of the session, take into consideration the acts of parliament relative to bankrupts, and also the administration of those laws."

The motion was agreed to without a division.

House of lords, April 9.—The order of the day—having been read,

The marquis of Wellesley said, at no period either in ancient or modern times, whether under a republic or a monarchy, or in any country under any description of government, had a question of greater importance, or, he would say, of equal importance, been presented for deliberation and discussion, than that which now arose in consequence of the approaching expiration of the charter of the East India company. Viewing it in this light, he could not but deeply regret that this most important question, involving so many considerations of the greatest moment to the country, and being itself of the most complex nature, should have been brought forward in a manner and at a time which did not allow of that deliberate discussion the magnitude of the subject so urgently demanded. Delay in this case, instead of affording the opportunity for calm deliberation and mature decision, as it might have done in the hands of wisdom, had produced results rather tending to entangle and perplex the question than to elucidate it. Passion and prejudice had been suffered to get abroad,

mixed with the considerations which this question involved; and whilst, on the one hand, an idea had gone forth that the government of the East India company was incapable of improvement, and its system incapable of amendment or melioration; on the other hand, a wild, he would almost say, a frantic notion had been set afloat of throwing open the whole trade to India. Delay had thus led to nothing but to perplex and obscure the question, which ought to have been deliberately discussed and decided upon, and what had been delayed so long must now be precipitately concluded. He agreed with his noble friend (lord Grenville) in what he had said on a former event, that the measures hitherto adopted in regard to India had been a series of experiments wisely applied; or, if his noble friend liked the expression better, attempted to be wisely applied, to the circumstances of India and of this country, and those which connected the two empires. He could not, however, agree in the application of general abstract principles to the relations between this empire and our empire in India, without reference to the special and particular circumstances which applied to each, and the relations of both. The theory of political œconomy was best founded in practice, and it was only from practical results that we could deduce a theory that ought to be applied to circumstances as they actually existed. The science of political œconomy was not well understood until nations had attained a high degree of civilization, and the perfection of the science arose from the relations of states, after their internal œconomy had been thoroughly understood and appreciated. How had the empire of India passed to us? It had passed

to us through the medium of commerce, and by means of a succession of circumstances, in which the sovereign and the merchant had become united, and the political and commercial character interwoven. It was not merely a question as to the trade to India, but as to the trade with India, connected with the whole commercial system of the East India company, with their sovereignty and political functions. It had been said that the trade with India was unprofitable, was it therefore to be argued that the company were to be compelled to give it up? Take one given article from the extensive concerns of a merchant, it might be said that upon that article no profit was derived, and that therefore the merchant ought to desist from carrying on that branch of trade: but although that article, taken by itself, yielded no profit, yet the dealing in it might be so connected with other commercial concerns, that the continuing to trade in it might be essential to the prosperous commerce of the merchant. So, with the East India company, it was not merely a question with respect to the trade to India. It had been lately attempted, and not uningeniously, to prove that this trade really yielded a profit. He believed, however, that the trade in itself was really unprofitable: but what then? It was owing to this trade to India that the company were enabled to carry on their trade to China with greater advantage—that they had been enabled to export to China articles of the produce of the manufactures of this country, instead of bullion, which they had formerly been compelled to use as their medium of purchase in China. It was said that they carried on the trade to India at a heavy expense (the question still

remaining, whether a private merchant could carry it on at a less expense?): but again, this expense was connected with other circumstances applicable to their government in India. This intimate relation between the trade to India and their whole system of commerce, and between that and their system of government, rendered it utterly impossible to take the trade to India as an isolated consideration. He believed it to be essential to the carrying on the trade to China, and he also believed it to be vital, with a view to the carrying on the government of India by the company. What, besides, must be the result to this country of opening the trade to India? The articles which must of necessity form a large proportion of those that would enter into the trade from thence, were the products of the looms of India usually known by the name of piece goods, and the importation of which would immediately tend to injure and distress our own manufacturers. Thus, therefore, the opening of the trade could only be productive of injury to our own manufactures, whilst the taking it away from the company would tend to prevent them from carrying on with advantage their commerce to China, or their system of government in India. The union of the characters of sovereign and merchant—the blending the political and commercial character, might be said to be an anomaly; but if he were asked, in any society where questions happened to be discussed, what was an anomaly, he should be inclined to say, in the first instance, that it was a part of the British constitution. In the British constitution we had anomalies, not conflicting or counteracting its principles, but harmonizing in preserving those principles in their sound

sound practical effect. Anomaly was therefore no objection—the sovereign and the merchant, it was true, had been united—the political and commercial character had been blended; but it had operated to the advantage of India, and to promote the welfare of the people. He felt it difficult to speak upon this point, having had the honour of holding a high situation in India; but he felt it necessary to say something upon it, as it formed an important part of the subject. Some of the acts of the government in India had received high honour in this country—upon others a degree of doubt and suspicion had been thrown; but parliament had ultimately decided in their favour. By the acts of the government of the company in India, the country had been withdrawn from a state of war, and settled in a state of peace and tranquillity. The Decan, the whole territory from the Peshwa's dominions to those of the Nizam, afforded ample proofs of the beneficial effects of the measures of the company's government. The situation of the natives had been meliorated and improved—the rights of property, before unknown, had been introduced and confirmed by the settlement of Bengal. With respect to the principle of that settlement, he entirely coincided with his noble friend. Every governor of India had acknowledged the justice and the policy of this principle, and he was satisfied that every person qualified to be a governor of India must do the same. It formed the corner-stone of the government of India, and the extension of the principle to the conquered provinces would found a solid basis for that government to rest upon. The principle ought

1813.

to be distinctly recognised; but the application of it must be the subject of delay, in order that the various circumstances of those to whom it was to be applied, might be accurately ascertained. Reverting to the questions to which he wished more particularly to call their lordships' attention, he would observe upon the influence of the government here, as mixed with that of the government in India, and which had continued since 1784. It was, however, a great mistake to suppose that the influence of each could be separated, and the effect of each independent of the other accurately ascertained. It was not what could be or had been done by either, but what the union of both had effected. What had been produced by one or the other separately, could not be ascertained, neither could it be argued that the same effects would follow from the operation of the one cause, which had been produced by the union and blending of both. He would say, and he was borne out by the facts, that no government had better fulfilled its duties towards the people whom it governed, than that of India. The circumstances of the people had been greatly improved: a commerce most beneficial to them, the coasting trade of India, had been established and matured: in every instance their wants and comforts had been attended to: and thus, whether in a political or commercial character, the company's government had been distinguished by the benefits conferred upon the people of India. A judicial system had been established, which, though not perfect, contained within it all the essentials of British justice. Yet this system, thus in all its parts gradually and progressively

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sively improving, was held out as one incapable of any improvement, and the grossest misrepresentations had gone abroad in regard to its conduct towards the natives of India. The fact was, that our government watched every opportunity of assimilating (as far as it could be done with safety) the manners of the natives to our own, and of convincing them gradually of the advantages of departing from their old customs, institutions, and prejudices. This was more particularly evident in the military department—the sepoys in the company's service conformed almost entirely to our modes of warfare. This was not only the fact, but it was the whole secret of the superiority of our forces over the native powers. Would it be said, then, that such a people are incapable of changes or improvement? No: but that change must be gradual and voluntary; not crude, precipitate, and forced. If we did not allow our understandings to be fettered and bound down by the superstitious notion that no change could take place, nor ought to be suffered, the result would be, that improvement was attainable, if that improvement was conducted with sufficient caution, wisdom, and deliberation. He hoped that their lordships would apply some of the principles which he had stated, to the resolutions which it was proposed to them to adopt and sanction. His lordship here entered at large into the tendency of the several resolutions; and coming to the subject of religion, he said, as to the extending christianity to India, all recommendation from the government of the religion it revered and adored, to the natives, by whom a recommendation from the government is considered as a

command, should be avoided; and all that was to be done should be effected by the gradual diffusion of knowledge, for which purpose a collegiate body should be subject to the first dignitary of our Indian church. As to the missionaries, he had never heard, while in India, of any mischiefs done by them, neither had he heard of any impression produced in the way of conversion. They were quiet, learned, and orderly; and Mr. Carey, one of their number, was employed as instructor in some branches of oriental learning at Fort William. He (marquis Wellesley) had thought it his duty to encourage the translation of the scriptures, but had also thought it his duty to issue no orders of government on the subject of religion. As a christian governor, he could not have done less; as a British governor, he could not have done more. If, indeed, a project had been formed to the complete demolition of the company, and for the creation of a new government upon the ruins of the ancient and venerable fabric, at least it might be said that the plan was bold and decisive: but, in the scheme now proposed, no such vigour was to be traced: nor was its deficiency supplied by wisdom or policy: the East India company was to be continued as the organ and instrument, without any of the power and authority necessary for government. Ministers called upon it to perform that for which their strength would be inadequate: they insisted that the flood-gates of commerce should be opened, and the company was to sink or swim as chance directed. They withered the limbs and enervated the body, and then demanded that it should perform those wonders which it had been able to execute in the height and

and plenitude of its vigour. No commensurate advantage was offered to compensate; the revenues would be endangered; the manufacturers would perhaps be ruined; and no additional benefit could be derived from an open trade. Under all these circumstances, he felt it his duty to resist any general alteration of the system, being firmly convinced that no very material amelioration could be attained; and in order to place his views in the clearest light, and to support them by facts, he should conclude by moving for a variety of documents upon the subject, some of which might be before the house, and others might even be before the public, but which it was absolutely necessary to bring into one distinct point, to elucidate this important and intricate subject. His lordship then handed his motion to the woolsack. The question having been put,

The earl of Buckinghamshire rose, because he thought he should be guilty of unpardonable neglect of the duties of his office, if he did not make a few observations upon what had fallen from the noble marquis. Ministers had been charged with having precipitately, and without due inquiry, brought forward this system, described and admitted to be of such great importance. That this remark should have been made by the noble marquis, was most extraordinary, because he must know that two years ago a committee had been appointed expressly to take this subject into consideration; that voluminous reports had by it been made; and more than that, the noble marquis knew that he never himself took the trouble to attend one of its meetings. His noble friend had argued upon the resolutions as if they had been

worded with the precision of an act of parliament, when he must be perfectly aware, that at his own suggestion they were introduced instead of a bill, as the ground upon which an enactment should be raised, after the foundation had been deliberately examined. In the first resolution he had chosen to insert a word that had no existence, and in objecting to its situation had forgotten that it ought to have precedence, since, until the grand question of the renewal of the charter was determined, the minor details could not be fitly discussed. The noble marquis had talked loudly of the dangers that were to be dreaded: he had endeavoured to frighten the house and the country into a compliance with his wishes: he had conjured up phantoms, with which he seemed to contend most valiantly, but those who beheld him were lost in astonishment at his vehement action, erected against objects they could not see; since if, indeed, they had being at all, it was only in the terrified imagination of the noble marquis. If he had taken the pains to read the correspondence on this subject with the directors, these airy nothings would never have tormented him; for what was their opinion? they saw no danger in the opening of the export trade, or from the efflux of adventurers connected with this part of the subject: their fear applied to the import trade from India; and if their authority were worth any thing, it was entirely opposed to that of their friend. The noble marquis might, perhaps, not be disposed to pay much attention to the sentiments of the present governor-general, and he would therefore quote the opinions of an individual, for whom (doubtless on good grounds) the noble marquis appeared to entertain a very high



respect—he meant lord Wellesley, who, writing from India to the directors in 1800, used these words conclusive against his statement of to-day:—"Your government can always with less difficulty control the operations of British than of foreign adventurers: the designs and attempts of foreigners must always be more dangerous than any consequences that could result from an increased resort of British subjects, under such limitations and restraints as your wisdom may frame."—(*Hear, hear! from marquis Wellesley*)—how could these two discordant opinions be reconciled? In 1800, under proper regulations, nothing was to be apprehended: in 1814, (when the charter was about to expire,) consequences that endangered not only India, but England, were to be dreaded. Did the noble marquis intend to argue, that American merchants ought to be allowed privileges that were denied to our own subjects? Were treaties to be formed with foreign powers, who were to be put upon the footing of the most favoured nations, and were Englishmen to be the only exception? were they to be excluded from advantages given to foreigners? That the house might see how important it was that the trade enjoyed by foreign nations should be devoted to our own countrymen, he would state the extent of it in 1806-7. It amounted to no less than 1,958,105*l.* and it could not be denied that even such an addition would afford a great relief to the mercantile interest. The exports of the company at the same time little exceeded one million. He admitted that great practical advantages ought not to be sacrificed to theoretical calculations, but here actual experience was called in aid of

speculative policy. Could there be any reasonable objection to individuals of large property and respectable connections employing their capital in the trade to India? Was any danger to be apprehended even from the lower classes of merchants, who must be always under the control of the political authorities? His lordship then enlarged upon this part of the subject, and read several extracts from a report made upon the subject, to show that it was not probable that adventurers would penetrate into the interior from Calcutta, since that branch of the trade was always carried on by native merchants.—The noble earl concluded by observing, that the commercial interests of the country ought to receive every privilege and advantage which they could wish for, provided such privileges did not interfere with the substantial rights of others. It was the duty of the legislature not to place the merchants of this country in a worse situation than foreigners, in trading to India.

Lord Grenville said, whatever sentiments might be entertained on the subject now under their lordships' consideration, they must all feel obliged to his noble friend (the marquis of Wellesley) for the opportunity he had given them of discussing this question, before the period when they should come to a final vote. Now was the time when discussion and examination might be useful. If he felt grateful for such an opportunity for discussion, he felt more so for the light which the high official situation filled by his noble friend, and the distinguished part he acted in our Indian empire, enabled him to throw on the question. The noble earl who spoke last had satisfactorily explained one point, which, in the dis-

discussion out of doors, had been frequently lost sight of; that whatever rights might be conceded by former acts of parliament to the East India company, they were now extinguished—they were granted for a time limited; that time was expired; and they were now about to legislate for the Indian empire, free and unlimited; bound by no previous plan, and fettered by no previous act of the legislature. Until he had seen the whole of the plan proposed by his majesty's government, of which an outline had only yet been laid before them, he felt a difficulty in making any general observations on the subject. He was not disposed to throw any difficulties in their way; but, on the contrary, inclined to afford them his most cordial and zealous assistance. He did not believe, however, and he should be happy to be convinced to the contrary, that the union of the two objects of political power and commercial undertakings in the East India company were compatible, in the degree which they imagined, with the existence of the single and unaided competition of the British merchant. Of this he was however convinced, that the liberal conduct adopted towards the merchants of foreign nations they could not deny to their own. This was an incontrovertible proposition; and they ought to keep in view, whether or not it might be practicable to reconcile with this principle the details of the plan of his majesty's government. One error appeared to him to run through the resolutions and the speech of the noble earl—the considering as principal that which was merely secondary, and as secondary that which was principal. The resolutions began by laying down the

importance of preserving the privileges of the East India company, with certain exceptions. Whether it might be proper to keep up a commercial company which was said to carry on commerce at a loss, was surely a question which admitted of some doubt. The noble earl desired them to agree to the necessity of keeping up this commercial company, for the sake of the government of India. It was the duty of their lordships to inquire, first, what was the nature of their situation? secondly, what were the duties of that situation? and then, what were the instruments by which those duties could most effectually be discharged? The resolutions were defective, and any act of parliament founded on them would be defective, which did not vindicate the right of the British crown to the government of India. His lordship went much at large into the policy of the government in India, and into the several regulations made by the company, both in this country and in the East. The command, he said, of the Indian army by the company could not, he felt, be withdrawn from that company, so long as it retained the political government of India; but this very command formed an additional argument against the connection of a great political with a commercial government. There was also a natural competition between the king's and the company's army in India, and he could not conceive how the evil was to be cured; for the only cure suggested, namely, the introduction of officers from the regular army into commands in the company's force, was liable to many objections, some of which the regular officers themselves must feel, particularly upon the subject of promotion and fame,

compared to the advantages belonging to the regular army. It struck him that a peculiar system of mixed education should be established to prepare officers for the Indian army. Here the noble lord animadverted upon the systems of education adopted by the India company in this country and in India. Here they separated boys from all those connections which were calculated to encourage and promote the object which ought to be attended to—which might enable them to carry out to India the true British spirit that must attach them to their country—that would dispose them to maintain its interests and glory. On the contrary, the view of the directors appeared to be to pursue a course directly the reverse of that followed at all our great public schools, by withdrawing these boys from the society of their countrymen, to convert them, as it seemed, into a sort of separate cast; for such was the mischievous system of the establishment at Hertford, which ought to be extinguished. But the system pursued by the company in the college of Calcutta was equally objectionable. The ends to which the institution was convertible were quite defeated by a miserable spirit of parsimony. For the company, which derived a revenue of seven millions annually from India, refused to afford the necessary means for training up men in the science of governing that territory. For himself, he could not help declaring his suspicion as to the passive conduct of the board of control upon that refusal. The noble lord concluded with apologizing for the time he had occupied in expressing the doubts and difficulties he felt upon this important question, which doubts and difficulties he had expressed without any personal mo-

tive, for indeed it was impossible that he should feel any, especially with regard to the public body more immediately alluded to in the discussion.

The earl of Liverpool bore testimony to the candid manner in which the noble baron had treated the subject, his object obviously being to bring the question fairly and dispassionately under the consideration of the house, without any partiality or party feeling. For himself and his colleagues, the noble earl declared their readiness to attend to any suggestion thrown out by the noble baron, or by others, which might be calculated either to further their own plan, or to show its deficiency. Their main object was to promote the happiness of the people of India; and he was proud to feel that no people were governed with more judgement than they had been for the last thirty years. With regard to that people, the colonial system, which was notoriously founded upon a principle of monopoly, had long ceased. Indeed that system had ceased generally, a new era having arisen in the world. Then, as the colonial principle could not be maintained, as foreigners could not be excluded from the commerce of this extensive territory, could there long exist a doubt in any unbiassed mind as to the general admission of our own merchants to a participation of that commerce? Yet upon this point a question had arisen. With respect to the assertion of the noble mover, that the trade of individual merchants could not be carried on at all under the proposed restrictions, and that of the noble baron, that such trade must be quite a losing pursuit, while the company combined the political with the commercial character; the noble

noble earl answered both by referring to the documents on the table, from which it appeared that the exports from India, within a certain year, by British private traders, were nearly equal to that of the India company; and the exports of the American traders bore a greater proportion still to those of the company, while a participation of this trade by any but the company was subject to still greater disadvantages than those deprecated by these two noble lords. He should not consider the system as complete, unless not merely the intercourse between India and this country was opened, but also between India and the whole of Asia, Africa, and America, that the British merchants might avail themselves of every advantage to be derived from this extended intercourse. With respect to South America, it was peculiarly desirable that some arrangement of this nature might be made. The present was a precious, golden opportunity; by seizing it, advantages might be gained, which, if not now made our own, might altogether, at a future period, elude our grasp. It was quite impossible to believe that an advantageous trade could not be carried on under these circumstances by our merchants. With respect to the China trade, he was prepared to maintain the expediency of excepting it from the proposed arrangement; it was now carried on advantageously by the East India company, and a revenue was securely derived from it. There were, besides, many circumstances to render it inexpedient to open the trade to China. It was better to retain a certain advantageous trade, and a certain revenue, than to exchange it for an uncertainty. His lordship concluded by expressing

generally his firm and decided conviction of the advantages which would result from opening the India trade to the out-ports.

The motion was put and negatived.

In the house of commons, sir W. Scott moved for and obtained leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of ecclesiastical courts in England, and for the more easy recovery of church-rates and tithes. The right hon. gentleman prefaced his motion with a few general observations on the state of these courts, on their history, and on the inconveniences which existed in their constitution. The object of his bill (which is the same lost by the late dissolution of parliament) was, to abolish excommunication generally, not only as a mean process, but as an ultimate sentence, except in cases of great offence. In these, he held that it would be impossible to do away with this power in the ecclesiastical courts, as every church must have the ability to exclude unworthy members from among them; and there were crimes (incest for example) which were not amenable to the common laws, and so destructive to society, that there must be a punishment of force enough to repress them. Another object of his bill would be, to lessen the number of minor courts which had the power of excommunicating; and lastly, to devise a more easy manner for the recovery of church-rates and tithes, the present mode of recovering small sums being oppressive, from the magnitude of the expense incurred.

After a few words from Mr. D. Giddy, leave was given, and the bill was brought in and read a first time. It was ordered to be printed, and to be read a second time on the 28th.

April 28.—Mr. Wharton, after making some observations relative to the new communication intended to be opened between the regent's park and Carlton-house, said that the street was not intended to be in a straight line; the general plan was a good one, and he hoped that the house would approve of it, so far as private interests were concerned. For his own part, he had heard no good objections against it. The public utility of it also would be considerable. That part of the ground through which it was to be carried, which now belonged to the crown, was not worth more than 4500*l.* a year; and upon the new plan it would be about 32,000*l.* a year, which would be a considerable improvement of the revenue of the crown. For the execution of the plan, it was necessary that 765 houses should come down, 449 of which belonged to the crown at present. The completion of the work, it was calculated, would cost about 330,000*l.* which one of the insurance offices had already offered to advance. The amount of the interest of this sum, at five per cent. would be about 16,000*l.* a year, leaving a yearly surplus of 15,000*l.* which, if converted into a sinking fund, would redeem the original debt in 16 years, after which the crown would have 32,000*l.* instead of 4500*l.* a year. He then moved for leave to bring in a bill for making a more convenient communication between the north side of the metropolis, through the parish of Marybone, and Charing-cross, and the city of Westminster; which was granted, and the bill passed into a law.

May 3.—Mr. Robse said, that he rose to move that the petition which he had before presented from certain artificers should be referred

to a select committee. The number of persons who signed the petition was 38,000, and comprised (except weavers of silk and cotton) workmen of almost every other description. They complained of the permission given, from the present state of the laws, to persons who had not served seven years to work at their respective trades. The foundation of the apprenticeship laws was laid in the reign of Edward III. when persons were forbid to exercise more than one trade. This was repealed at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and during this same reign the law passed as it stood at present. The courts, when the subject came before them, were rather disposed to narrow than to enlarge the restriction. Many of the petitioners had been parties in actions on the subject; and even where they had succeeded, the remedy was found insufficient. He concluded by moving that the petition be referred to a select committee.

Mr. serjeant Onslow objected generally to the narrow policy of such acts as the 5th of Elizabeth, which could only be justifiable in the infancy of our manufactures. The statute itself was intended to prevent the employment of unskilful workmen; but he had never known a single instance where the party prosecuted under it had not become an object of jealousy among his competitors, on account of his superior ability and ingenuity.

Mr. D. Giddy was of a similar opinion.

Mr. Butterworth also coincided, and stated several cases that had come within his own observation. He did not oppose the committee, because he was convinced that the determination would be in favour of the repeal of the 5th of Elizabeth.

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The motion was then put, and carried.

May 5.—Mr. W. Smith said, he believed no opposition would be made to the motion he was about to submit to the house, and he therefore would not take up two minutes of their attention. The act of king William, known by the name of the Toleration Act, denied to persons who disbelieved in the Trinity the benefit of toleration. An act of the 19th of his present majesty required only the general belief in the doctrines of christianity and the scriptures; but it so happened, that though by the act of the 19th it was not necessary to subscribe the articles of the church of England professing the belief in the Trinity, the acts of the 9th and 10th of king William were not repealed. By these acts, persons who in writing or conversation deny the existence of any of the persons of the Trinity are disabled in law from holding any office civil, ecclesiastical, or military, on conviction; and if a second time convicted, they are disabled to sue or prosecute in any action or information, or to be the guardian of any child, and liable to be imprisoned for three years. The only object of his bill was to do away these penalties. He said, the act which was passed last year, on a similar subject, was creditable to the liberality of the ministers of this country, and the times in which we lived. The only question now for consideration was, whether those persons dissenting from the church of England should be still liable to the penalties of the acts of king William. He therefore moved for leave to bring in a bill for granting further relief to the different persuasions of christians in this country, who disbelieved the doctrine of the Trinity.

The speaker observed, that the regular course was to move first, that the motion should be submitted to a committee of the whole house; which was accordingly done.

Lord Castlereagh said, he certainly did not see any reason to object to the principle of the bill. When the bill was before the house, he should then be enabled to see if there was any thing in the mode of granting the relief liable to objection.

The house went into a committee; when leave was moved for, and obtained, to bring in the bill in question.

The bill was brought in, and went through the commons; but on account of some informality it was thrown out in the lords. Another, however, was brought in, and carried into a law with the most perfect unanimity.

House of lords, May 14.—The order of the day having been read,

The earl of Darnley said, he was aware, after the number of speeches their lordships had heard on the subject of our naval triumphs, that he offered himself under disadvantageous circumstances, in finding himself compelled, from a sense of his public duty, to call their attention to our first naval disasters. He had wished that the discussion should have been brought forward when those disastrous events were fresh in the recollection of their lordships and of the public; but he had postponed the motion in consequence of the inability of a noble marquis to attend, for the assistance of whose abilities upon this important question he was most anxious. Unfortunately, however, that noble marquis was still prevented from attending, by severe indisposition.

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It might have been hoped that, in the interval between his giving his notice and the bringing forward his motion, some naval successes would have occurred, to compensate, in some measure, for the disasters that had unhappily befallen our arms: it could scarcely have been believed possible that any fresh disaster would have happened, in addition to those already so severely felt. Yet in the course of the two months that had intervened, another misfortune, there was too much reason to fear, had occurred, attended with even more melancholy circumstances than the former disasters. He alluded to the action between his majesty's sloop of war the *Peacock*, and the United States' brig *Hornet*, of equal force. No official account of this unfortunate occurrence having arrived, he was willing to cling to the hope that it was unfounded; but the statement that had been given of the circumstances of the action in the American papers, left too much reason to fear that it was true. Under these circumstances he had to claim the indulgence of their lordships whilst he entered into a detail which he felt the importance of the subject demanded. Whether the unfortunate war in which we were involved with the United States of America might have been avoided by conciliatory measures on our part, or by adopting a different line of policy to that pursued by his majesty's government, he would not now discuss, although he thought that had his royal highness the prince regent, at the time of assuming the regency, been advised to take to his councils other persons than those ministers who had been employed, this war with America might have been avoided: yet there were several persons for whose opinion he had

a high respect, who doubted whether the ruling party in the United States would not have forced on a war with this country, whatever measures this government might have adopted. He would put aside, therefore, all question as to the policy or impolicy of the war; but of this there could be no dispute, that with the known hostile disposition of the ruling party in America, and the determination of this government not to conciliate, it must have been foreseen that war could not fail to be the result. With regard to our naval force, how were we prepared? It appeared that in the months of April, May, June, and July last year, during a part of which period there must have been every expectation of the near approach of war, and during the latter part of which the war had actually commenced, there were, under admiral Sawyer, on the Halifax station, (exclusive of smaller vessels,) one ship of the line and five frigates. That such a force only should have been stationed there, when a timely reinforcement might have achieved the most important objects, he contended, loudly called for inquiry. He had the opinions of persons eminently qualified to give an opinion upon the subject, and who had a competent knowledge of the coast of America, that if a force of five ships of the line, 17 frigates, and an adequate number of smaller vessels, had been on the Halifax station at the time the war broke out, the whole coast of the United States might have been immediately blockaded. Had this been done, the American frigates in port must have remained there; those which had sailed must have been captured in their return; the American commerce would have been destroyed; their customs, upon which they

they relied for their revenue, would have failed; and with this succession of disasters, the ruling party in the United States would have been forced out of power, and by this time we should have had peace. It might be said that the amount of the force on the Halifax station was equal to that of the American navy; and judging from what had formerly occurred, five of our frigates might be deemed equal to five of our enemy's frigates: but was the quality of our force, in this instance, equal to that with which it had to contend? Has it not, on the contrary, long since been a matter of notoriety, that the American frigates were greatly superior to ours in size and weight of metal? The Constitution, for instance, which had unhappily been so successful, was for a long period, some time since, on our own coast, sailing between Cowes and Cherburgh, and even in the Downs; and the lord warden of the Cinque Ports might, without the aid of his spy-glass, have discovered her superiority in size to any of our own frigates. At some of those times, a noble lord, then at the head of the admiralty, was with the lord warden, and strange it was that those two noble lords should not have knocked their heads together, and hit upon some plan of building vessels of a similar construction! That such a plan should even have been matured with the certain prospect of a war with the United States, would have been nothing miraculous. It would be only necessary to refer the house to a succession of dates to prove the almost criminal negligence of ministers, and these simple facts would speak more decisively and strongly than any observations they might naturally occasion: those at the head of affairs in this country

had been as lukewarm and pusillanimous in prosecuting, as they had been rash and imprudent in commencing the war: they had treated with contempt the excellent advice of the poet:

"Beware

Of entrance to a quarrel, but being in,  
Bear it that the opposer may beware of thee."

War was declared against Great Britain by the United States on the 18th of June; the official intelligence of this fact reached government on the 30th of July; and notwithstanding the incalculable importance of this event, parliament was prorogued on that very day; and into the mouth of the regent was put the following paragraph, referring to our relations with America: "His royal highness has commanded us to assure you, that he views with sincere regret the hostile measures which have been recently adopted by the government of the United States towards this country. His royal highness is nevertheless willing to hope, that the accustomed relations of peace and amity may yet be restored: but if his expectations in this respect should be disappointed by the conduct of the government of the United States, or by their perseverance in any unwarrantable pretensions, he will most fully rely on the support of every class of his majesty's subjects in a contest, in which the honour of his majesty's crown, and the best interests of his dominions, must be involved." Such was the language then held, and ministers were deeply responsible for having prorogued parliament in such a manner, and under such circumstances. War then having been declared on the 18th of June, what was done by way of instant retaliation? Nothing: and it was not until the 13th of October that let-  
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ters of marque and reprisal were issued : how the interval was employed the country required an explanation. Still, however, the same dilatory system was pursued, and more than two months elapsed before the Chesapeak and Delaware were declared to be blockaded, the notification being dated the 26th of December, nearly five months after the declaration of war was officially known : the second notification of the blockade of some other ports (Mar. 30) was exactly eight months after the war was known to have commenced. It had been often remarked, that the cause of the success of the American navy against that of England, was to be attributed to the formation of their ships of war, built upon the keels of men of war of 74 guns, and carrying very heavy metal upon the upper deck : of this species the enemy possessed three frigates, which had already committed most alarming depredations. But although ministers were long ago made acquainted with this fact, they took no steps to place our shipping upon an equality ; and the vessels upon a new construction, that were built expressly to cope with the American frigates, were not to be launched until October next. This fact might appear incredible to all but those who had been spectators of the constant inefficiency of the measures of administration. In pursuance of the very vigorous and decisive plan that had been observed since the commencement of hostilities, when on the 30th of March last certain other ports of the United States were declared to be blockaded ; Rhode Island and Newport yet remained open, and in the latter the American frigate, after the capture of the Macedonian, actually refitted. Was this the mode

in which the affairs of Great Britain, at a crisis like the present, ought to be conducted ? It was some satisfaction to the noble lord, in the performance of the invidious task he had unwillingly undertaken, to reflect, that upon ministers only rested the heavy responsibility of the late disasters : of the officers and men, who so gallantly but unsuccessfully fought, nothing could be uttered but unqualified applause ; but it was melancholy to recollect that efforts, which under other rulers might have raised the character of the British navy even higher than the pinnacle of glory it had already attained, were unavailing : the losses we had sustained were owing to no diminution of the courage, skill, and discipline of our sailors, and the names of captains Dacres, Carden, and Lambert, would be handed down to posterity with love and admiration. All that human nature could effect, they accomplished, and a strict inquiry into the causes of their failure was not less due to the living than to the dead. His lordship then proceeded to advert to the circumstances of the capture of the Guerriere, Macedonian, and Java frigates, and insisted that the latter, notwithstanding the returns upon the table, was insufficiently manned ; not that she had not her full complement of hands, but that her crew consisted principally of young inexperienced men or boys : the marines too on board were raw troops, that had been lately raised. He rejoiced that he had moved for and obtained the minutes of the court-martial upon the Java, because they disclosed circumstances of importance to the character of captain Lambert, a man who united to all the hardy valour and fearless intrepidity of a sailor, all the finer domestic

pestic and endearing qualities that embalmed his memory in the hearts of his kindred, while it was not less cherished with grateful recollections by his countrymen. On a reference to the gazettes, it would be found that many of the circumstances attending the capture of all our frigates were similar; they were all crippled in their rigging, and dismasted early in the action, arising partly from the commanding height of the ships of the enemy, and partly from the greater weight of metal, while the shot from our smaller guns produced comparatively little effect upon the masts of our antagonists. To ascertain satisfactorily the causes of this superiority, was surely ground enough for inquiry. If it were urged that we had not seamen to man new frigates to contend with America, he would reply, that many small vessels were now uselessly employed upon various stations, the crews of which might be turned over to our larger ships, to render themselves useful to their country, and to gratify the national ardour of sailors, who would otherwise be wasting their years in inglorious idleness. Let them be called forward to retrieve our injured character; let them renew our wonted triumphs; for, if fit measures were pursued, the disasters we had recently witnessed would only serve to heighten the lustre of our returning glory. It was indeed heart-breaking to reflect, that the apparently insignificant navy of the United States had brought disgrace upon the British arms, which neither the revolutionary phrensy of Robespierre, nor the gigantic despotism of Bonaparte, combining against us for so many years the united navies of Europe, had been able to effect.

Quos neque Tydides, nec Larissæus  
Achilles,  
Non anni domuere decem, non mille  
carinæ!

His lordship, after a number of other highly important observations, concluded by moving, "that a committee be appointed to inquire into the circumstances of the war now unhappily subsisting with the United States, and more particularly into the state, conduct, and management of his majesty's naval forces during the last year."

Lord Melville, in reply, requested their lordships to advert to the choice of time for declaring war made by the Americans. They began the war exactly at the period when it was necessary for this country to send a large naval force to the Baltic and other quarters. The Americans knew that a considerable portion of our naval force would be thus employed in the months of April and May, and they had taken their measures accordingly. But the noble earl seemed to conceive that the capture of our frigates itself constituted a sufficient ground for his motion; but how was it possible to have prevented the American frigates from getting out of port if they chose? They had escaped before the declaration of war; and their object was to cruise against our trade; and they had fallen in with one of our convoys, but were chased away; and yet it was contended that our force on the American station was inadequate. If the American force had been superior, it would, no doubt, have attempted to find our force, and to have engaged it: but the Americans never had such a thing in contemplation. Our naval commander on that station had very properly dispersed his force on different parts of the American coast,

coast. The *Guerriere* frigate had been cruising in company with a ship of the line, from which she had been separated in a gale. She was met by an American ship of far superior force, and after a gallant action taken. The captain had certainly made a brave defence, and the officers and crew deserved every praise: but what did this engagement prove in regard to a deficiency of naval force? If our force on the American station had been ten times as large, the same accident might have happened. But then the noble earl said, "why did you not blockade them in their ports?" His answer to that was, that their ports could not be effectually blockaded. The impossibility of blockading any place completely, appeared from the notorious fact, that vessels were sometimes captured within view of our own coast, without the possibility of being assisted by our cruisers. Privateers and frigates would sometimes escape, notwithstanding all that could be done by the most vigilant blockading squadron. The noble lord, in his opinion of the necessity of blockading the American ports, perhaps thought it necessary that all the ports of America should be so hermetically sealed, that their frigates should not be able to enter or leave any port in America. Such a blockade was, however, absolutely impossible. The noble lord seemed to think that ministers should have been prepared to blockade all the American ports at the very beginning of the war. But what would the noble lord, and those about him, have said of the sincerity of the disposition of his majesty's government to reconcile the differences with America, if they had at that time, and before it was supposed in this country that the

American government would go to war, sent out such powerful squadrons to the American station? Would not that have been considered as an argument in America, as well as in this country, of a hostile spirit in our government? and would those who conceived that the repeal of the orders in council would have averted the war, have then advised such a course? Of one of the frigates which had been taken, the *Java*, the noble lord represented the crew as boys, and persons entirely unfit for service. It was true that they were young men; but it did not follow on that account that they were not seamen, or that they were unfit for service. It was usual, in selecting a crew for a vessel going upon the Indian station, to choose young men; and if he were selecting a crew for such another voyage, he would be quite content to take such men as formed the crew of the *Java*. The noble lord had said, that it was most extraordinary that we had not altered the description of our ships, in consequence of the Americans possessing those three large frigates. There was nothing, however, that naval men were more agreed on, than that it was injurious to the service to have too great a multiplication of the classes of ships. How many frigates, then, of this description would he have built? If we had three or six of them, it by no means followed that those vessels would have fallen in with the large American frigates. As to the conduct of the war, it was now pursued in the manner the noble lord himself conceived the most proper. Blockades were carried on as extensively as possible, and the enemy's coasts were annoyed in every point. The effects of this system had, as he believed, been severely

severely felt by them. Upon these grounds he must oppose the motion of the noble lord.

Earl Stanhope proceeded to state his experiments, and the causes which had turned his mind to the subject. He was educated under a man whom he could never mention without feelings of the greatest veneration—his father—who was one of the best mathematicians in the country. Knowing the great power of steam, which had been since made so available in our manufactures, he first tried experiments to move ships with it. In the course of those experiments, however, he found out how abominable and detestable the common construction of ships was. He then analysed the whole construction of a ship from the hull upwards. Without this analysis it was impossible to be a judge of the properties of a ship; and if to the greater number of naval officers a mere model of a ship should be shown, and they were asked the properties, they could not tell; but if they had studied them with the pains he had taken, the answer would be easy. He then stated the result of the experiments which had been made of a ship built on his construction against the *Racoon* sloop of war, in which the captain of the *Racoon* reported that *his* vessel under jury-masts beat the *Racoon* carrying a great deal of sail; that it worked and weathered well in a heavy sea. The board of naval architecture had lately tried nearly ten thousand experiments on the construction of vessels, and upon alterations in the heads and sterns of them; but, by some unaccountable obstinacy, the old construction was persevered in, in spite of demonstration. The vessel which he had built was 110 feet long, and about

200 tons burden. The naval men at first laughed at it, and said it was only a harpoon to strike a whale with; but when it came to be tried, it outsailed the *Racoon*. It was a flat-bottomed vessel, and only drew seven or eight feet water. Now, if the French should build large vessels on this construction, they might do the most serious mischief to this country. They might bring vessels off the coasts of Lincolnshire and Essex, carrying metal equal to an 80-gun ship, and yet lying in such shallow water that no vessel we have could attack them without being blown out of the water. These vessels might lie at such a distance from the coast as not to be attacked from the land, and to be unattackable by any vessels we have, and might cut up the coal trade from Newcastle, and the whole of our coasting trade. If we had possessed vessels of this construction, then indeed would our enemy's coast have been vulnerable in every point; and he could never have ventured to send against Germany or Russia the large armies he has done. There was another thing he should now mention. By a decree of the Rolls court it was forbidden to cut what was called ornamental timber; that is, the sort of timber which for its growth was the fittest for naval purposes. He was glad, however, that the lord chancellor appeared to be of a different opinion on that subject. By a report lately made of our navy, it appeared that nearly half of our large ships were either rotting or rotten. This was entirely owing to the fault of their construction. If our ships were built of wet timber, and that timber was not inclosed, it would season of itself, and this dry rot would not come in it. It was the inclosing  
this

this timber from the air that made it rot; and it appeared on the return of our navy, that notwithstanding the expense of their construction, ships were generally serviceable but for eight or nine years; whereas, if the timbers were not inclosed in such a manner as to make them rot, they might last for fifty or sixty years. He considered the sharp construction which they continued to build ships upon, as the cause of their oversetting when they took the ground, and of the death of numbers of seamen. The persisting in this ignorant cause, he considered murder. The flat-bottomed construction of ships which he had submitted to experiment, had every advantage of the other, and would not upset in such a situation. Great danger to the navy might be apprehended from the schemes of Mr. Fulton. His lordship had heard from good authority, that when Mr. Fulton went to Paris, he had an interview with Bonaparte, who sat on a chair, and afterwards sat on a table; but when he had heard all the plan, he said he disapproved of it, and would not adopt such a mode of warfare. Fulton afterwards made an agreement with Mr. Pitt and lord Melville, for 40,000*l.* for the first French ship destroyed, and for the rest in proportion. He failed at Boulogne for various reasons; but he got 10,000*l.* for his experiments, and put 15,000*l.* in his pocket; and then went to America. Lord Stanhope then explained the construction of the torpedos which Fulton had invented to apply to the bottom of a ship, for the purpose of blowing her up; one of which was regulated by clock-work; another, on a different principle, was called the porcupine torpedo. He had sent a copy of Ful-

ton's pamphlet, published in America, to the admiralty; and had stated the means of preventing the effect of those dreadful inventions: but he had heard of no steps taken to provide against them. He looked with alarm to the probability of their being used in our war with America. He thought he should have acted wrongly in not stating these matters to their lordships.

Several other noble lords spoke on the subject, and lord Darnley replied; after which the house divided,

For the motion - - 59

Against it - - - 125

Majority against it - 66

House of lords, May 19.—The house met at ten o'clock, and Mr. Leach, sir S. Romilly, and Mr. Thompson, were heard in the appeal case of *M'Adam v. Adam*.

This is a very important case with a view to the Scottish law of marriage. Mr. M'Adam, a gentleman of very large fortune in Ayrshire, kept a mistress in his house for some years, and had children by her. One morning he called the servants into the room where he and his kept-mistress were at breakfast, and, taking her by the hand, declared in their presence that she was his wife. The same day he shot himself. The question is, whether this is a valid marriage, and consequently the children legitimate? Upon the decision of this question depends the succession to a real estate of 10,000*l.* per annum. It was observed by one of the judges below, that if this should be decided to be a valid marriage, the poor Gretna-green blacksmith would be ruined, as the English couples would only have to pass the borders, and marry themselves without his assistance. Further hearing

hearing on Friday, when the judgment of the court below was affirmed; and it may now be considered as finally established, that by the law of Scotland, as it at present stands, a mere verbal declaration of marriage by the parties themselves, deliberately made in the presence of witnesses, constitutes a valid marriage, provable by the verbal testimony of the witnesses, without any writing, or any further ceremony.

House of commons, May 27.—

The chancellor of the exchequer rose to make the motion of which he had given notice respecting the civil list. He said he was aware that considerable prejudice had gone abroad respecting the expenditure of the civil list: however, he felt confident that a due consideration of the papers on that subject before the house, would entirely remove that prejudice. He divided the subject into different classes: pensions, and allowances to the royal family; the lord chancellor and judges of the several courts; foreign ministers; bills of his majesty's tradesmen; also small

fees; and treasury; and to those were to be added occasional payments. He stated the several instances in which the expenditure in each class had exceeded the estimates; and accounted for it by the difference of circumstances, and by the increase in prices of almost every thing in use, since the year 1804 to the present time. This, he said, was particularly observable in the articles of the bills of his majesty's tradesmen, and the allowances to foreign ministers, which had lately been increased in a very great degree. He enumerated the several excesses which had taken place in each year above the estimates, and we understood him to say, that the increase of charge remained to be accounted for by a comparison of the expenditure between 1804 and the present time; that the political charges on the civil list amounted last year to 365,000*l.* and upwards, out of an expenditure of 1,306,022*l.*; and he concluded by moving that the papers be referred to a select committee; which, after a warm debate, was agreed to.

## CHAPTER VI.

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Motion respecting Mr. Palmer's Claims—Another Debate on the same Subject—Mr. Ponsonby on Foreign Relations—Petition from the Church of Scotland for an Extension of Religious Liberty, presented by Lord Casilereagh—Petition from Manchester, complaining of illegal Imprisonments, presented by Lord Cochrane—Lord Grey on the Swedish Treaty—on Sir W. Scott's Bill for a Reform in the Ecclesiastical Courts—Debates in the House of Lords on the Swedish Treaty—in the House of Commons on the same Subject.*

**M**AY 31.—The chancellor of the exchequer, in the house of commons, rose to give notice of his intention to move for a select

committee, to examine into the claims of Mr. Palmer, which subject had again been brought forward by an honourable member.

1813,

L. Colone

Colonel Palmer wished merely to observe, that the report of a committee of that house had already been decidedly favourable to the claims of his father; he therefore saw no necessity for any new investigation. At the same time, speaking for himself individually, and on the part of his father, he should not object to the appointment of a new committee.

The chancellor of the exchequer then said, he should now move, that a select committee be appointed to consider of the agreement of Mr. Palmer with the post-office, and to report to the house their opinion on the same.

Mr. P. Moore objected to the appointment of any such committee, because he considered the case as already completely discussed and adjudicated by the house.

Mr. Long contended, that as this was a new parliament, it was only fair that there should be a new committee. The former committee had thought proper to report on his (Mr. Long's) testimony alone; but more witnesses might have been examined on the subject.

Colonel Palmer conceived, that if a committee were thought necessary at all, at any rate it would be an open one, where all who came had voices.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that it was generally found that an open committee was a very inconvenient one.

The speaker begged to remind the house, in point of form, that every committee up stairs was a select one; at the same time it was competent to any member to move, that all who came have voices.

After some further discussion, the motion for a committee was agreed to; but the gallery was cleared for a division on the ques-

tion, whether or not it should be an open one? No division however took place, and it was agreed that the committee should be open. The bill was afterwards read a second time, and was finally carried through all its stages in the house of commons, but was thrown out by the lords.

A new bill was brought in towards the close of the session, and was passed by both houses; on the third reading of which, in the commons, Mr. Tierney asked upon what ground the sum of 50,000*l.* was selected as the amount of the proposed grant to Mr. Palmer, particularly after committees of that house had reported that this gentleman was entitled to 84,000*l.* in addition to his salary from the post-office?

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that the sum alluded to by the honourable gentleman was inserted in the bill, because it was estimated to be a fair reward for the ingenuity of Mr. Palmer's invention; and he supposed that those who thought that gentleman should have more, would not object to the bill, especially as Mr. Palmer had expressed himself content with the proposed grant.

Mr. Tierney differed from the right honourable gentleman's estimate of Mr. Palmer's services. But he wished to know whether it was intended to grant Mr. Palmer a clear sum of 50,000*l.* for, if the grant were to include all, he really believed, that from the expenses incurred by that gentleman in prosecuting his claim, he would not have to receive above 35,000*l.* This diminished grant he was however disposed to consider as a sacrifice to a party in the lords, who, although the privilege of granting money belonged to the commons, had

had succeeded in repeatedly defeating the declared sense of that house to do justice to Mr. Palmer; and this proceeding was taken without even requiring any conference with the house of lords to ascertain the reasons of such repeated rejection. Mr. Palmer might be induced, under all the circumstances, to express himself content with the proposed arrangement; but as a member of parliament and a friend to justice, he felt it his duty to oppose it.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that it was not his intention to propose any further grant than that specified in the bill. As to the expenses incurred by that gentleman in prosecuting his claim, the public could not be fairly called upon to indemnify him.

Mr. W. Smith could easily conceive that the spirit of Mr. Palmer, wearied out by repeated disappointment, might consent to accept less than the fair amount of his claim, but that could not reconcile his mind to the proposition. However, as it would be competent to any member of that house, notwithstanding this measure, to move next sessions for a further grant to Mr. Palmer, he should not in that understanding oppose the motion.

Mr. Ponsonby rose and said, that he had some time ago taken the liberty of asking the noble lord opposite some questions regarding the relations of this country with Sweden, and also with Denmark. He now wished to ascertain from the noble lord, whether any sum of money had been advanced to the former power, except that which was stated in the vote of credit? Upon the answer of the noble lord would depend the course of con-

duct which he (Mr. Ponsonby) should feel himself called upon to adopt.

Lord Castlereagh said, that he had no difficulty in stating, for the satisfaction of the right honourable gentleman, that some advances had taken place besides those specified in the vote of credit. He rather hoped that, after the holidays, he should be enabled to make a communication upon the subject to the house.

June 1.—Lord Castlereagh, in the house of commons, presented a petition from the general assembly of the church of Scotland, praying for the extension of religious liberty to all sects, and stating their conviction, that it would be prudent, in the present state of the empire, to open all civil and military employments to the talents and ambition of all sects of his majesty's subjects. They wished at the same time, in the case of the Roman catholics, to provide against any danger that may arise from their acknowledgement of a foreign jurisdiction. Ordered to lie on the table.

June 2.—Lord Cochrane presented a petition signed by certain inhabitants of Manchester, complaining of having been unjustly confined, being accused of administering unlawful oaths when they met to petition for parliamentary reform. The petition set forth the various grievances to which they had been subjected, and the injuries their character had sustained by the statements which had appeared on the subject in the newspapers. The conclusion of it prayed the house to afford them redress for the wrongs they had suffered, and to take such measures as would effectually guard against a repetition



sion of them. His lordship moved that this petition do lie upon the table.

Mr. Bathurst wished the noble lord had stated, before he made his motion, what redress he was of opinion could be afforded by parliament. He (Mr. Bathurst) understood that the petitioners had been accused of administering unlawful oaths, but acquitted, and that they felt what had passed to be extremely injurious to their characters. He did not know with what view parliament could be justly called upon to give relief in such a case. If they had been unjustly accused, the law was open to them to bring their actions against those by whom they were prosecuted; and if the newspapers had stated their case unfairly, they could be proceeded against for a libel. He did not object to the language of the petition (nothing could be more properly expressed), but he wished some honourable member to state what redress could be afforded by parliament. He thought it would be inexpedient to receive this petition, as it might be understood to hold out to all the country an idea that parliament would redress that to which the law of the land offered a remedy. If the law were found incompetent to afford redress for individuals so situated, it would then be for parliament to step forward; but he thought it was not for them to step forward in the first instance, to put themselves in the place of the courts of law.

Mr. Whitbread said, there was much good sense in the speech of the right honourable gentleman; but as many petitions presented to the house were suffered to lie on the table, though they had no immediate prospect of affording the

petitioners redress, he hoped the present petition would not be rejected. It was true that the law, as the right honourable gentleman had said, was open to those from whom this petition came, but really it was little better than a taunt to persons in their situation to state this. They would be likely to refer to the language used by Mr. Horne Tooke, who, when it was said the law was open to all, observed, "So is the London Tavern, and those who can bear the expense may go to law, as well as to the London Tavern." If these people could afford to go to law, he had no doubt they would do so, and his opinion was, they would obtain very heavy damages. To those who had read their trials, gone into the characters of the witnesses against them, and all the circumstances of the case, he thought it must appear that there never was a grosser act of oppression than that which was here furnished. But to tell a man who was now in prison for debt, or who had been turned out of his public-house, and had not the means of supporting himself, and with hardly a penny in his pocket, that he might go to law, was little better than mocking him. He thought the house would not consult its dignity, by refusing to let this petition lie on the table. Their refusal, if not unjust, would appear harsh and unkind; and he thought the house should encourage complaints of this nature, that, if they could not afford redress, those who were aggrieved might at least know there was one place where their sorrows could be heard, and their complaints deposited, without being treated harshly. With this feeling, he hoped the petition would not be rejected.

Mr,

Mr. serjeant Best was anxious that it should not go forth to the world, that a man without money could in no case obtain redress by law. He denied this to be the fact, and thought the house ought to be cautious how they entertained petitions containing allegations which they had no means of ascertaining to be correct.

The petition was ordered to lie on the table.

House of lords, June 14.—Earl Grey was desirous, before they proceeded with any further business, to put some questions to the noble earl opposite (Liverpool,) with respect to the treaty with Sweden, lately laid on their lordships' table [see Public Papers]; because some additional information was indispensably necessary for the due consideration of that treaty. In the 2d article it was stated, "that his Britannic majesty promised and engaged to accede to the conventions already existing between Russia and Sweden, inasmuch that his Britannic majesty would not only not oppose any obstacle to the annexation and union, in perpetuity, of the kingdom of Norway, as an integral part of the kingdom of Sweden; but also would assist the views of his majesty the king of Sweden to that effect, either by his good offices, or by employing, if it should be necessary, his naval co-operation, in concert with the Swedish or Russian forces. It was, nevertheless, understood, that recourse should not be had to force, for effecting the union of Norway to Sweden, unless his majesty the king of Denmark should have previously refused to join the alliance of the north, upon the conditions stipulated in the engagements subsisting between the courts of Stockholm

and St. Petersburg." By this article, then, Great Britain was bound to co-operate by force, if necessary, in obliging Denmark to give up Norway, that valuable part of its possessions, to Sweden, in the event of the court of Copenhagen refusing to accede to the northern alliance, upon certain terms and conditions not as yet known to their lordships. Now, without wishing to raise any discussion at present, or giving expression to those feelings which the bare perusal of such an engagement, as it appeared upon the face of the treaty, naturally excited, he wished to be informed what were the conditions in the alliance between Russia and Sweden, upon the failure of acceding to which, Denmark was to be deprived of Norway by force, and that country to be for ever united to the kingdom of Sweden? He wished to know this, because, without such information, it was utterly impossible to judge of the whole merits of the question; and therefore he trusted the noble earl would agree to lay the treaty between Russia and Sweden on the table, before the discussion. To that he could anticipate no objection. But there were other points upon which it was material also to have the fullest information. They who had with just indignation reprobated the principle of dismemberment and partition, under the pretence of moral or physical convenience, in rendering defence more easy, or security more complete; they who had considered such principles, or rather such a want of all principle, as subversive of all right and all justice, ought to know—distinctly to know—upon what grounds they proceeded before they entered into any engagement, or gave their sanction to any treaty, that appear-

ed, in any degree, to recognise the political doctrine against which they had so warmly protested. Their lordships ought, therefore, to know what had lately passed between the court of Copenhagen and our government. We were now unfortunately embarked in a war with Denmark, upon what grounds, and originating in what causes, he would not then stop to inquire: but if this country still rested in any degree upon that character for justice and generosity which, he hoped, it would always maintain, it ought to evince every disposition to put an end to that contest, if terms were offered consistent with its honour and safety. We did know the fact that a Danish minister had come to England. We knew that a suspension of hostilities on the part of Denmark had taken place until the court of Copenhagen could ascertain the result of this mission. We knew that this minister was soon dismissed, and hostilities then recommenced. Nay, we knew more than that: not only had hostilities been suspended, but, as a proof of the sincerity of the Danish government in the propositions for reconciliation made by them, Danish troops advanced to Hamburgh, and fought in its defence against the common enemy; which Sweden had not as yet done. But when Great Britain refused to enter into any negotiation, the Danish troops were withdrawn; and that power, which had by this direct act manifested its resolution to co-operate against the common enemy, immediately lent its assistance to the accomplishment of the views of that enemy, and the Danish and French troops took possession of Hamburgh together. He was now speaking on the 14th of June; and this treaty, which, it was to be feared,

might form an addition to the long list of errors and crimes of which the present ministers were guilty, had been signed on the 3d of March! He wished, then, to know how it came that the treaty had not sooner been laid on the table—why it had been delayed till a period of the session when they were not so likely to have that full attendance which the importance of the subject demanded? There was another point, also, with respect to which it was highly fitting that some information should be given. They were now come to a time when Sweden, considering the sacrifices made, and to be made, by this country under this treaty, might be expected to have made some progress in the fulfilment of the engagements on her part, for which we were to pay so great a price. He asked, then, for information, as to the practical steps which had been taken by Sweden, pursuant to her engagements? He wished to know what troops Sweden had landed on the continent?—what directly offensive operations against the common enemy she had commenced?—or whether any unjustifiable delay had taken place in that respect? Upon these points their lordships must have information before they could come to the discussion with the proper degree of preparation. The first point was the most important; and he was particularly anxious, in regard to that, to have the fullest possible information. He likewise wished to know, what sum had been actually paid to the Swedish government upon the ground of this treaty? He thought too, that, in order to have a complete view of the whole subject, they ought to have on the table our engagements with Russia and other foreign powers: for, without this, it would  
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be impossible to enter upon the consideration of the question in that ample manner which the nature and importance of the subject required. This was not to be considered upon the isolated ground of our relations with Sweden: before they could come to a just conclusion on that single point, looking at the matter in a large and statesmanlike view, they must take into consideration the whole of our foreign relations, and the general grounds of our foreign policy. To enable them to do that with effect, he now called upon the noble earl for the fullest information upon the several points to which he adverted; and more particularly upon the first point, which was unquestionably by far the most important.

The earl of Liverpool. The course which had been taken by the noble earl, in proposing his questions, and asking for information, might justify him in entering into the subject much more largely than would suffice for a mere answer; but still he would not anticipate the discussion. The day was not far distant, when his majesty's servants would have an opportunity of explaining fully the grounds of this treaty with Sweden, and the views of policy by which they had been actuated in regard to the rest of our continental relations. But, till the proper time arrived for giving that explanation, he only requested their lordships to suspend their judgement, and not condemn either ministers or the foreign powers with which this country was connected, until the whole subject was before them. He would at present content himself with positively affirming, in behalf of his majesty's servants, that they had proceeded upon no such principle of policy as that to which the noble

earl had adverted; they had never sanctioned any such principle; they had never engaged in war without a legitimate ground of hostility; and in the whole of their foreign policy, and in all their engagements, had preserved the most scrupulous good faith, and acted in conformity to the best interests of Europe and their country. Here his lordship answered almost all the noble earl's questions; and he said, with respect to the time at which the treaty was laid on the table, their lordships would consider, that the time at which the treaty could be produced, depended not upon the period at which it was signed, but upon the period of its ratification; and the ratified treaty had not reached this country till the 10th of May; and some subsequent discussions had taken place which rendered it inexpedient to lay it on the table sooner than the day on which he had brought it down to their lordships' house. The next question put by the noble earl related to the conduct of Sweden, and the progress made by that power in carrying into effect her engagements with this country. He would not now enter into any detailed statements on that point, but reserve what he had to say until the subject of the treaty came regularly under discussion. He could not, however, allow the present opportunity to pass, without saying that, as far as the time allowed, there was the most complete fulfilment of her engagements on the part of Sweden. With respect to the money already advanced to Sweden, he had no objection whatever to lay upon the table an account which would afford the fullest information on that head. As to the engagements of this country with foreign powers,

all the treaties with other nations were already before parliament and the public; and as to any other discussions that might have taken place on the subject of co-operation, and other matters, the house must be aware that it might be improper, at the present moment, to say any thing on that head. He and his colleagues were willing to afford every information in their power, which it was consistent with their duty to give, and enough would be known to enable their lordships to come amply prepared to the discussion and decision of the subject of the present treaty.

Earl Grey was not altogether satisfied with the extent of the information which the noble earl opposite was willing to grant: but he hoped that, if the whole of the treaty of alliance between Russia and Sweden could not be produced, the very terms of the article by which Denmark was to be invited to join the northern alliance would be given.

In the house of commons, June 17, sir W. Scott moved the further consideration of the report of the bill for the regulation of the ecclesiastical courts.

Mr. Western said, it appeared to him, that the bill did not accomplish the object which it was understood the right hon. and learned gentleman had in view. The measure, it was well known, originated in a motion made by a noble lord (lord Folkestone) last year, who then brought forward a number of grievances, to which the subjects of this country were subjected from the proceedings of ecclesiastical courts. The right honourable and learned gentleman then undertook to bring in a bill for relieving the subjects of those grievances stated so forcibly by the noble lord. His

attention was drawn to this subject from a case, the circumstances of which were peculiarly fitted to show the house the arbitrary nature of the proceedings of these courts, and how inconsistent they were with the principles of the common law of England. There was no man in this country who could be exempt from the arbitrary authority of those arbitrary courts. The case was defamatory; the circumstances of it were brief. The assignee of a bankrupt, who was one of his principal creditors, found it necessary to examine into the affairs of the bankrupt, and in the course of the examination he found large sums of money posted up to be paid to a person whose initials only were entered in the ledger. The sums were so large as to amount to about 2-3ds of the bankrupt's whole effects. It was found that the initials represented a lady with whom the bankrupt had been connected; and at a meeting when the bankrupt and a friend of his were present, a resolution was come to, that this lady was not a proper creditor, and a denomination was applied to her by one of the assignees, which subjects individuals to a prosecution in the ecclesiastical courts. He was confident that in almost all cases these actions of defamation were brought from malicious motives alone. The bill provided no remedy against a recurrence of similar cases of oppression to what had been stated. It did not take away the consequences of a sentence of excommunication. No court ought to have a power to enforce such a penance as that he had been describing. The ecclesiastical court ought to have the power which other courts possessed of enforcing their sentences, but these sentences should be more accordant

cordant with the spirit of the constitution.

Sir W. Scott said, it was hard for the ecclesiastical courts to be condemned on *ex-parte* evidence. If parties did not appear, and suffered judgement to go against them, the courts of justice were not answerable. With respect to defamation, all the penance consisted in going into the vestry, and in presence of the minister and a few friends, expressing sorrow, for the offence. Would the hon. gentleman wish, then, his wife, his mother, or his sister, should be insulted with impunity by every blackguard who chose to load them with opprobrious epithets? With respect to the case before the dean of arches; was it necessary, even supposing the thing to be true, that opprobrious terms should be applied to any individual, and that in the course of civil transactions persons should be aspersed, as happened in the case in question? No man could wish such offences to pass with impunity.

Sir J. Nicoll said, in the case alluded to, a lady had been called a common whore and a strumpet at more than one meeting, and she was proved by witnesses to be of good character.

Sir S. Romilly thought very considerable improvement necessary, or rather loudly called for, in the present state of the ecclesiastical law. The law was in fact such that the judge, however correct his intentions, must pronounce an exceptionable decision.

The house then resolved itself into a committee, when

Sir S. Romilly proposed two new clauses; one enacting that no person should be appointed a judge of any consistorial court, who had not practised as an advocate in the

court of arches, or who, if a barrister, had not practised three years in the courts of Westminster-hall; and the other, that after passing the said bill, no action for tithes should be brought, nor any suit instituted in any civil court, unless brought within six years after such tithes should have become due. Both clauses were agreed to, the report brought up, and the bill was finally carried into a law.

June 18.—In the house of lords, earl Grey observed, that the substance of the engagement between Russia and Sweden, which had been laid upon the table, was not that document which the house had a right to look for. The treaty between Russia and Sweden having been communicated to this government, he saw no reason why the terms of the articles to which our treaty with Sweden referred, should not have been laid before the house, nor could he consent that foreign governments should be taught that parliament would not call for engagements to which the British government acceded; it being so well known that the forms and practices of our constitution required treaties in which subsidiary engagements were entered into, to be ratified by the sanction of parliament. He did not mean to insinuate that ministers would intentionally mislead the house; but persons might differ in opinion upon the meaning of terms which were actually before them, and the same idea might not be conveyed in what was called the substance of the engagement, which would arise from the actual terms of the articles. He would not however insist, in this instance, upon moving for the terms of the engagement; as ministers, by producing its substance, had rendered their treaty utterly indefensible. They could

could not possibly have made their case worse, and therefore he would take it upon their own showing. With respect to the correspondence between this country and Denmark, he felt it of great importance to the due consideration of this treaty, that it should be produced. His lordship was at a loss to anticipate any substantial objection to his motion; because, in his opinion, acquiescence in it could produce no injury, and might be of most material benefit. It could not injure Denmark with respect to France, because, if our cause were just, she was our enemy: if indeed she made a fair and honest offer of co-operation, what became of the justice of the cause of Great Britain in continuing to wage war against her? (*Hear, hear!*) She had proved that she was sincere in her proposals, by shedding her blood against France, and by occupying Hamburgh with her troops. But it was possible that this treaty between Great Britain and Sweden, a treaty of robbery and spoliation, was to be compensated to Denmark by the cession of other territories in lieu of those she lost. In that case, would the exposition now required be detrimental? What was the equivalent to be offered to Denmark? Was it the Hanse towns? Was the independence which they had so gloriously attempted to establish, to be sacrificed to the secret article of a treaty, and were they to be made the miserable dependents of a miserable dependent? (*Hear, hear!*) If the Hanse towns were not to be the compensation, of what was it to consist? All the countries in the vicinity of the Danish dominions might be under no unreasonable apprehensions that they were to be the victims; but the production of the documents now required would allay the apprehensions of

many, though it would place beyond a doubt the fate of the devoted country that was to form the equivalent. Was Denmark to receive Bremen, or a portion of the territories between the Elbe and the Weser? Was she to have transferred to her a portion of the late dominions of the king? Was she to obtain a part of the duchy of Mecklenburg? His lordship insisted that ministers were bound to explain this mystery; a principle so horrible as that contained in the Swedish treaty could not be too severely canvassed; it was the duty of government to show the precise nature and extent of the engagements by which they had pledged the honour and character of the British nation. His lordship concluded by moving that an humble address be presented to the prince regent, for an account of all communications that had taken place between Great Britain and Denmark since the commencement of the year, with a view to a pacific arrangement between the two powers.

The earl of Liverpool opposed the motion, and it was negatived.

The order of the day for taking into consideration the treaty between Great Britain and Sweden being read,

The earl of Liverpool rose, and said, that it was impossible to form a correct judgement upon this important subject, without taking into consideration the state of Europe anterior and subsequent to the formation of the treaty, as well as at the time when the signatures of the plenipotentiaries were affixed. Far from thinking that the conditions were unwise or imprudent, were the occasion again to offer itself, he should recommend that a similar compact should be concluded, since

its provisions were founded in policy and justice. It would be necessary, in the first place, to direct the attention of the house to the general condition of Europe in the winter and spring of the last year. What, he would ask, were the sentiments of all men at the period when that tremendous storm which had since burst in thunder, hung threatening over Russia? The preparations then made by France—her exertions to collect an overwhelming force, were formidable almost beyond conception, in comparison with which all her previous armaments against Russia, Prussia, and Austria, were trifling expeditions. For three years they had been conducted; and it was not an exaggeration to assert, that the force collected did not amount to less than half a million, attended by 60,000 chosen cavalry. Preparations so terrific had never been made by any power or combination of powers since the creation of the world. What, he inquired, was at that time the universal sentiment? As the storm thickened and advanced, what man did not tremble for the fate of Russia? what heart did not shrink with despair when it contemplated the gigantic powers of Bonaparte? Even the noble lord opposite (Grenville) had himself confessed that his fears would scarcely allow him to hope; and when he saw that storm dissipated—when he beheld the sanguinary despot defeated, and his countless hosts scattered before the northern blasts, did he not admit that wonders had been achieved? All men who knew any thing were aware that the existence of Russia depended upon the accomplishment of two designs:—1st, a peace with Turkey—2ndly, an alliance with Sweden. The first of these objects

had been attained, partly through the mediation of Great Britain; and as to the second, it was well known that France, as was her obvious interest, had made every attempt to secure the friendship and aid of Sweden; first, as was the custom of Bonaparte, by threats, among which was depriving her of Pomerania; and last by promises, among which was the restoration of Finland. It was then that Sweden assumed a tone highly gratifying to all who loved liberty and independence, and some persons had complained that Russia ought, at that juncture, to have restored Finland to Sweden. His lordship knew that certain statesmen attached to the court of St. Petersburg thought that many of the territorial acquirements made by Russia within the last twenty or thirty years were injurious to her welfare; but none entertained a doubt that the possession of Finland was of the most material importance to her prosperity. With respect to the situation of Sweden, his lordship put it to any man, whether, considering the state of her army, the disposition of the people, and the condition of her revenue, Sweden, by embarking in what some might then have fairly called a hopeless cause, had not maintained her national honour, and evinced a national spirit, that would wring silent applauses even from the hearts of her bitterest enemies? It was at this period that a treaty was signed between Sweden and Russia, (long before Great Britain became a party to the compact,) and the stipulation was, that their cause should be common, on condition that Russia should aid Sweden in the acquisition of Norway; and after that object had been attained, Sweden was to create a diversion upon the continent.



continent. To this treaty Great Britain was invited to accede, and on this part of the subject three considerations naturally presented themselves:—1st, Were Russia and Sweden morally justified in entering into that engagement?—2nd, Would Great Britain have been morally justified in acceding to it under the circumstances in which she was then placed?—3rd, Was that treaty in favour of, or in opposition to, the interests of Great Britain politically considered? His lordship was ready to maintain, as to the first point, that Sweden and Russia were morally justified; and to this point he was anxious to call the attention of the noble lords opposite; for it was a fact, that at that time Denmark was actually co-operating with France; she had entered into the confederacy against Russia. (*Hear, hear!*) He did not mean that an ancient offensive and defensive alliance existed, but that a new engagement had been entered into between the courts of Paris and Copenhagen, in contemplation of this attack upon Russia, by which the latter was bound to place a corps of troops at the disposal of the former, to line the shores of the Baltic, to be stationed in Mecklenburg, or in any part of the coast of Germany. Was not this as complete a co-operation and alliance as if the Danish troops had actually marched with Bonaparte to Smolensko, and from thence to Moscow? (*Hear, hear!*) The duchy of Oldenburg had actually been entered by Danish troops, as a part fulfilment of the treaty. Under these circumstances, what was to be done? Denmark pleaded her weakness: but that excuse must apply equally to all parties; she was not to talk of her impotence to Great Britain, while she employed her

strength in favour of our enemies. His lordship was willing, if necessary, to rest the whole case upon this point, that when Sweden was combining with Russia, Denmark was combining with France, actually aiding, assisting, abetting, and supporting her in the tremendous struggle, *Hear, hear!*) The noble lord then adverted to the friendship shown by Sweden for Great Britain after the convention of Tilsit, in consequence of which she lost Finland, and to the expedition sent out soon afterwards under sir John Moore to invade Norway, contending that we were perfectly justified in making common cause with Sweden against Denmark. The next point to be considered was, how far the treaty was politic and expedient? And recollecting the maritime advantages possessed by Norway, the excellent naval stores she supplied, it was an object of paramount importance (second only to the cause in the peninsula) to take care that that country was placed in the hands of a power whose interest it was to be independent of France, and whose local situation enabled her to maintain that independence; and it could not be denied that Sweden was least under the control and influence of Bonaparte. (*Hear, hear! from the opposition benches.*) The noble lords doubted the proposition, but he (lord Liverpool) was ready to join issue with them upon the point. In every point of view his lordship contended that this country was justified in its accession to the treaty by which Denmark was to be deprived of a part of her possessions. What, he enquired, was the duty of a British minister in the course of the last year? Beyond question, to create a diversion in favour of Russia upon some part of the continent. He

He would not now discuss, whether the state of our armies would have rendered that practicable: but it ought ever to be a main object; and in this point of view, the treaty with Sweden was of high value to the common cause. The stipulation, however, between Sweden and Russia was, that a large body of Russian troops stationed in Finland should be employed to attain Swedish objects. In the month of September last, the affairs of Russia and France were extremely critical; Bonaparte was advancing from Smolensko to Moscow; and conscious how important to the emperor Alexander were the forces in Finland, the Swedish government resigned that article of the treaty, and the 18,000 Russians in Finland were permitted to join general Wittgenstein. To this liberality was, in his lordship's opinion, in a great degree to be ascribed the destruction of the French army on the Beresina; indeed it was not too much to assert that the brilliant success of the last campaign, the destruction of the French army, was mainly to be attributed to the zealous and energetic co-operation of Sweden. She had defied all the foreign threats, had resisted all the empty promises, and made common cause with Russia in the destruction and defeat of the common enemy. His lordship was happy to say, that this friendship and liberality were duly appreciated by the court of St. Petersburg. Under these circumstances, in the winter of last year, negotiations between Great Britain and Sweden were commenced, and the only object was to provide for and secure the general interests of the contracting parties, as well as the interests of that noble power, the pillar of freedom in Europe, which had so glo-

riously supported the great cause during the late campaign. There were one or two points of the treaty, on which he did not know whether it was necessary for him to touch. It had been long in contemplation to add another island in the West Indies to the colonial possessions of Sweden; and of all the islands which were in our possession, there was not one to the cession of which so little objection could apply as to that of Guadaloupe. So many of the sugar islands were in our hands, that it was necessary, till lately, to prohibit the importation, for home consumption, of the produce of any of the conquered islands, in justice to the planters of our own colonies; and was the cession of one of these to be balanced against the advantages which would be derived from the opening of a dépôt in Sweden for the manufactures and other produce of this country? As to the articles respecting the slave trade, it had been judged by some persons necessary, and by all important, in order to effect the abolition of this traffic, to obtain from foreign powers assurances of co-operation in suppressing it. There was in the treaty an absolute stipulation for this; and to those who knew the state of the island of St. Bartholomew, this was of no small importance. It had been said that the government of this country had shown no willingness to negotiate with Denmark. They were not unwilling to negotiate; but the question was as to the terms: they should always wish to conclude a peace with Denmark on just and equitable terms, consistent with our engagements with other powers. He had begun by calling their attention to the prospects of France, at the commencement of the last campaign; it was then felt that  
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the fate of Europe depended on the success of Russia. But what was at present the state of the continent? Though the hopes of the most sanguine had not been realized, though there were some events which might be recollected with sorrow; yet, compared with the state of Europe last year, it was most consolatory. The independence of Russia had been established, and the successful struggle of the two northern powers had brought to destruction the mightiest army which had ever been brought into the field: and though the reaction had been formidable, yet had the efforts of the French ruler been marked with the triumphs which usually marked the commencement of his operations? An attempt to reduce the French power had been formerly looked on as a chimæra: this idea no longer existed. But were we to treat in the same manner those who submitted, and those who resisted, and formidably resisted, this power? No. Those who assisted in the deliverance of Europe must be paid at the expense of those who submitted to the yoke. This was justice—this was policy. They had seen the effects of the system which had been endeavoured to be put into execution to exclude us from the rights of civilized nations; this system, it was consolatory to reflect, had been got rid of, and the maritime system of France was thus destroyed. His lordship concluded by moving an address to his royal highness the prince regent, returning thanks to his royal highness for the communication of the treaty of concert and subsidy with Sweden, and giving assurances of their support to his royal highness in fulfilling his stipulations.

The lords Holland and Grey op-

posed the motion in most argumentative and eloquent speeches; but upon the division the numbers were

For the motion	140
Against	77

Majority	63
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On the order of the day for the raising of the supply being read,

Mr. Ponsonby, in the house of commons, on the same day rose. The honourable member conceived, that the most convenient time for taking the sense of the house on the treaty with Sweden was the present, on the motion for the speaker's leaving the chair. It was his intention to move an address to the prince regent to suspend the execution of the treaty, as far as it could be done consistently with honour and the good faith of the country. He believed that this was the first instance of a treaty, in which a considerable cession of territory had been made during the sitting of parliament without consulting them. If it had been merely a treaty of subsidy, it might perhaps have been afterwards laid before a committee; but this was a treaty of cession as well as a treaty of subsidy. He had expected, indeed, that his majesty's ministers would have moved an address upon the subject. In the other house, they must do so, and the sense of that house would thus be taken upon it. But here, where ministers declined doing so, he was obliged to have recourse to this circuitous mode of proceeding. The most remarkable thing in the treaty between Sweden and Russia to which we had acceded, was the professed object of it, viz. the securing reciprocally our several states and possessions against the common enemy, which was France.

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In the course of the last war, and at the conclusion of the peace of Tilsit, certain arrangements were determined on between France and Russia, which were not known. Soon after, Russia attacked Sweden, and conquered Finland, which had been long a favourite object. Having obtained possession of Finland, and being likely to be involved in a new war, she sought to bring over and conciliate the power from whom she had won Finland, by transferring to Sweden the possessions of another power. In order to secure this object, Russia entered into the stipulations with Sweden contained in the papers before the house. By these stipulations, Sweden was to be indemnified by the acquisition of Norway, and Russia was to contribute at first 20,000 men, and 45,000 before the 4th of August, 1812, to insure the accomplishment of the design. This convention was entered into at Abo, at a time (he believed) when lord Cathcart was present. Now, what were the steps taken by the two contracting parties to make Denmark accede to this measure? It was pretended, that as Sweden could not safely engage in the common cause while Norway stood in the way, Russia undertook to transfer Norway to Sweden by military force. But this force was not to be used, "if it could be avoided." Such were the words of the treaty. What tenderness of heart, what delicacy of language, and uprightness of intention! They were not to make an enemy of the king of Denmark, with whom they had no quarrel, if it could be avoided; but they were to take his possessions from him by force, if necessary. These were the deliverers of Europe, who, for purposes of their own

ambition, were ready to dismember a kingdom, if the monarch would not himself voluntarily yield up his own rights of crown! Russia was to repress the ambition of France on the one hand, Germany was to be protected, Alexander was called the liberator, and these liberators were at the very time planning to dismember Germany, in order to compensate Denmark for the loss of that, to which neither of them had the smallest right. And how the ministers of a king remarkable for sentiments of honour and good faith, and of a country engaged in a long and bloody war, the burthens of which we bore lightly, from the consciousness that they were necessary to support the rights of kings and nations, could advise our acceding to a treaty like the present, was to him inconceivable. We were, however, to be made a party to this atrocious and abominable transfer of a kingdom; which the perpetrators have the face to tell us, is "to be made with all possible regard to the liberties of the people of Norway." After this, what claim could Russia have to the support and confidence of Europe? Could she hereafter dare to talk of the rights of sovereigns, or the law of nations? Her treatment of Denmark was marked by the same unprincipled and flagitious disregard of all justice as the partition of Poland had been—that fatal partition which had led to the subversion of the public law of Europe, and had left no other right but that of the strongest. It was that partition which still gave to Bonaparte his most powerful hold over the emperor Alexander, whom he constantly terrified with the doubtful allegiance of his Polish subjects. Such was the treaty itself; and now

now what was the express purpose of our treaty of accession? The contracting parties are said "to be penetrated with the urgent necessity of close concert." For what purpose? "To maintain the independence of the north, and to accelerate peace." The first object we are to accomplish by wresting its territories from one of the oldest and most independent of the northern powers, and we are to accelerate peace by transferring Guadeloupe to Sweden; a measure which would at any time make war inevitable, even if we were at peace. And for all this there was no motive, no excuse, no temptation arising from any immediate interest, or from the narrowest views of policy. The principle of this treaty was the same as that of its true and legitimate prototype, the treaty of Poland. But the advantages, he confessed, were not the same. For what we gained in one way, we lost in another. If we gained Sweden, we lost Denmark, or provoked her to more determined hostility. The only justifiable end of war was the attainment of peace. He left it to the house to judge, how far the partition of Denmark must facilitate the return of that desirable object? The policy of the latter part of the treaty was only equalled by the probity which had dictated the former. But it is said we do not make all these concessions for nothing. We are to be allowed a right of entrepôt in three towns, Carlsham, Gottenburgh, and Stralsund. And for how long a period? A perpetuity? No: we cede Norway to Sweden for ever, and we gain a right of entrepôt in three towns for twenty years, a right which must be perfectly superfluous in times of peace, and which

we cannot exercise in times of war, and which therefore must at all times be of no value whatever. But it would be said, that it was an unusual thing for parliament to interfere with the prerogative of the crown in concluding treaties. It was unusual, but not unprecedented. Or, if it were unprecedented, that objection might be answered, for the treaty was itself unprecedented. He did not mean, however, to propose the withholding the subsidy; but first to grant it, to enable the prince regent to fulfil the treaty, if necessary; and in the next place, to advise him to disengage himself from its stipulations if possible. He concluded with moving an amendment expressive of the sentiments which he had delivered in the course of his speech.

Lord Castlereagh said, he was not bound to defend, under every point of view, all the stipulations entered into between the courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm. There might be objections in point of propriety to some of these stipulations, and yet the British engagements perfectly correct. But he was not disposed to shrink from the defence of the conduct adopted by the courts in question, on the whole circumstances of the case; and he thought there was no part of the conduct of the right honourable gentleman more unjustifiable, than his running at an attack of those powers without having taken the pains to obtain the necessary information on the subject. The house would allow him to recall to their recollection other events which preceded the treaty between Sweden and Russia. On the eve of that engagement, it was no secret what the object of the armament was which the emperor of France

France was then preparing. The great grievance which the ruler of France alleged against the courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm was, that they did not push their hostility far enough against us, in furtherance of his views to accomplish our ruin. This was not, however, the sole object of his going to war with Russia. He was stimulated by the defeats in the peninsula, which had tarnished his lustre, and he sought to find some compensation in conquests against the great power of the North. At the very moment when he made this demand of stricter enforcement of the continental system, he was himself relaxing it for his own advantage. In the January preceding he had invaded Swedish Pomerania. He afterwards offered to Sweden, if she would attack Russia with 40,000 men by the way of Finland, that he would support Sweden in her attempt to recover that country. Russia could hardly be supposed, in that case, well able to defend Finland at a moment when she was attacked by all the power of France on the Vistula. He was ready to agree that a desire of territorial acquisition, distinct from military security, was unwarrantable; but if territorial acquisition had been the object of Sweden, it would have been more advantageous to have closed with the proposals of Bonaparte, than to have entered into an agreement with Russia. That the possession of Norway was necessary to the military security of Sweden in case of variance with France, was a fact which could be easily made out. It was only in 1808 that an army in Norway took the field, with the view of compelling Sweden to accede to the views of France. The possession of Nor-

1813.

way was in the hands of a power, which, from her continental possessions, was necessarily under the control of France; and it was the policy of the North to exclude from the Baltic the power and influence of France. Without an intimate alliance with Sweden, and a permanent security on the side of Finland, Russia could not have resisted and repelled the French in the manner she did; and the retreat from Moscow, though it might have been attended with loss in many respects, could not perhaps have been attended with loss of reputation. He should be prepared to defend the treaty between Russia and Sweden on the principles of self-defence. The character of Denmark was to be taken into account; that character was unveiled in 1808, when she issued a declaration of war against Sweden, altogether uncalled for on any justifiable grounds, and merely because such was the will of France. Sweden could only be connected with France, and regain possession of Finland, or stand and fall with Russia. She chose to look to her preservation, by seeing herself secure on this side of the Baltic, with an alliance with the great military power of Russia on the other side, and not to rely on the conduct of a timid power like Denmark. But though he felt that Russia and Sweden were justifiable on the ground of self-defence, and not on the base principle of self-aggrandisement, he would contend that Russia had then just cause of war against Denmark, because Denmark had done that which was a legal cause of war. At the period alluded to, Denmark was not called on to send her troops to accompany the French army, but to furnish a corps to occupy the shores of the

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Baltic,

Baltic, from which the French troops had been withdrawn to the attack of Russia. Oldenburg, a territory occupied by the Danish troops, was a territory closely connected in interest and feeling with Russia. He had no hesitation in stating, however, that the engagement between Sweden and Russia was solely entered into for the purpose of uniting the two great powers of the north in their resistance to France; for Sweden, if she chooses, may be an independent power. With respect to the share which the government of this country had in this affair, he would state that the treaty was first communicated to this country early in July 1812; and if the war had not exploded in the North against Russia, he believed this country never would have heard of it, and that it never would have been attempted to be carried into execution. With respect to Denmark, the first proposition was in the month of February, stating that they were ready to negotiate a separate peace with us. But what were the terms of their proposal? Why, a surrender of all our conquests from them, and also of their navy. Was it possible that they could have made such a proposition with any hope of its leading to peace, particularly when it is remembered that they proposed a separate peace? It was not probable that Denmark expected that we should treat with her independently of our allies. But even six weeks before the proposition from that country, our ambassador at Stockholm (Mr. Thornton) was empowered to treat with Denmark there, but conjointly with Russia and Sweden. This proposal was rejected by Denmark, who refused to treat with us, except separately;

which clearly showed that she did not wish for peace with this country. But besides the terms already mentioned, she required further, that we should guaranty the whole of her possessions—among the rest, Norway. As Bonaparte was aware of these terms, he could not be ignorant of the answer which this country was likely to give. It was not true that the treaty between Russia and Sweden, or our treaty with the latter, was the cause that Denmark at present was an enemy instead of an ally. The noble lord concluded by saying, if the conduct of ministers deserved such a censure as that contained in the present address, that they were unfit for their places. He must therefore oppose the amendment.

Mr. Canning said, that the nature of the subject, and the situation which he had formerly the honour to hold, made it natural for him to wish to give his opinion to the house upon the present question. He did not at all censure this measure on the ground of immorality, but as opposing a very serious obstacle to the conclusion of a peace. He must say, also, that, without entertaining any illiberal suspicions, he thought England had sufficient experience of the versatility of European politics to make it advisable for her rather to retain Guadaloupe for some time in her own hands; and when it was considered how often the Crown Prince of Sweden expressed his attachment to France, and how often he had even expressed his wish for an alliance with her, he did not think that less caution was necessary now than in ordinary cases. He considered that this cession might be a material obstacle to a peace. Bonaparte might make the restitution of it a point of honour;

honour; and if we were bound to guaranty it to Sweden, then he might insist on retaining far more than its value, or than he would retain if it was to be given up. He concluded by repeating, that his great objection was not to the assisting Sweden to gain military possession of Norway, nor to the cession of a colony to her as the price of her active co-operation in the continental war; but to the principle of guarantying, what we had no right to guaranty, the permanent possession of that to which the right had not been established by treaty.

Mr. Whitbread denied that, in the worst times of the French revolution, he had heard arguments more hostile to good government than had fallen from the honourable gentleman—the diplomatist who had spoken last—and other honourable gentlemen, this evening. As well might France say that Ireland was disaffected from the government of this country, and that, therefore, she was warranted in endeavouring to effect the junction of that country to Spain, as we were warranted in saying that Norway was not well affected to Denmark, and, therefore, that we were entitled to enter into a treaty to separate her from Denmark, and to render her subject to Sweden. He had come down to the house full of all those prejudices against the treaty which it was naturally calculated to produce; and though the noble lord (Castlereagh) had made what he might call an exceedingly good speech, he had not taken the sting out of it, nor enabled him (Mr. Whitbread) to say that he did not still condemn the treaty. We had now been at war for twenty years in the struggle in which we were now engaged, and

in this struggle we had acted various parts. We had seen Russia, without complaint or remonstrance on our part, not like a friend, but like an enemy in the basest manner, deprive Sweden, whom we now jointly pretended to regard as a friend, of her territory—taking advantage of the imbecile state of that country to deprive her of Finland. The time had now come that Russia was afraid of the encroachments of France—it then became necessary for her to endeavour to make up a friendship with Sweden; but to do so, she did not say that she would restore to Sweden Finland, but that she would assist Sweden in wresting Norway from Denmark. Did any man suppose, if Russia had been willing to give up Finland to Sweden, that there would have been any necessity to procure the accession of Sweden to the treaty in question, to rob Denmark of Norway? He conceived the present treaty to be a most unworthy act of diplomacy. As to the panegyric passed by the noble lord on the person who now filled the throne of Sweden, he did not object to it, though he thought it strange, applied as it was to one who had been raised from the ranks, and who had been selected by the Swedish people to fill their throne, in imitation of the glorious example set them by this country. He was happy to hear the person alluded to was so deserving of commendation; but he would rather not have seen him a party to such a treaty, to which he (Mr. Whitbread) could not give his support.

The house then divided on the original motion—

For the motion - - -	115
For the amendment - - -	224

Majority against the motion 109  
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## CHAPTER VII.

*Debates on Mr. Swan's Motion respecting the Hellestone Election—on Lord A. Hamilton's Motion for the Liberation of Crogan—on Mr. Creevey's Sentence for a Libel—on Mr. Wynne's Motion respecting the Orange Lodges—on Lord Boringdon's Bill for General Vaccination—on the Vote of Credit—Mr. Whitbread's Motion to purchase Mr. Hargrave's Library—Debates on Lord Cochrane's Resolutions respecting the Hardships of British Seamen—Motion of Thanks to Lord Wellington for the Victory at Vitoria, in the House of Lords and also in the House of Commons.*

**JUNE 21.**—Mr. Swan in the house of commons moved that the special report of the Hellestone election committee be now read.

The report, which charged the duke of Leeds with having violated the law and the privileges of the house, having been accordingly read,

Mr. Swan said, in bringing forward the motion which he was about to submit to the house, he had no political interest to answer, and no resentments to gratify. The chairman of the committee had declined to submit any motion to the house on the report, although the majority in the committee was 11 to 3. The house ought to be informed of the proceedings of the committee: the committee were unanimously of opinion, that those voters who had benefited by the corrupt influence which had been proved had disfranchised themselves. He should be sorry to say any thing against the noble duke alluded to in the report, or the honourable members returned; but he conceived it incumbent on him in this case to lay before the house the nature of the transactions which had taken place, and to state the nature of the constitution of the borough of Hellestone. The learned gentleman proceeded to observe, that three of the aldermen,

who had got the majority of influence into their own hands, managed that influence for the Godolphin family, which family had in return paid the parish rates of Hellestone from the reign of queen Elizabeth to the year 1804, when, in consequence of some disagreement, the duke of Leeds lost the patronage of the borough. Then a baronet, who was understood to think that the best plan for making his way to the house was (as others were supposed to have done) by the possession of borough patronage, became patron of the borough in lieu of the duke of Leeds. Subsequent to as well as before that period, it was notorious that the seats were sold for 5000 guineas each; and such practices took place, as, to adopt the language of the right honourable gentleman in the chair, our ancestors would have shuddered at the very mention of. But the new patron (sir C. Hawkins, we presume), having soon ceased to retain his influence, in consequence of a resolution of that house, the duke of Leeds was again invited to resume the patronage; which invitation his grace accepted, upon the terms of an agreement, by which his grace became pledged to pay the town rates in return for the power of nominating the representatives. This fact was proved before the committee; and the result

sult of the agreement was to afford the duke of Leeds an opportunity of deriving a profit of 800*l.* a year from the patronage of the borough, while each of the voters, being relieved from the payment of town rates, was insomuch bribed to vote for the members recommended by his grace. The manner of managing the patronage of this borough he thought it not amiss to describe to the house, because it was pretty generally the system in Cornish boroughs. The patron was not allowed to have any direct connection with the voters. All the patronage was distributed by the leading members of the corporation, in such a way as to preserve their own consequence in the borough, and to render the voters dependent on themselves alone. With this view the personal interposition of the patron was studiously excluded, while the business of the borough was managed by those upon whom he was to depend for the retention of his influence; every favour he grants being so conveyed that the obligation shall be felt rather towards the agent than towards the principal or patron. And by whom was this system of cunning and corruption arranged and conducted? Why, chiefly by clergymen.—Yes, wherever bribery, corruption, treating, intimidation, or political persecution, or any species of undue influence or dirty work, was to be managed, the clergy, who ought to shrink from and reprobate such practices, were the most active and prominent agents. In the case of Penryn, which had so justly provoked the indignation of that house, it would be remembered that the reverend Mr. Dillon was a principal agent; in the case of Tregony, also, a clergyman was among the foremost in delinquen-

cy; and in the case under consideration, he found the reverend Messrs. Trevelyan and Grylls among the most active in the works at Hellestone. Indeed the duke of Leeds lost ground considerably in the borough, as it appeared, from his neglect or incapacity to procure a living for the son of a clergyman. But no patron could in fact retain his influence in a Cornish borough, who had it not in his power to make a return of church patronage. The learned member, adverting to the case of Crogan, now a prisoner in Newgate for merely offering to sell a seat, put it to the house to consider whether the distinct agreement of the duke of Leeds, stated in the report before the house, could be consistently overlooked, or rather whether it was not deserving of exemplary punishment? In consequence of this agreement, the noble duke introduced Mr. Hammersley the banker, and Mr. Home the barrister, at the last election, by a letter under his grace's own hand, addressed to the mayor of the borough. With Crogan's example then in view, he asked, whether the house could, with due regard to consistency of character and duty, grant impunity to the duke of Leeds? In fact, if it were not meant that rank should give protection, and that poverty alone should expose a criminal to the prosecution of that house, it was impossible to let the conduct of the duke of Leeds, in this case, escape the visitation of the law he had so seriously offended. The learned gentleman expressed his regret that the solicitor-general was not a member of that house, in order that it might have the advantage of that learned gentleman's opinion, which he knew to

be decidedly in favour of the view which he felt it his duty to take of the subject. He concluded with moving, that the attorney-general be instructed to prosecute the said George-Frederick duke of Leeds for the said offence. The learned gentleman added, that he meant also to propose the prosecution of four of the aldermen concerned in the agreement with the duke of Leeds. There were some shades of difference in favour of the mayor, who was implicated only to a certain extent; from that consideration he thought it more advantageous for justice, rather to have him brought forward as a witness, than prosecuted as a delinquent.

The motion for the prosecution of the duke of Leeds being put,

Mr. Giddy thought that the speech of the honourable gentleman was one of the most extraordinary he had ever heard, though in substance he did not differ from the report of the committee. Had he been a member of the committee, he should have concurred in the report, agreeing, as he did, that the transaction alluded to was a breach of the privileges of the house, and contrary to the law of the land. Knowing, as he had done from his youth, the gentlemen who were implicated in the transaction in question, and highly as their general character was entitled to respect, he could not in that house, after what had appeared, stand up as their champion on the present occasion. At the same time he did not think this a case in which the house was called on to interfere in the manner proposed. Independently of the prosecution proposed, the house had in their power a measure to which he could have no objection, but which he should be rather prepared to re-

commend, namely, to open the right of voting in the borough in question. Of a motion to this effect early in the next session, he had no objection to give notice, provided the present motion should be negatived.

Mr. C. W. Wynne was happy to see the question at length before the house. A great part of what he should have felt it necessary to state, he now thought was completely uncalled for, after the resolution which the house had already adopted, that the parties had been guilty of a breach of the standing orders of the house, and a violation of the law of the land, and of the freedom of election. He was never more astonished in his life than that, after such a resolution had been come to without debate, the honourable member (Giddy) should have opposed the motion for a prosecution. In doing so, he should think the honourable gentleman little consulted the dignity of the house. If they were to agree to negative the present motion, it would have been infinitely better, that when the preceding resolution was moved, they had at once got the better of it, by agreeing that it should be taken into consideration that day three months, than that they should, after entering the notice of such an offence on their journals, suffer it to pass with impunity. The resolution they had already agreed to was a verdict of guilty, and were they to suffer this to pass without punishment? He confessed that he felt for the noble duke, knowing as he did, that though his family had bought the borough, they had not sold it again, and that the members returned for it hitherto had come uninfluenced, To negative the present motion, he thought, would be most dangerous

to the dignity of the house. The mode now proposed was the ordinary mode of proceeding. Not an instance could be pointed out of a case of corruption, voted to be so on the face of their journals, in which they had not proceeded in this manner. Such a resolution as that which they had now passed, could not be allowed to remain on their journals a *brutum fulmen*.

Mr. Tremayne bore testimony to the conduct and character of the clergy in Cornwall. He thought that in such a case as the present the punishment ought to fall on the borough itself, which had generally sinned. He should rather propose, that the right of voting for that borough should be thrown open to the whole freeholders of the hundred, which was a widely extended district.

Mr. Brand argued strongly in favour of the motion. What had been disclosed in the course of it only strengthened his conviction, that inquiry into the state of our representative system must take place sooner or later. He regretted that no favourable opportunity had occurred to him for bringing before the house this session the great question of parliamentary reform; and yet his regret was somewhat diminished when he considered that the present question, though so long deferred, and of which such repeated notices had been given, could command only so thin an attendance. He anticipated with pleasure the bill to be brought in by an honourable member (Mr. D. Giddy), and he could wish its operation to be to throw open the borough of Hellestone among the surrounding hundreds.

Mr. Bankes doubted whether, if the motion were carried, and the prosecution instituted, there would

be any probability of its success, from the nature of the evidence upon which it must be founded; and if it were unsuccessful, he considered that its failure would do more injury to the cause of reform in general than the practical success of the present motion could do good.

Mr. Preston took the same view of the question as the honourable member who preceded him. He doubted whether the prosecution could succeed. He should therefore move, as an amendment, "That the house, early next session, would take into its consideration the state of the borough of Hellestone, with a view of extending the right of election there." The amendment being seconded,

Mr. Astell, who was chairman of the committee that had reported upon the Hellestone election, stated, that in the committee he had urged what he considered as reasons against their reporting to the house in the way they had. His reasons were, that he did not think any success could attend upon the proceedings that were likely to be had upon it in that house. Those reasons were now strengthened, and he should therefore certainly vote against the motion, and in support of the amendment.

Mr. S. Wortley contended, that there was nothing to prove any corrupt motive in the parties whose conduct was before them. Illegally they certainly had acted, in reference to a late act of parliament; though previously to the passing of that act, perhaps not even that epithet could have been applied to the transaction. He had pressed this upon the committee, and they were decidedly of opinion that there was no evidence of any *malus animus*, and therefore the word *corrupt* had

been left out of the report. He thought that house peculiarly ill qualified to act in a judicial capacity; yet something it must do, and he should willingly vote for throwing the borough open to the surrounding hundreds. The noble duke whose name so unfortunately appeared in the transaction, had acted upon an hereditary practice which had subsisted from the time of Elizabeth, and on that ground he should certainly vote against the motion.

Lord Castlereagh said, that in one view of the question there could be but one feeling in the house, and that was, that nothing personally attached to the character of the noble duke. He had acted merely upon the long-established practice of the borough, and it was utterly impossible to impute corruption to him. At the same time the house was in a dilemma, in having agreed to the resolution of their committee. In reference to an objection that had been started by an honourable member (Mr. Banks), he owned it had some weight with him; but, if he were thoroughly convinced that a prosecution could not be successful, he should feel that the house was not called upon to proceed any further.

Mr. Canning said they ought to be guided altogether by the character of the transaction. If it were grossly corrupt, it should be severely animadverted upon; but if illegality was all that belonged to it, they should look rather to that remedy which would visit the offence where the criminality chiefly lay, and take away that franchise which had been so much abused. No person could read the evidence without being satisfied that no soil or stain of pecuniary corruption could attach to the character of the

noble duke: therefore, so far as that noble personage was individually concerned, the motion seemed unnecessary, and they might safely pass it by as one that, at best, was vindictive, and not remedial. Upon that short ground he should vote for the amendment, which went to the root of the evil.

The house then divided.

On the question that the words proposed to be left out stand part of the motion—

Ayes	--	-	-	-	52
Noes	-	-	-	-	55

Majority for the amendment 3

A bill was accordingly brought in, and was carried through the house of commons, but was rejected by the lords.

June 22.—Lord A. Hamilton rose, in pursuance of his notice, to move that Thomas Crogan, confined in Newgate by order of the house, for having corruptly endeavoured to obtain the return of a member for the borough of Tregony, be called to the bar, with a view to his being discharged. The noble lord argued, in support of his motion, on these grounds:—1st, That there was an utter inconsistency in continuing in confinement Mr. Crogan, for an offence precisely similar to those which had been passed by in the case of the duke of Cumberland, and in that of the duke of Leeds, except that in this latter case the crime had been committed which Mr. Crogan was accused of having attempted.—2d, That the house had gone beyond the report of the committee, the house having, in their resolution, added to the report the words “openly and corruptly.”—3d, That if Mr. Crogan were guilty, (which his lordship did not believe,) he had already been sufficiently punished,  
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in having been confined in Newgate nine weeks, and for part of that time without any bed, unless he had chosen to share one with a felon under sentence of death.—4th, That it was impossible that the practice of the house, of refusing to discharge a person in confinement except on a petition acknowledging his offence, could be adhered to in this case; for Mr. Crogan could not comply with this custom without giving up the power of prosecuting for perjury the witnesses in consequence of whose testimony he had been committed, even setting aside the repugnance he must naturally feel against acknowledging himself guilty of an offence of which he was conscious he was innocent. The noble lord, after having ably pressed on the house the injustice of continuing Mr. Crogan in confinement under these circumstances, and after adverting to the disproportion between the punishment and the offence, in cases of commitment generally, concluded by making his motion, that he be liberated; which was carried.

June 25.—Mr. Creevey began by stating that he never had any intention of complaining, so far as he himself was individually concerned. He had suffered the trial to go on, and he had let it come to judgement before he thought it necessary to make this statement upon a case which affected the privileges of every present and every future member of that house. He would not ask the house to come to any resolution; but he would mention, as an inducement to be heard patiently, that this was the first case in the history of parliament, of any member being arraigned and condemned in a court of justice for any words spoken in that house, although they might be afterwards

printed and published. The honourable member then went into a detailed statement of the transaction, recapitulating all the facts of the case, as they had already appeared in the course of the judicial proceedings had upon it. Having gone through this statement, and contended that, in declaring his opinions in his place as a member of that house, he was not amenable for so doing to the jurisdiction of any court; he illustrated his argument by a reference to several cases of impeachment by the commons, and among others to that of lord Bacon, asking, how it would have been possible for any member of the house of commons who conducted that impeachment, to have delivered his reasons for voting in favour of it, without uttering expressions which would be defamatory, as applicable to lord Bacon? If he had explained on the hustings to those whose representative he wished to become, why he had voted in that house for the expulsion of Mr. Hunt for peculation, how was it possible that this could be done without defamatory words? and how, according to the doctrine laid down by the judges, could Mr. Hunt be prevented from calling him (Mr. C.) to account in a court of justice? The same remarks applied to his votes in the cases of lord Melville and the duke of York. If he went to his constituents with an explanation of his conduct on these occasions, he was told by justice Le Blanc, that its being a *bonâ fide* representation of what he had said in that house, and the justice of the remarks, had nothing to do with the question. Such a doctrine must cut off all correspondence between the representative and his constituents—this, too, at the time when Reports were permitted by the practice

tice of the house: so that, by the judges' law, members of parliament were left at the mercy of reporters, unless they chose to throw themselves on the mercy of the judges. Thus much from the reason of the case (and what was reason was said to be law) he should infer, that it was impossible that a member should not be allowed to give a *bond fide* account of his conduct to his constituents; and if the account were not a *bond fide* one, it was to the house alone, he contended, that he should be obliged to answer. The honourable gentleman went at large into the practice of parliament, and concluded by proposing his resolution, which consisted of a narration of the judicial proceedings in his case, and the circumstances attending it.

Mr. Bennet seconded the motion.

On the question being put,

Mr. C. Wynne said, the question for the house to consider was simply this, whether any member of what house had a right to publish whatever he thought proper, as a speech spoken by him in parliament? for to this extent would the privilege claimed by his honourable friend go. The privilege of parliament implied that every member should have full and uncontrolled liberty of speech within those walls; but it could not extend to any thing said or published beyond them, without giving to every member of the house of commons a right to libel whom he pleased, under the pretence of discharging his parliamentary duty. This had been the decided opinion of Mr. Fox, than whom there was no man who better understood the privileges of parliament, or who was more attached to the liberty of the press. Mr. Wynne took a view of the cases cited by his honourable friend,

every one of which, he thought, made strongly against his argument. The case of lord Abingdon, which Mr. Creevey considered as very different from his own, appeared to him exactly in point. The greatest injury that could be done to the privileges of parliament, would be an attempt to extend them beyond the limits fixed by our forefathers.

Several other members spoke on the occasion, but no one seemed to justify the argument of the honourable mover. [There is no member of that house for whom we entertain a greater respect than we have for Mr. Creevey; but, in this case, we are quite sure his conduct was not correct. We recollect the time when a member of that house uttered one of the wickedest libels that ever proceeded from the lips of any man, by arraigning the characters of a number of persons, as *acquitted felons*, against whose lives a most foul conspiracy had been contrived; and in justification of which not a particle of evidence was produced: and would it have been right that the right honourable gentleman, for he was, we believe, a privy-councillor, should in his cooler moments have *sanctioned* the publication of the libel, of which he was probably ashamed, though he had not honour enough to retract what he had uttered as an ebullition of passion or phrensy?]

Mr. W. Wynne rose, pursuant to his notice, to bring before the attention of the house the formation of a society which existed in direct contradiction to the law of the land. He did not feel it necessary to apologize for the lateness of the session, as it was at all times the duty of that house to watch over the public peace. The honourable member then proceeded to read certain parts  
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of the act of parliament which was passed against the organisation of illegal societies bound together by secret oaths, &c. Such societies, he contended, however laudable or however harmless, their original object might be, were yet always liable to be perverted from their primary purpose. If any proof were needed, he would refer the house to a very recent proof—the influence which the friendly societies (founded certainly upon a meritorious principle in the first instance) had in fomenting and increasing the disturbances in the north of England. With regard to the original institution of the Orange societies, he should say but little. They originated in Ireland. They took their rise there at a time of great public tumult, when rebellion raged, and civil security was endangered. It was to be remembered also, that there was no act in Ireland to suppress or check such societies, similar to what existed in this country; and bearing this in mind, as well as the condition of society from which they sprung, it was difficult to say how far they were defensible, or how far they were not. One party maintained that they were founded upon an acknowledged principle of right, while another as strongly urged that nothing more decidedly contributed to the increase of united Irishmen than the example and influence of these Orange societies. Probably there was much truth in both opinions, though now, when that country was tranquil and undisturbed by any civil or religious feuds, he certainly did think that the existence of the Orange society in it was greatly prejudicial to the public peace. For the first time, however, they were now proposed to be established in this country; and certainly it

was impossible to conceive an institution more ill-timed in itself, or more mischievous in its operation: It was fit to apprise the house that much of what he intended to say had been rendered unnecessary by a proceeding adopted, he supposed, by the members themselves of those societies. He alluded to a pamphlet which had been freely distributed in the lobby of the house, containing the rules and regulations of the Orange society; and though he might doubt the propriety of such distribution by the officers of that house, yet he would confess it gave him some satisfaction, as the perusal of that pamphlet would put the house better in possession of the main facts he wished to urge, than could have been accomplished by any detail of his own. At the time when he gave his notice he had founded his objections upon another pamphlet, containing an account of the laws and regulations of the Orange society, and at the end of which it was announced that a smaller and cheaper edition would soon be published, which might be easily dispersed through every part of the kingdom. It was material, however, to mention that there was a great difference in the contents of the two pamphlets, the latter being apparently more adapted for the purposes of general circulation, and for producing influence upon ordinary minds. In this pamphlet the oath differs from the one in the larger publication, by the following specific qualification:—"I A. B. do solemnly and sincerely swear, of my own free will and accord, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his majesty king George III. so long as he shall uphold the protestant ascendancy," &c. What could be thought of such an oath? Conditional allegiance!



ance!—loyalty depending upon the maintenance of the protestant ascendancy!—terms hitherto unknown in this country. What construction would necessarily be put upon this oath? Would not every man put his own? And in that case, might not every one consider himself as discharged from his allegiance, supposing the royal assent should be given, as he trusted it would be given, to a bill for the relief of the Irish Roman Catholics? Such would infallibly be the result upon weak and ordinary minds. The next oath to which the member swears, is, that he “never will reveal either part or parts of what is communicated to him, until he shall be duly authorized so to do by the proper authority of the Orange institution.” In this declaration the house could not fail to observe, that no salvo was made for legal examination or inquiry in a court of justice. Another instance in which the two pamphlets differed, occurred in the secretary’s oath;—for while, in the former one, the oath related merely to keeping safe the papers belonging to the lodge, and declaring that he would not lend the seal, so that it might be affixed to any forged papers; in the latter the oath included a declaration, that he (the secretary) “would not give any copy of the secret articles of the lodge, nor lend them out of the lodge,” &c. Here, again, was manifestly an illegal oath, as it openly set aside the authority of the law and the power of a court of justice. He would next refer to the means which were provided for establishing those societies over the whole country. It appeared that Orange lodges met regularly in London, Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, Norwich, Sunderland, Dover,

Chelmsford, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Sheffield, Bury, Halifax, Exeter, Plymouth, Chester, Cambridge, Coventry, Oldham, and many of the smaller towns. The publisher of the pamphlet, also, (Mr. Stockdale, jun.) was the person to give any information respecting the days of meeting; names of the masters, &c. to any Orangeman or person desirous of becoming one. Among the names of high rank, to which he had alluded, there were some belonging to the army; but if any one thing could be more subversive of all discipline than another, it was the introduction of secret societies among the military. This would be true of any such institutions; framed for whatever purpose; but it was more particularly true of such as had political objects for their basis. He would not detain the house any longer, but should conclude by moving, “that a committee be appointed to inquire into the existence of certain illegal societies under the denomination of Orangemen.”

Mr. B. Bathurst concurred in almost every view which the honourable gentleman had taken of the question. If such oaths as had been described were really taken by any person or persons, there could be no doubt of their illegality; and he trusted the discussion of that night would warn the unwary of what risk they ran by such practices. The law had positively pronounced, that the taking of any oath not required by law, incurred all the penalties enacted against such illegal oath. The connection between those societies and the army, he considered as fraught with the utmost possible danger to the country. It did not appear, by any of the documents referred to, that the conditional oath of alle-

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giance had by any of the members been taken; and although, in truth, it was an infringement of the law, *yet those who were guilty of it were not aware that they were committing a crime.* Upon the whole, therefore, he was of opinion, that every object would be obtained by this public notice and general reprobation of the illegality of the proceeding, without a special interference of the house by the appointment of a committee. He therefore moved, as an amendment, that the other orders of the day be read.

Mr. Stuart Wortley said, that this subject was not to be contemplated as a mere breach of the law, which might be punished in any of our courts of justice, but the principle of the societies themselves ought to be condemned with the utmost severity. He equally disapproved of societies of a contrary tendency—those who met and dined together, and claimed exclusively the title of friends of civil and religious liberty. He censured severely the late proceedings of the catholic committee, hostile to their own object, and disgusting even to their friends. The resolutions of the catholic bishops were still more disgraceful; and if the catholic bill had been now before the house, they would see sufficient reason to induce him to insist upon a clause giving to the king the veto on their nomination.

Mr. M'Naughton insisted that these societies had been absolutely necessary in Ireland, for the preservation of the loyalists of the king against rebels; and he thought that it would be extremely severe if the 99th Geo. III. passed against traitors should be applied to the liege subjects of the king.

Mr. Whitbread expressed his surprise that an honourable gentleman

(Mr. Wortley) should have straggled into the discussion of the friends of civil and religious liberty, and have accused a number of most respectable and noble individuals, who had dined together for the promotion of a worthy object, of appropriating to themselves exclusively the title of friends of civil and religious liberty. Was there any crime in this rational assembly? When they had dined their business was concluded; no association or club was formed; no oath of secrecy or of qualified allegiance was taken. Had not the honourable gentleman dined with his friends on the anniversary of the birth-day of Mr. Pitt, for the celebration of certain political principles? and why were not the friends of civil and religious liberty to promote their laudable designs in the same rational mode? They had not appropriated to themselves exclusively the title; thank God! they were far more numerous than any apartment in Europe could contain, and only a few could necessarily be admitted. A right honourable gentleman had said that these individuals had formed themselves into clubs unwarily. Were not some of the members noblemen of high rank? Was it the act of unwary men to write, print, and circulate the pamphlet which had been forced into the hand of every member? The opinions it contained were disseminated far and wide, among the private soldiers of the various regiments: instead of being united in one cause, they were divided by religious and political animosities upon subjects which they never understood, and would not regard but for the interference of superiors. They formed regular deliberating, debating societies, where certain portions of men, whose faith was

not perhaps orthodox, were proscribed. It was asserted that the prince of Wales and the duke of York were at the head of these clubs: in youthful inexperience they might formerly have entered into them; but were they now to be held out to the army, to the navy, and to the people, as individuals patronising and countenancing their worse than illegal proceedings; these outrages upon common decency and common sense? But the members of these associations were to be pardoned, like school-boys, because they were ignorant of the law, because they were ignorant that they were doing wrong; and this public notice having been taken, it was to be supposed that they would subside. The law of 1799, when it was passed, was executed with severity, and why was it now to be relaxed? were the robes of a peer proof against the sword of justice? was there a magic charm about the great which bewildered the understanding, and made that appear in them a virtue which in others was an unpardonable crime? The blood royal was even polluted by this charge; and far from the promoters of this system being unwary, in Mr. Whitbread's opinion, they were dark, designing, and insidious.

Mr. Canning said, it was consolatory to reflect that among all the digressions which they had that evening witnessed, no one had branched into any such anomaly as to stand up in defence of the innocence of the institutions which were the subjects of their discussion; nor had any one denied that those who entered into its full design, were guilty of an attempt against the peace of the empire.

Mr. C. W. Wynne said, in compliance with the general wish of

the house he should withdraw his motion. The unqualified disavowal and disapprobation of the society in question rendered reply unnecessary. He hoped his majesty's ministers would be alive to any attempt to carry the plan of these societies into execution.

June 30.—Lord Boringdon, in the house of peers, rose to move the second reading of the vaccination bill. The subject was not exactly in the ordinary course of legislation; but to say that the house was not competent to legislate in this matter, was a libel upon its dignity and an insult to its feelings. The question was of a distinct nature, but not novel in its principle. The course was warranted by the whole history and practice of our legislation. It might perhaps be said, that every individual had a right to do what he pleased with his own person and property. This, however, was not the language of the law; and, as a proof of this, he referred to the law by which a person who committed suicide was denied the benefit of christian burial. A man might also build a house; but, though his own property, he could not set fire to it without rendering himself liable to the severest punishment. With the same view he adverted to the laws respecting quarantine, which were consolidated in the 45th of his majesty. A British subject going to places where the plague prevailed, and returning on urgent business, was under the necessity of remaining 40 days in some place appointed for the quarantine before he was permitted to disembark. The law had likewise in other respects provided against the spreading of infectious disorders, as would amply appear in the register of writs; and lord Coke, speaking of the

the writs upon which persons might be imprisoned, expressly mentioned among the number the writ *de leproso amovendo*. The small-pox was unquestionably an infectious disorder; and he read documents, from which it appeared, that owing to the constant open exposure of those who were inoculated with the small-pox, in all the stages of the disorder, great numbers were infected. Of the deaths in London, one out of every ten was ascribed to this disease. It had been also calculated, that in the course of a century the disease had destroyed upwards of 4,000,000 persons in the united kingdoms. Under these circumstances the provisions of the present bill would be very deserving of consideration, even though vaccination had not been a perfect preventive—subject, perhaps, to some of that uncertainty that almost always prevailed in human affairs; but he rested the bill on two facts—that the variolous disorder was infectious, and that the vaccination was a complete preservative. The first fact was notorious; and as to the second, he read a report of the vaccine institution, and adverted to the opinions of the college of physicians and surgeons in the capitals of the three kingdoms, in corroboration of his statement. He then stated, that he intended to drop two clauses of the bill, and to add two or three others. One of these was, that whenever a person was inoculated, notice should be given to the clergyman of the parish. A noble lord (Redesdale) had said, that the parochial clergy neglected their religious employments, and sought the amusements of market-towns; a charge that he could not, from any experience of his own, think very just: but he should think the clergy very negli-

gent of their duties, if they should refuse to take a little trouble in regard to a matter of so much consequence to the health and lives of their parishioners.

The lord chancellor wished that the bill should be withdrawn and another presented, as the alterations confessedly to be made by the noble lord were more numerous than the whole of the rest of the bill.

Lord Boringdon agreed to withdraw the bill, but promised to bring it forward next session.

Lord Ellenborough observed, that the whole that was intended to be done by this bill for the prevention of the spreading of infectious diseases, might be done already by the common law. All those spreading, or contributing to the spreading, of such diseases might be indicted and visited with severe punishment. This bill rather narrowed than extended the operation of the common law. He thought that experiment might be tried, as he considered that vaccination might, on the whole, do good. Though he did not think it a complete preservative from the infection, he thought it a good thing; and, as a proof of it, he had already vaccinated eight children. With regard to the provision for putting a red flag at the tops of houses where any of the inmates had been inoculated with the small-pox, and which might be called the ornamental part of the bill, as that had been abandoned, he would say nothing further about it: but as every thing that was intended by the bill was much better done by the common law, he saw no occasion for it at all.

June 30.—In the house of commons, on the report of the committee on the prince regent's message respecting the vote of credit being brought

brought up, Mr. Whitbread thought he might as well take this opportunity of offering the few observations he had to submit to the house now, intending, when the resolutions were agreed to, to move the amendment of which he had given notice. The right honourable gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer) now came to them to call for a sum, as a vote of credit, large beyond all example, amounting as it did to no less than 5,000,000*l*. In the last session a vote of credit for 3,000,000*l*. was called for. This was thought an excessively large sum, but it was not then calculated that the army extraordinaries would fall short as they had done. This year the right honourable gentleman, to guard against the recurrence of such a circumstance, had taken a frightfully large sum for the army extraordinaries; and now, to close this scene of unparalleled expense in a suitable manner, they were called upon to give 5,000,000*l*. as a vote of credit. It would be a vain compliment, were he to say he was content to trust them with so large a sum; but as he could not hope to induce the house to withhold any part of it from them, or to withdraw their confidence from them altogether, he should not divide the house on the amendment which he proposed to offer. On the first day of the session, he had proposed an address to the prince regent on the subject of peace, and had given notice of a motion, the object of which was to bring it under the consideration of the house. Events afterwards occurred, which had not entered into his contemplation, and which no human being could have looked for:—the overthrow of Bonaparte and the destruction of his army, which was so complete, that no human being

could have calculated on it, that no human means could have effected it, caused such a change in Europe, that, unwilling to fetter ministers in discussions in which they might engage, he had abstained from carrying his intentions into effect. Instead of pursuing that plan which he had hoped to see adopted, the belligerents had advanced, seemingly resolved still further to reduce the power of France by force. This course they had adopted, instead of seeking to effect a peace. They advanced in the vain hope, that as Bonaparte had experienced an overthrow he had lost his dominions, and would not be able to make another great effort to restore himself to his former greatness. When he saw this, and when Bonaparte and his armies were still pursued by the Russians, he had again contemplated the necessity of calling the attention of parliament to the subject of peace, in order to see if some advantage might not be taken of the state of things at that eventful crisis. Again it was found that Bonaparte, instead of having lost his power, was still as potent as ever; that his people, instead of being unwilling to obey his orders, made a more gigantic effort in his cause than any they had made since the period of the revolution. The Russian armies, after pursuing the enemy to the Rhine, had there been encountered by fresh levies from France, and forced by them to fall back; for no one should persuade him that they had not been obliged to retire, as he could not believe they would have advanced before only to retreat. When after two bloody battles they were forced to give way, to retire behind the Elbe, and fall back as far as the Oder, he had then again thought of calling the attention of the house to that so much

much wished for—peace, when news arrived of the armistice which had been concluded in Germany, and he again abandoned the design he had formed. It had appeared almost impossible to doubt of this country gaining some advantage from what had taken place, when it was found how inextricably she had been involved by the treaty with Sweden. He had abstained from interfering as he had intended to do; but now, as soon as the resolutions were passed, he should submit an addition to the report, in order to record on their journals the sense he had of the course which this country ought to pursue. He hoped the armistice would lead to a peace on the continent, and he hoped (but he was not confident) that the cabinet of St. James's would become a party to it. Wanting confidence, however, as he did in them when the vote was agreed to, he should move—"that an humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, assuring his royal highness, that in granting the unexampled sum now voted, they did it in the full expectation, and the confident hope, that his royal highness would seize on the first opportunity to make a peace with his majesty's enemies, on such terms as may be consistent with the honour and interests of the nation, and without endangering our allies, in order to manifest to all Europe the views by which he was actuated, and to prove his unwillingness to protract the war, or to throw any obstacles in the way of the return of peace."

Lord Castlereagh was ready to admit that which the honourable gentleman had set out by stating, namely, that the vote of credit now called for was unexampled in its amount, and that the army ex-

traordinaries were greatly increased, to meet the peculiar circumstances of the times; and admitting these facts, he was prepared to contend that they were as honourable and as splendid exertions for the public good, as had ever been made by parliament. He thought the honourable gentleman, feeling as he did on the subject of peace, had displayed as much forbearance throughout the subject as could be expected from any one. With respect to the charge preferred by the honourable gentleman against ministers, for not attempting to negotiate immediately after the destruction of Bonaparte's army in Russia, he must know, unless he was deaf to all that was hostile to his opinions, that a fortnight had hardly elapsed after the return of Bonaparte from Russia, when he caused it to be stated in a formal instrument then made public, that France would make no peace but on the principles avowed before, and communicated to this country, which could not be listened to consistently with its honour and engagements, one of which, it would be remembered, was, that his dynasty should reign in Spain. He hoped, in stating this, it would be clear that the honourable gentleman had made out no *prima facie* case, on which he had a right to accuse ministers of an unfair indisposition towards peace, when it could be obtained without sacrificing the honour and interests of the country. He concluded by putting a negative on the address; which was carried.

July 1.—Mr. Whitbread in the house of commons rose to state to the house, that the committee appointed by them had met, and examined witnesses respecting the nature and value of the books and manuscripts of Mr. Hargrave.

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Many of his books were enriched with notes, which were extremely valuable, in the opinion of those who were the most competent judges; and it was conceived that the books and manuscripts would be a great acquisition to the public, if deposited in the library of Lincoln's Inn. It was unnecessary for him to say any thing respecting Mr. Hargrave's learning and character. There was not a lawyer in England who would not be ready to bear testimony to his great erudition, abilities, and industry. Mr. Whitbread concluded his speech by quoting, from a recent learned publication, [Maddock's *Life of Lord Somers*, p. 142], a passage concerning Mr. Hargrave, which, Mr. Whitbread said, was quite congenial with his own sentiments. "See what Mr. Hargrave says in his interesting and learned preface to Sir Matthew Hale's work on *Judicature in Parliament*, p. 14. I quote that preface with additional pleasure, since it affords me an opportunity of expressing my admiration of Mr. Hargrave. When I reflect upon his profound, his useful, his infinite labours, his gentle manners, his pure, disinterested, and patriotic mind, he seems to me to rank amongst the greatest benefactors of his country." He should content himself with moving an address to his royal highness the prince regent, that he would be graciously pleased to appropriate 8000*l.* out of the civil list revenue, for the purchase of the books and manuscripts of Francis Hargrave, one of his majesty's counsel; which was agreed to.

July 5.—Lord Cochrane, in pursuance of a notice he had given, begged to call the attention of the house to a variety of evils and hardships which existed in the naval ser-

vice. He did not wish to detain the house by any lengthened remarks on the nature of the grievances of which he had to complain; but preferred bringing them forward in the shape of clear and specific resolutions, setting forth, under distinct views, the various grounds against which he had to remonstrate, and for the redress of which he trusted a full and efficient remedy would be adopted. That remedy would, he apprehended, be principally found in the limitation of the duration of service, which was at present extended to a painful and afflicting period. His lordship then proceeded to read a long series of resolutions, reciting the instances of complaint and hardships which called loudly for the interposition of parliament. The resolutions began with stating, that the honour of his majesty's crown, the glory of the country, and the safety of the state, were connected with and dependent upon the navy of Great Britain; that although the valour, skill, and spirit of that navy had, in all former times, been raised to the highest pitch by the splendour of its achievements, yet it had of late, in the actual war with the United States of America, suffered defeat, disaster, and disgrace; that notwithstanding these failures and misfortunes, they were not caused by any superiority of skill or weight of metal on the part of the enemy, but were in reality to be ascribed to the mode in which the duty of the naval service was conducted, and to the want of care which prevailed in providing for the health of the petty officers and men; that they were to be attributed to the decayed and heartless state of the crews, compared with their former state of energy, and compared with the vigour and fresh-

freshness of the enemy's men. The principal remedy he had to propose was the limitation of the duration of service, with suitable rewards out of the droits of admiralty, which might be applied to that purpose with peculiar propriety, inasmuch as they resulted from, and were the fruits of, the bravery of the men. He assured the house, that he had not introduced into the resolutions any single statement the truth of which he was not ready to establish by evidence at their bar; and he solemnly pledged himself, were the inquiry entered into, to prove the existence of the evils complained of. His lordship concluded by moving that the resolutions be read.

The resolutions were accordingly read from the chair.

Mr. Croker observed, that under all the extraordinary features which characterized the resolutions now submitted to the house, it would have been but fair in the noble lord to have communicated the substance of them to the persons intrusted with the care of the navy. The noble lord would then have had every opportunity of examining the accuracy of the grounds upon which he had ventured to address the house, and of ascertaining facts, of which it appeared, to say no worse of his information, he knew little or nothing. If he was not very much mistaken in his apprehension of the substance of the resolutions, he felt himself justified in saying, that the only one which could meet with his assent, or the assent of any other man in the house, was the first, stating the honour of his majesty's crown, the glory of the country, and the safety of the state, to depend upon the skill, the valour, and the intrepidity of our navy. There was not

another resolution of the noble lord, which was not obviously grounded on absolute misrepresentation, or most grossly exaggerated. He could, he believed, assert without the fear of contradiction, that no person in that house or in the country, except the noble lord himself, ever thought of attributing the captures made from us by the Americans to the despondent spirits and heartless state of our crews, and not to the superior dimensions and weight of metal of the enemy's ships. What would be the consequence, were the noble lord's assertions to be admitted by the house? What was the fact with respect to the Java and the Macedonian? Were the brave and gallant men who fought the Macedonian against an overbearing superiority of size and numbers, and an overwhelming superiority of metal, despondent, faint, and heartless? The Macedonian had been fought with such determined gallantry, and such persevering intrepidity, as to give to the officers and men an honour that was as justly merited as it was pure and untainted, and it was only now attempted to be blown upon by the noble lord. He would state one fact respecting the courageous and dauntless character maintained by the crew of that vessel in the very extremity and crisis of danger: immediately before the surrender of the Macedonian, loud, cordial, and repeated cheering was given. He could not better describe the nature of these cheers, nor more adequately praise the noble spirit displayed by the crew on the occasion, than by assuring the house, that the cheering arose from the cockpit; and the wounded and the dying were those who first raised the patriotic shouts. Would the noble lord call those men depressed



and heartless, who were not only susceptible of such manly and generous feelings, but who were capable of giving to them, even in the bitter moments of bodily anguish and inevitable death, the energetic tone and expression so truly characteristic of British seamen? A right honourable friend near him had suggested another memorable proof of what the noble lord might, if he pleased, call the wretched and heartless state of our crews, and he thanked his right honourable friend for the suggestion. He alluded to the gallant fight maintained by the *Java*. John Humble, the boatswain of that ship, was perhaps one of those seamen who, according to the noble lord's statements, were disheartened, and lost their spirit and energies, in consequence of the oppressions and privations they had suffered. What was the conduct of this disheartened seaman? Having been severely wounded, he went below; shortly afterwards returned upon deck, and with the tourniquet on his arm, which he said he had put to rights, he was seen cheering of the boarders with his pipe. Was this a proof with the noble lord of the decayed and heartless state of our petty officers and seamen? If it was, the noble lord might be well grounded in his resolutions; for he could assure him that there were not only numerous testimonies of a similar kind, but that many more of our disheartened seamen were ready to emulate them. But he probably appealed in vain to the feelings of the noble lord. It was for the house and for the country to feel, to admire, and appreciate those instances of devotion and magnanimity which so frequently exalted the British seaman to the rank of a hero, and placed him on

the pinnacle of immortal honour and glory. The noble lord, among his other misrepresentations, had said, that there was no promotion to be obtained in the navy but by the wages of corruption. If such were the real opinion of the noble lord, was he not fairly borne out in putting a few questions to the candour of the noble lord? Was the noble lord's appointment to the command of a ship obtained by the wages of corruption? Was the red ribbon worn by him, and given certainly to a young man as a rare mark of distinction, obtained by the wages of corruption? Had his near relation—for the noble lord's supposition would warrant him in going that length—been raised to the naval rank he now enjoyed, and appointed governor of Guadeloupe, by the wages of corruption? Did the gallant officer, the noble lord's successor in the command of the fine frigate he once had, obtain that command by the wages of corruption? The fact was, that the noble lord's recommendation had great weight in the appointment of his successor, and surely that recommendation was not caused by any feeling of corruption. He regretted, he sincerely deplored that the noble lord had resigned the command of that fine vessel; for he was convinced, that in that command he would have acted with as much consistency—with as much spirit—and with as much honour for the service of the navy, as he appeared, in his resolutions of that night, to act against its acknowledged glory, energy, and courage. He had noticed the noble lord's resolutions with some warmth, but his warmth was instantaneous, and arose naturally out of the subject; but his lordship had not the same apology to offer, for he had employed

employed six months in condensing and bringing into a mass all his labours and researches, and he had laid before the house the result of his six months' concoction. After so long an absence from his parliamentary duty, he presented himself, at the end of the session, just in time to tell his constituents that he had been labouring for the service of the navy. All the resolutions, with the exception of the first, constituted a gross and scandalous libel on the navy; and although the house could not consent to become parties in the libel, he assured the noble lord, that if he thought proper to write a pamphlet on the subject, instead of making a speech or proposing resolutions, he would pledge himself to answer it. All his statements and assertions were unfounded imputations against the navy, against the house, against the country. He trusted they would be met with a decided negative, for the sake of the glory, the reputation, and the valour of the navy—of that great bulwark of our national independence, and of that safeguard of our liberties and happiness. He therefore implored the house, if the noble lord dared to try the question, to reject it by such a majority as would mark the sense and indignation of the house.

The motion was accordingly negatived without a division.

July 7, in the house of lords, earl Bathurst rose and observed, that the victory which their lordships were now called upon to commemorate, was of a nature as decisive in itself, and as gigantic in its results, as any which had graced the military annals of England. Not only were the enemy defeated and driven off the field, but they had lost all their artillery, their stores,

their baggage, and, in short, every thing that constituted the *materiel* of an army. They had been compelled to abandon the strong military positions on the Ebro, which they had been fortifying for months, and where they reckoned upon making a stand, if forced to relinquish that portion of Spain which they had previously held. But the great talents of lord Wellington were not less displayed in the decisive battle of Vittoria, than in the skill with which the campaign had been planned, and the rapidity with which it had been conducted. Indeed the enemy, confounded and subdued by superior skill, even before the action, seem not to have displayed that valour for which they have been distinguished on other occasions. They appear to have fought with spirit only on two points: the one on their right, where it was their object to cover or regain the main road to France by Bayonne, but in which they were completely repulsed by the troops under sir T. Graham: the other point was on the left, where they endeavoured, in vain, to retake the commanding positions that were forced and maintained by the division of sir Rowland Hill. It was in this part of the field that colonel Cadogan received the wound which cost him his life. Feeling that his wound was fatal, he made it his last request to his brother soldiers, that they would convey him to a small eminence in the rear. There, seated with his back leaning against a tree, he gazed on the field of battle till death shut his eyes in darkness. He was a gallant officer, as brave in action as amiable and respectable in private life. He (lord Bathurst) lamented sincerely the losses which our army sustained; but he believed they would be found in-

considerable, when compared with the magnitude of the victory which had been gained; a victory that would be ever memorable in the annals of this country, and of which it was impossible to calculate the beneficial consequences. It was not a little remarkable, that near the spot where this battle was fought, another victory had been obtained in one of the proudest days of England's martial glory. It was when Edward the Black Prince defeated the usurper of the crown of Spain, who on that occasion was supported by French troops. How different, however, under all the circumstances, was that battle from the present! How incomparably superior were the resources of France at the present day, compared to what they were then! and how much greater the talents of the man who was at the head of her government! Then France was only an auxiliary; now she was a principal; the victory of the Black Prince was only the result of a single campaign, but this of a series of campaigns. Could such a victory as the present have been foretold to Edward, how would it have cheered him to have seen the martial glory of his country still supported, and that his name would be transmitted to posterity, united to another exploit of a still higher order! Lord Bathurst concluded with moving, "That the thanks of this house be given to field-marshal the marquis of Wellington, for the energy and distinguished skill with which he has conducted the late operations of the campaign in Spain, and particularly for the splendid victory which he obtained over the enemy in the neighbourhood of Vittoria."

Lord Rosslyn rose merely for the purpose of expressing his acknow-

ledgements to those who had advised the prince regent to confer a mark of military honour on lord Wellington, which was almost as unexampled as his services.

The marquis Wellesley, at the close of an eloquent speech, said the victory they were now celebrating was an achievement which would shed an eternal lustre on our history—a victory to be held in everlasting remembrance, and one which would excite the admiration and applause of Englishmen to the latest posterity.

Lord Holland was aware that he could add nothing to what had been said on the subject in the forcible and eloquent speech of the noble mover; and yet, considering that no man felt a warmer interest than he did in the cause of the peninsula, he was unwilling to give merely a silent vote. From the commencement he hailed the progress of lord Wellington, and, in his own mind, could not help conceiving that he was marked out to achieve the great object which there was now the happiest prospect of seeing accomplished. The necessity of the case, and the nature of the circumstances, were calculated to bring forward the talents of a great genius. When he saw lord Wellington, like another Fabius, conquering by delay, and restraining the impetuosity of his army at one time; at another seizing the unexpected opportunity, and drawing success from retreat; and now saw him with a superior force turning it to the utmost possible account; seeing his transcendent merits in all these particulars, he could not help saying, that parliament had never voted its thanks upon sounder principles, or for juster reasons.

Lord Landerdale suggested that  
a monu-

a monument ought to be erected to the memory of col. Cadogan.

Lord Liverpool said, that as a member of the government, as a peer, and as a man, he was bound to attend to that suggestion; and more particularly as colonel Cadogan had been a private friend and acquaintance.

Lord Castlereagh made a similar motion in the house of commons, which was carried *sem. con.*

July 14, in the house of commons, Mr. Wilberforce rose, pursuant to notice, to move an address to the prince regent for the production of such information as had been received with respect to the conduct of the Portuguese government, in consequence of the treaty signed at Rio de Janeiro in Feb. 1810, in which treaty the prince of Brazil had pledged himself to co-operate with his Britannic majesty, by adopting the most efficacious means for the gradual abolition of the slave trade throughout his dominions. The hon. member read the words of the treaty, containing a statement of the grounds upon which this pledge was entered into, and observing that he need not remind the house of the resolutions in the same strain, adopted in 1806 and 1810, for promoting the abolition of this odious traffic. He expressed his satisfaction that our government had evinced the utmost sincerity and zeal in its endeavours to accomplish the object of these resolutions, not only in the treaty alluded to, but in its more recent communications with Sweden. Therefore he wished it to be distinctly understood, that he did not mean to impute any disappointment of the wishes of justice and humanity upon this interesting subject, to any want of zeal or exertion on the part of our own govern-

ment. But he was sure the house would hear with peculiar concern, that accounts were received, of the correctness of which there could be no doubt, that notwithstanding the solemn pledge of the prince regent of Portugal, the trade of the Portuguese in African slaves had, since the abolition of that traffic, increased in a very considerable degree, and accompanied too with fresh circumstances of aggravation, with such circumstances, indeed, as were outrageous to common humanity. After expatiating with the most impressive eloquence upon these descriptions, the hon. member expressed his hope that Portugal, which in fact owed to our navy the protection of the very vessels thus ignominiously occupied, would be yet brought to act upon her treaty, and to respect the rights of justice and humanity.

Lord Castlereagh expressed an entire concurrence with the sentiments of his hon. friend, and acknowledged his forbearance in not bringing forward his motion at an earlier period, in consequence of the disappointment alluded to. He lamented that disappointment; but as it would be impossible to lay any information upon this subject before the house within the present sessions, he submitted whether it would not answer his wishes better to withdraw his motion at present, giving notice of his intention to bring it forward again, if he saw occasion, at an early period of the next session.

On the 22d of July parliament was prorogued by the prince regent; on which occasion the speaker of the house of commons addressed his royal highness in a long speech, which, with the speech from the throne, will be found among the Public Papers.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Necessity and Importance of taking a retrospective View of the Events of 1812—Moral and political Change produced on the Continent of Europe during that Year—Great political Changes always attended with moral Changes—instanced in the French Revolution—Sketch of the Causes of that Event, preparatory to the Sketch of the Causes of the Overthrow of the French Power—The French rendered almost invincible—by the Spirit of National Independence—by absurd but enthusiastic Ideas of Liberty—by the Development and proper Application of political and military Talent—by their Love of Glory—Causes of the Decline of the Power of Bonaparte—Oppression of the conquered Countries—anti-commercial System—Haired of England—Character of his Armies destroyed in Spain—His mad Obstinacy in the Russian War.*

THE change that took place in the political and moral appearance and condition of Europe, in the course of the year 1812, was so great and momentous, and burst upon the astonished and delighted eyes of the friends of human independence and happiness so suddenly and unexpectedly, and in such a complete and perfect form, that we consider ourselves not merely justified, but imperiously called upon, to devote this first chapter of the historical department of our work to a rapid sketch and development of the causes which produced it. We have called it a moral as well as a political change; because we are firmly and clearly of opinion, that every great political change in the state and condition of nations must be preceded, accompanied and followed by a moral change; and to this moral change historians in general, too much occupied with the detail of battles, or with the characters of kings, and what are called and esteemed great military and political men, have paid too little attention and respect. We are induced to take this retrospect, because, while the change was taking place, or rather while the consequences of its having begun to operate were manifesting themselves, it was impossible for the mind to view them stea-

dily, clearly, and comprehensively. In the midst of the wonderful events of the year 1812, succeeding each other as they did with so much rapidity, and confounding the conjectures and calculations of the most profound and experienced politicians, the heart was too much elated, the faculties of the mind were too much overpowered, to see them in all their importance, to trace them back to their causes, or to anticipate the consequences which they were likely to produce. The annalist too, obliged from the very nature and object of his work to confine his attention to the events and transactions of the passing year, is necessarily cut off from those comprehensive views which the historian (especially if he writes when all is before him, and when the feelings which such events as those which occurred last year are calculated to excite have subsided into tranquillity, and given room and opportunity for cool and sober judgement and reflection to come in and exercise their powers,) can minutely and fully attend to.

Before, however, we enter into a development and explanation of the causes which have tended so completely, and we trust permanently, to alter the appearance of Europe, and the fate and fortunes of her inhabitants,

habitants, it may be proper to point out those causes which had brought the continent into that abject and miserable condition from which it has now emerged: this we are inclined to do, because, if we are not much mistaken, it will appear that in both cases the political and moral changes were brought about nearly at the same time, and from the same causes. In this sketch of the events and transactions which occurred at the commencement of the French revolution, and of the means by which the French government were enabled to subjugate by far the greatest portion of the continent of Europe to their power, we shall carefully abstain from all reference to party topics or politics: the day is certainly now arrived, when the most zealous and sanguine admirer of the French revolution at its commencement, must admit that he was grossly and fatally mistaken in the ideas which he formed of its origin, nature, character, and probable effects on the happiness either of the French nation itself or of mankind in general; while, on the other hand, those who, either from more profound and enlightened views of man, from a more perfect knowledge of the French character, and of the persons who acted the chief part at the commencement of the revolution, or from the violent antipathy which they entertained against every thing which had the appearance and held out the prospect of promoting the liberty of the human race;—all these, we say (for there were opponents of the French revolution of all these classes), must allow, that the operations of the combined powers against France originated not in the most noble or disinterested views, nor were conducted with sound wisdom and policy.

With regard to the origin of the French revolution, we are strongly disposed to doubt, whether there existed, at the time, any very general or very powerful feeling of the oppression under which, in many respects, the bulk of the French nation laboured: we are far from denying that their condition, in many respects, was bad, and both admitted of and required melioration; but we would lay it down as a sound and undoubted position, that when nations, as well as individuals, have been brought up in a state of slavery and political degradation and misery, they are nearly, if not quite, insensible to its existence: they do not know the meaning of the terms freedom and independence; and till they are enlightened, all appeal to them on this subject will be in vain. But there is one feeling and sentiment which all nations entertain, and which among even the most ignorant, abject, and enslaved, are sufficiently active and powerful to stir them up to the most determined and persevering acts of self-defence: we mean the feeling and sentiment of national independence. It may seem strange that it should be so, and the speculative politician may ridicule and reject the notion;—but all history, and especially the history of the last four years, most unequivocally and abundantly proves, that nations totally ignorant of the rights of civil, political, and religious liberty, and insensible to their calls, will be roused whenever their national independence is attacked. Spain and Portugal are instances in point; and there can be little doubt that even the inhabitants of Turkey would be animated with a much greater share of heroism, if their country were attacked by a foreign foe, than if they were called to fight for the blessings

blessings of a liberty the nature of which they do not understand, and the want of which they did not feel.

So, though in a different degree, we apprehend it was at the commencement of the French revolution. We do not deny, that in such a country as France, especially after the events of the American revolution, and the connection which they had in those events; and after the labours of their philosophers (as they were called) to teach the people their political and civil rights, there must have been many who united themselves to the cause of the French revolution, because they hoped and expected it would remove grievances which they actually felt, and put them in possession of rights and privileges which they were convinced they ought to possess—the nature of which they understood, and which they were well qualified and entitled to enjoy. But we mean to speak of the great bulk of the nation; and on them we think two causes principally operated in inducing them to take such a zealous and determined part in support of the revolution. In the first place, the labours and writings of the philosophers had stimulated all who were superficial thinkers (and this class in France always has been very numerous) to the adoption of several wild and chimerical ideas respecting human liberty and the rights of man. The very extravagance and impracticability of those notions, falling as they did on the brains of hot-headed men, produced a more wild, determined, and desperate enthusiasm than could have been produced in them by any display of their real and rational rights and privileges. Their political knowledge (if so it may be termed) had come upon them unprepared; and besides, it was of such a nature as

could never have taught or disposed them to understand and relish the blessings of those political rights, which alone, in a state of society, man can safely and wisely enjoy. In short, a most violent enthusiasm was produced in the minds of a large portion of the French nation, in defence of what they did not comprehend; and like all enthusiasts, and all worshippers of unknown deities, they repelled with indignation, and with their mightiest efforts, all who they imagined wished to deprive them of the god of their idolatry. It is probable, however, that this cause would soon have died away, had it not been kept alive and strengthened by the attack of the combined powers against France: and this attack not only produced this effect, but it also brought into existence, or more properly speaking into operation, that feeling and sentiment of national independence, which when roused and threatened is the most effectual defence of the people. Such, in our opinion, were the two principal causes which existed and operated at the beginning of the French revolution, and which, aided by others which we shall immediately notice and describe, enabled that nation not only to protect themselves, but to commence the work of Europe's subjugation and misery: we say to commence the work, because we are persuaded that, in a subsequent part of the French revolutionary history, those causes gave place to others of a very different description, but which were at least equally effectual in producing the subjugation of the continent of Europe.

Of the subordinate or rather the secondary causes which began to operate at the commencement of the revolution, and which still operate,

rate, the most conspicuous and powerful consisted in the opening to the ambitious, of the road to fame and authority, which that event produced. All hoped by it to better their situation and fortunes; and under this impression all were induced to act in that manner which they knew would have a tendency to forward and secure the object of their wishes. Thus talents of all kinds were brought into notice and exertion, at the very moment they were wanted; and not only were they brought into notice and exertion, but each description of talent took the situation for which it was best calculated. In these two respects, therefore, the French revolutionists had greatly the advantage over their opponents; for under the old and regular governments of Europe little talent existed, or at least was cherished and called forth; rank, interest, and intrigue stunted its growth, or kept it in obscurity; and besides, where talents were employed in the public service, it not unfrequently happened that they were misdirected; for, in the application, the same causes, interest and intrigue, which in many instances kept them back altogether, operated to render them of comparatively little service.

Let us now see what advantages the French derived from the circumstances we have stated: in the first place, their soldiers were enthusiastically attached to the cause of the revolution, from causes which we have already attempted to explain; and to this enthusiasm, powerful as it was, was added another feeling scarcely less powerful and advantageous to the revolution,—the hope and expectation of rising to the highest military glory and command. We cannot be surprised, if, actuated and directed by two such

animating motives, the French soon became good soldiers, and fought with great success against the veteran troops of Europe. But these causes would probably have been of little avail, at least they would not have insured regular and permanent success, had they not received the assistance of the other cause which we stated; had not all the talent of the nation been called into full and complete action, and stationed exactly where it was most wanted and most useful. Thus every thing went on well, after the machine had been once put in regular motion; or, if any stoppages took place, they were almost immediately perceived and rectified by those who managed the machine. Another circumstance yet requires to be noticed: nearly all who thought, acted, or fought for the French revolution had but one object in view; though that object was of a two-fold nature, and thus became much more influential than if it had been single: this object was the establishment of the revolution, and, by means of it, the security of their own elevated rank and increased fortune: all were interested, and most powerfully interested, in supporting it, because they were partakers of the blessings which it produced: whether those blessings were real, we shall not stop to inquire; such at least they were deemed by the French people; and it cannot too often be repeated, that their feeling, and not our own ideas, must be investigated, when we endeavour to account for the conduct of foreign nations.

The causes which we have hitherto assigned for the success of the French, at the commencement of the revolution, if not very creditable to the soundness of their judgment, are not disgraceful to their moral



moral feelings and character: but these causes soon gave place to others of the latter description: they began to fight to protect themselves; afterwards, they asserted, and perhaps believed, in order to bestow upon other nations the liberty which they themselves enjoyed; and at last solely for the purposes of glory, conquest and plunder. One of the most distinguishing and detestable tenets of the French philosophy was, that the end justified the means; and this doctrine, they soon convinced the world most fatally, they did not regard as merely speculative; for they reduced it to practice in the most regular and systematic manner. Every species of fraud, and deception was employed to secure the success of their arms: the inhabitants of the countries which they invaded were taught to receive them as benefactors: their victories and triumphs were exaggerated, both in number and in their results; their defeats were either entirely concealed, or represented as trifling and unimportant. The press, which at first they had used for the purpose of propagating their doctrines, was entirely devoted to these nefarious practices; till at length the nations whom they invaded were prepared, by the misrepresentations which they put forth, to receive them either as friends, or as enemies so invincible and so habituated to conquest that all resistance to them would be in vain.

By degrees, as we have already remarked, the feelings and sentiments which existed and operated at the commencement of the revolution, began to give way to that passion for glory and conquest, which seems almost natural, and is certainly most congenial, to the temperament and disposition of a Frenchman. At first he fought for

what he conceived to be liberty, and he liberally promised the same liberty to the nations whom he invaded: afterwards glory was his sole object; and in the pursuit of it were forgotten not only his own liberty and the independence of his own country, but the personal liberty and national independence of those whom he had before promised and undertaken to make free. It may however be doubted, whether this love of glory, natural and endeared as it is to a Frenchman, would have carried him on so unweariedly and cheerfully through all the wars in which France has been engaged, had it not been assisted and encouraged by the hope of plunder: but these two objects united have urged him on to all the feats which he has performed, and to the perpetration of all the crimes which he has committed.

Continued warfare, always or generally conducted with great talent and success, necessarily generated a military character in the French nation, and put them in possession of an army not only powerful in respect to its numbers, but much more formidable for the single master-spirit which actuated every part of it, and for the consummate skill and experience of its generals. Perhaps there was not in it a single soldier who did not believe that France, his country, was destined to be the mistress of the world; that he was destined to contribute his share towards this grand and glorious consummation; and that while he was engaged in this work he should enrich himself with plunder, and probably rise to a high and distinguished command. From this hasty and rapid sketch of the first feelings of the French at the commencement of the revolution; of the feelings which afterwards took

took possession of their minds and influenced their conduct ; and of the talents by which these feelings have been uniformly directed, and the success to which, when thus directed, they almost necessarily led, we may easily explain how they became the conquerors of most part of the continent of Europe : this, however, will become still more strikingly evident, if we briefly contrast the character, talents, and conduct of their opponents in the mighty conquests, with their own.

The coalesced powers entered on their first war with France in total ignorance of the character of the nation against whom they were about to fight, and of the nature of those circumstances which at that particular period affected that character : hence, had their views been ever so laudable and disinterested, had they been solely what they professed, for the reestablishment of social order, and for the benefit of the French themselves, they could not have accomplished them : but their views undoubtedly were either undefined even to themselves, or they were selfish and narrow. This alone must have materially injured their cause ; but it soon appeared that not only were the joint views of the coalesced selfish and narrow, but that each branch of the confederacy had its own peculiar interest in contemplation. To the compact and indissoluble unity, therefore, of the French nation was opposed a body formed of loose, disjointed, and heterogeneous materials, which must necessarily fall to pieces by mere length of time, even if no external force had operated against it. The monarchs who headed the confederacy, too, were insensible to the danger with which the French revolution threatened them ;

though they pretended that from an apprehension of this danger alone they had taken up arms. There is, however, reason to believe that at first they were actuated solely by the hope of dividing France, and that the real danger to which they were exposed, did not present itself to their apprehension till it was too late to ward it off. But their great inferiority to the French was in talent, and in the want of unity of views and interest : in the French army, all ranks of men felt that they had a common interest in success or defeat, and consequently all ranks cheerfully, nay enthusiastically, put forth their respective talents and efforts to obtain the one and avoid the other. With them it was no common and every day war ; it was not a war in which, in consideration of the pay which they received, they were to discharge the routine duty of a soldier ; it was a war, in their estimation, not only of a higher character, but one in which they were principals, and not merely agents. No such feeling could actuate the soldiers of the coalesced powers ; no such feeling appears to have operated even in the breasts of their officers : they went into this war as they had been accustomed to do into former wars ; and meeting with opponents of a different stamp, it is not surprising that they were defeated. But the French, as we have already remarked, did not trust entirely to the profound and comprehensive plans on which each campaign was arranged ; nor to the extensive combinations by which it was to be carried into execution ; nor to the consummate skill and experience and enthusiastic fidelity of their officers and men ; nor to the most judicious and complete equipment of their army

in

in every possible respect:—those undoubtedly might have ensured victory; but intent solely on one object, they did not hesitate to employ bribery and treachery wherever they found they would be useful: and unfortunately, besides the other defects of the system of the coalesced powers, they were induced by interest and intrigue, or compelled by necessity, to trust men who were not proof against bribery.

Such are the general causes which produced the triumphs and conquests of the French arms: but besides these, particular causes operated in some countries: the inhabitants of a great part of Germany, for instance, divided as it was into numberless petty states, could have but a small portion of that feeling of national independence which incites even the slaves of the most tyrannical government to repel the attacks of a foreign invader. In other parts of Germany, the infatuation respecting the French revolution, and respecting the objects of the French in their conquests, continued long after the character of that revolution, and the real nature of these objects, had been apparent to all who are not wilfully blind. Hence the spirit of national independence in those parts of Germany was kept down by the hope of obtaining civil and political liberty; and the people were indifferent to the conquest of their country by the French, or perhaps actually rejoiced at it, because, by this conquest, they either hoped to have their condition meliorated by their new masters; or still more blindly imagined that the French, after freeing them from their slavery, would give up the country to their own regulation and government. Nor was the infatuation confined to the

people: even monarchs, who certainly never had any reason to suppose that the French revolution portended any thing but their destruction, were more jealous of each other than apprehensive of the common enemy; and, with most infatuated apathy, or even satisfaction, stood by while that common enemy rendered their own destruction more easy and certain, by the destruction of the other legitimate monarchs. In some cases they even leagued themselves with the spoiler, and, with a much greater want of principle than he displayed, consented to partake of the spoil.

Thus all causes, both those which existed among the French and those which existed in the cabinets and armies of the different powers on the continent, contributing to one great end, it is not surprising that the former made themselves masters of the greatest portion of the latter; or that they organized the most numerous and *thoroughbred* army which the world ever witnessed. France, indeed, was become entirely military: the ideas, the feelings, and the expectations of the nation were of that character, less mixed perhaps than it existed even among the Romans. Towards the more complete and systematic formation of this character Bonaparte contributed largely and most zealously; so that with him at the head of the French nation, with the military character and feelings of the people so general, strong and influential, and with an actual army of half a million of men, even after by far the largest portion of Europe had been subdued, the friends of liberty and independence seemed to have little reason to look forward to any happy and beneficial change.

Not

Not only did Bonaparte quicken and strengthen the impulse of military enthusiasm among the French, but he directed it in a more regular and systematic manner. Military schools were established throughout the empire, in which, from their earliest infancy, the youths of France imbibed ideas of military glory, and were taught to place their supreme good in contributing to the splendour and the conquests of the great nation: no class of men had such distinguished honours and privileges as the military; and as these honours and privileges were the ambition of all, and were placed within the reach of all, they necessarily gave birth to great military talents and acquirements. But we shall deceive ourselves if we suppose that to this military character were united those feelings and qualifications which in the days of Louis XIV. (so similar in some respects, and so very unlike in others, to the reign of Bonaparte,) exalted and adorned the military character: under the revolutionary military system, there was none of that delicate and chivalrous sense of honour which captivated and dazzled even those who abhorred the ambitious and restless spirit with which it was accompanied. The soldier of France in the time of Louis XIV. was actuated by as strong and sincere a desire to advance the glory of the great nation as the soldier of Bonaparte: but far above this feeling, however characteristic and dear to him, was a sense of his personal honour, which he would have thought disgraced by many acts which the soldier of Bonaparte systematically and unblushingly performed. In the latter there is much that is low, base, and contemptible; and he thinks no-

thing disgraceful but cowardice in the field of battle. With the soldier of Louis XIV. his word was sacred:—the soldier of Bonaparte, on the contrary, will not scruple to break his parole, that he may again partake in the glory, the conquest, and the plunder, of his companions in arms. But though the military character of the modern French was thus ignominiously disinglised from that which prevailed in the time of Louis XIV, it was more formidable to the repose of Europe, both by its peculiar nature, and by the habits and talents of the man by whom it was wielded.

Bonaparte became a favourite at first with the French nation, because he freed them from a state of disorder and anarchy, and restored them to something like a regular and fixed government: this hold on their gratitude was converted into enthusiastic admiration by his conquests, which were so rapid, extensive, and splendid, that the French people hoped the time was at length approaching when they were to become, what Louis XIV. had in vain endeavoured to render them, the conquerors and possessors of Europe. Thus was the power of Bonaparte still further strengthened by the circumstance of the French nation coinciding with him in his schemes of conquest: and it is further worthy of remark, that all those causes which contributed to the subjugation of Europe, contributed at the same time to render his armies more formidable, and his popularity with the French people more permanent and certain. Yet, notwithstanding all these circumstances—notwithstanding nearly the whole continent of Europe lay exhausted and humbled at the feet of a man who possessed an army of at least half a million, accustomed

customed to victory, and commanded by officers whose thoughts and talents had been solely directed to military affairs; and notwithstanding this man, besides this army, was at the head of a nation who were willing and able, from almost inexhaustible resources, to supply him with French troops;—yet we now behold him driven from most of his conquests; beaten; forsaken by his allies; and compelled to act entirely on the defensive. Whence has this wonderful change arisen? to what causes ought it to be traced? If we are not mistaken, the causes must be sought for, partly in the nations which had been conquered, and partly in the character of Bonaparte.

The nations of the continent, for some years past, must have most sensibly and sorely felt that their ideas respecting the French were utterly erroneous; and that, though their first wish and object was to overturn the established governments, by this overthrow they did not intend to meliorate the condition of the people: the oppressions of the French, too, were of that nature and description, which even those most ignorant of the blessings of liberty must feel and endeavour to throw off; for not only Bonaparte himself in order to prosecute his schemes of conquest, but all his officers and soldiers to enrich themselves, plundered the inhabitants in the most merciless manner: indeed a regular and established system of spoliation was set in motion wherever the French became masters; and those who could not understand what was meant by the possession or the loss of the blessings of liberty most acutely felt the loss of their property. We have already adverted to the difference between the French military

character now and what it was in the days of Louis XIV.: in those days, no doubt, plunder and rapine were too common; but they were not attended with those coarse and brutal manners in the officers which mark the French officers of the present day. Besides this spoliation, the inhabitants of the conquered countries perceived their friends and relations dragged away to fight the battles of France; and under all these sufferings they durst not utter a whispered complaint. To these personal sources of disaffection were added the degrading idea of the loss of their national independence; which, though it had been extinct for some time, was revived with a sense of their misery; and the thought that they were subject to a foreign power—and so subject, not, as they expected, in order to be rendered more happy, but to undergo additional and aggravated misery—must have filled up the measure of their indignation and disaffection to the French.

But these causes were rendered still more operative by the peculiar character and views of Bonaparte: not content with levying the most heavy and oppressive contributions on the conquered nations of the continent, he endeavoured to deprive them of the means of paying these contributions, by prohibiting their commercial intercourse with England: for, in some measure, to his implacable hostility to this country, and to the absurd and mad schemes to which that antipathy incited him, we may justly ascribe the changed state of his fortunes. In the first place, as we have just remarked, his hostility to Great Britain prompted him to his anti-commercial decrees, which in their operation greatly aggravating

ing the distress of the continent, exasperated their minds still more against him. By his conduct in this respect he displayed his total ignorance concerning the nature and operations of commerce; and by his conduct towards Spain, in which also his hostility to England was manifest and operating, he discovered his ignorance of mankind. Lord Wellesley observed, speaking in the house of lords of Bonaparte, that he was of that order of men, who create to themselves great reverses; and it certainly is a wise dispensation of providence, that, even in characters of great wickedness and great talents, there generally are some passions so overpowering as to destroy the wickedness, and render useless the talents, with which they co-exist. But, in the second place, it was of little moment that the nations of the continent should be disposed to throw off the yoke of Bonaparte; or that their sentiments respecting the views and principles of the French should, from woful experience, be radically changed: still the impression remained, that their generals and armies were invincible; and even had this been destroyed, still their armies were excessively numerous, and pressed so round the enslaved nations, that they had no time or opportunity to rise against their oppressors. Before, therefore, there was the least chance for the restoration of independence and liberty to the continent; the character of invincibility which the French generals and armies had so long possessed; must be destroyed, and the armies themselves reduced in numbers; and removed from their commanding situation. Both these things Bonaparte himself brought about, and the passions of the tyrant wrought out the happiness of

1812.

Europe and his own ruin, at a time when all other means appeared inadequate to those most momentous and desirable ends. These passions were, his insatiable ambition, his unbending and furious obstinacy, and his hatred to England. The first impediment to his ambitious desires on the continent of Europe arose in Spain; in a country from which he could have anticipated no resistance; and which, had he not been utterly ignorant of the minds and feelings and prejudices of mankind, he might easily and most completely have rendered the abject instrument of his designs against England. But he aimed at accomplishing his object by those means which infused a spirit of determined resistance into the hitherto listless or yielding inhabitants of the peninsula: he goaded them on, by his unprincipled and outrageous conduct, to efforts of which they were before deemed incapable. Being thus opposed by the people at large, he soon discovered that his talents were not adapted to this species of warfare; for, in all the campaigns which the French have fought in the peninsula, there has been a total want of that combination, compression of force, unity of action, and rapid activity of movement, to which they were in such a great measure indebted for their victories in other parts of the continent of Europe. The resistance of the Spaniards, however, would probably have been ineffectual towards their deliverance, had they not been assisted by the British; and the victories of the British in the peninsula first broke the spell of French invincibility. The degraded and enslaved countries of Europe contemplated the events that were passing there with most deep and awful interest; and when

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they

they saw their oppressors defeated and thwarted in their plans, their own hopes of deliverance began to revive. Had Bonaparte possessed that penetration for which at one time he had ample and general credit, he would not, if he could have possibly prevented it, have suffered the character of his armies for invincibility to have been destroyed in Spain. If he could have defeated the English there, he would have done more for the permanent establishment of his power on the continent, and the furtherance of his schemes against this country, than by the extension of his conquests in the other parts of Europe. Fortunately however for mankind, he was either indisposed or unable successfully to encounter the English armies in the peninsula; and every victory which they achieved there, may justly be considered as tending towards the liberation, not only of Spain and Portugal, but of the rest of the continent. While also the dread of his power was thus undergoing a gradual but silent diminution, the hatred of his tyranny was becoming more deeply rooted, more extensive, and more influential: one feeling and sentiment animated the countries which he had subdued and oppressed; they took shame to themselves for submitting to a tyranny, which even Spain and Portugal, the least warlike nations of Europe, had dared successfully to resist: but the presence of an immense French army, the extreme difficulty of bringing into one mass, and making to bear on one point, the scattered power of the oppressed nations, and the complete disorganization of their governments which Bonaparte had effected, prevented them from rising against him. This feeling of hatred and disaffection

towards him he must have known; but he was not of a disposition either to wish to convert it into attachment, or to dread its effects; and at the very moment when it was prevented from bursting forth against him, solely by the dread of his immense armies, he began a war which annihilated those armies. In the commencement of that war, we may behold his ambition, and his hatred towards England operating: in the conduct yet, we may trace clearly the most blind and mad obstinacy:—thus, as we have had occasion more than once to remark, his own passions have worked out the overthrow of his tyranny, and, in the dispensations of Providence, have been made the means of his own chastisement. Who that witnessed the power of Bonaparte before he began the war with Russia; the immensity of his army, not more formidable for its numbers than for the quality of the troops of which it was composed; the skill and experience of its commanders; the completeness of its equipment in every respect; and the proud confidence with which its former victories inspired it; could have anticipated that it would, in the space of a very few months, be annihilated, not so much by the prowess and numbers of its opponents, as by the rashness and folly of its commander? and that his rashness and folly should have been so extreme, as to have urged him to conduct his army into the very heart of the Russian empire at the commencement of winter? We are naturally astonished at a cause so simple, yet so unthought of, producing the destruction of such a mighty force; and had we been foretold that it was to have been annihilated, this cause of its annihilation, in all probability, would have

have been the last that would have suggested itself to our imagination.

How completely now have Bonaparte and his opponents changed their situations and prospects! They have well disciplined and veteran troops, no longer doubtful respecting their success; but equally confident, from what they know of themselves and of their leaders, and from what they have done, that they are superior to the troops of the enemy. Bonaparte, on the other hand, has lost that army by which he was raised to his high elevation; and, what is more, the opinion of his great talents and his invincibility is broken. The whole plan of the Russian campaign betrayed a want of combination and foresight, which, in a military point of view, brought him down at least to the level of a common general; while the rashness and obstinacy of his conduct throughout the whole of it, proved that these possessed such a mastery over him, as, whenever they operated, must render his military talents of no service. Throughout the whole of these remarks we have spoken of the power of Bonaparte as at an end: we firmly believe it to be so, as far as respects its operation on the independence and liberty of Europe; and this opinion we entertain, not so much from the consideration that he has lost his means of con-

quest by losing his veteran troops, and being stripped of a great share of his military reputation, as from the more gratifying belief, that the people and the sovereigns of the continent at last perceive that their interest is one and the same, and that that interest directs them to unite most cordially and firmly in opposing the future attempts of the French. As this moral change in the opinions and character of the people and sovereigns of the continent has undoubtedly taken place; and as, while yet it is in its freshness and vigour, they are superior in the number and equipment of their troops, it is certainly not too much to hope, that, with this feeling and this superiority, they will place their independence out of the reach of any future invader. We have incidentally noticed one mode in which Britain has contributed towards this grand and glorious consummation, by her persevering and victorious career in the peninsula: but in several other points of view this country deserves praise for her resistance to Bonaparte; and when her inhabitants feel the sacrifices which they made, the privations which they endured, and the burdens which they have entailed on themselves and their posterity in this contest, let them recollect what has been the equivalent,—the freedom of Europe, and the gratitude of her inhabitants towards Britain.



## CHAPTER IX.

*Exertions of Britain in the Cause of Europe not confined to Spain—Her pecuniary Assistance—Consequences of that great Increase of the National Debt—This however not so great as it appears to be—First, because the Value of Money is much decreased—Secondly, because the Population is more numerous; and lastly, on account of our Improvements in Machinery, and increased Capital and Industry—Taxation nevertheless nearly reached its highest Point—Necessity of lightening the Burdens of the State admitted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—His Plan of Finance—Principle of it not incompatible with the Principles of the Sinking Fund—Its Advantages—Objections to it—Present Trade, &c., of Great Britain.*

**I**N the last chapter we hinted that Great Britain had contributed towards the liberation of the continent from the presence and oppression of the French in several respects, besides the example of successful resistance to their armies, which she had so honourably and gloriously exhibited in the peninsula. In no respect however were her exertions and sacrifices greater, in her own cause and that of the civilized world, than in the immense sums which she raised for the prosecution of the war or the aid of her allies. We are now so accustomed to hear of a debt of nearly one thousand millions, of an expenditure of nearly one hundred millions, annually, and of loans raised without the smallest difficulty to the amount of 30 or 40 millions, that we do not sufficiently consider the comparatively small population from which they proceed. The speculations of Hume and others, on the subject of the national debt, are well known: long before it should have reached its present amount, they confidently predicted our inability to discharge the interest of it, and consequently a national bankruptcy.—That it must have its limits, none will deny; and that those limits were nearly approached, in some cases, during our pre-

sent war with France, even ministers, by the financial measures of 1812, seemed disposed to admit. Before however we proceed to the statement and explanation of these measures, it will be proper to offer some observations on the national debt, for the purpose of showing that it is not actually so great as it appears to be; and that there may be hereafter causes which may enable the nation to bear a much larger amount than the present, as there have been and are causes which have enabled it to bear an amount much greater than political economists anticipated.

In the first place, then, the debt is not actually so enormous as it appears to be: every person who directs his thoughts to the consideration of the very great rise in the price of all commodities which has taken place within these thirty years, is soon convinced that this rise is in a great measure nominal; that, as all commodities have risen, though not in the same proportion, their comparative value cannot be so much altered as at first it would appear to be; and that though more money is given for each, yet, as that money costs less labour, the real cost is not much if at all increased. So it is with the national debt: we pay much more than

than we did thirty years ago for our bread, our meat, and our houses; we also pay much more than we did at the former period towards the support and exigencies of the nation; but in both cases the increase is only partly nominal, though, it must be confessed, it is more strictly and completely nominal with respect to the price of commodities than with respect to taxation. The real mode of calculating the increase in both cases, of estimating that part of the increase which is a real burden, is to compare it with the increase in the wages of our labour, or in the profits of our trade and profession: if we find that we get as much more for our labour (taking that word in its most comprehensive sense) as we pay for our provisions, &c. they cannot be said justly to be raised to us: and if we also find that the rate of our labour has risen proportionately to the increase of taxation, then taxation is actually no more to us than it was thirty years ago. It is not the case however, as we have already remarked, with respect to taxation; except perhaps with the lower orders of the community; for, as government has always been sparing of them in taxation, it is probable that their wages have increased in a greater proportion than the taxes which they pay; while, on the other hand, there is reason to believe that it has not increased in an equal proportion to the increase in the price of commodities. The reverse, it is believed, is the case with most other classes: the wages of their labour, generally speaking, has risen nearly in an equal ratio to the increased price of commodities, while it has not nearly done so in proportion to the increase of taxation. It is also evident, that those who possess only a fixed income must suffer irrepre-

diably, and very greatly, both from the rise in the price of commodities and the increase of taxation.

But, in the second place, taxation has not increased actually within the last thirty, forty, or fifty years, so much as it appears to have done; because the number of people who pay the taxes is now much greater than it was at those periods. When we talk of the national debt of Britain having been only one hundred millions half a century or more ago, and of its being nearly one thousand millions now, we should take into our account, that at the former period our population was scarcely one half of what it is now; both debts have indeed been incurred, and the interest of them is paid, by the people of Britain; but assuredly the number of payers affects in no small degree the amount of each person's contribution. If we suppose that, when the debt was one hundred millions, the population of this country was only one half of what it is at present, then the real debt paid by the nation will not be increased nearly in the same proportion in which it appears to be: in fact, on this supposition, being distributed over twice the number of people, each person's contribution is only five times greater than what it was when the debt was only one hundred millions, instead of being ten times greater; and if to this consideration we add the former one, that the price of all labour is at least double what it was when the debt was one hundred millions, and consequently that each person pays only one-half what he appears to pay; this again will reduce it from five hundred millions, to two hundred and fifty millions. In other words, on these suppositions, there are twice the number of people to pay the debt that there were when it was only one hundred millions, and the value

of money has decreased at least one half since that period. After all, however, there must be a considerable portion of error in these speculations: but of this fact there can be little doubt, that though the interest of the national debt, and the taxes laid on for the expenses of government, press very heavily on many parts of the community, that pressure is not nearly so great in proportion as the increase of taxation; for, if we may credit history, Britain found nearly as great difficulty in paying ten millions of taxes annually, as she now does in paying nearly fifty millions. It is this circumstance, on which our attention is principally fixed, which astonishes the world, and which, though it exist among ourselves, we hardly know how to explain. It would be irrelevant to the nature of the present work to enter on a formal and long explanation of it; we shall merely observe, that as all real addition to taxation, as well as all real increase of personal expenditure, must be paid for by additional profit; in it we are to look for the means by which we have supported and do support our present enormous taxations; and that our additional profit, in a national point of view, has obtained its increase from improvements in our machinery; from increased labour and additional skill; and particularly from the operations of large and accumulated capital: for from these sources all real taxes must ultimately be paid; and while the inhabitants of Britain can increase their trade and commerce in proportion to the increase of their taxes, they will be paid without difficulty. Of this truth, and of the general truth upon which this is founded, that the spring of Britain's power and wealth arises from her trade and commerce, Bonaparte

was perfectly aware; and his measures therefore, as we have seen, were directed to the exclusion of that commerce from the continent. The effects of this exclusion on the continent we have already adverted to: its effects on Britain we must now consider. Besides using his utmost efforts to shut out our commerce from the continent, Bonaparte had contrived to embroil us in a war with America with the same object in view. Thus, our manufacturers being in a great measure deprived of a market were in a deplorable condition; trade languished throughout the land; and the consequence was, that it would have been extremely rash, if not utterly impracticable, in the minister, to have loaded a narrowed and impeded commerce with fresh taxes. Under these circumstances Mr. Vansittart came forward with his new plan of finance, which we shall now proceed to explain.

The funding system was first introduced into this country early in the 18th century; and from this period till the close of the American war, though some attempts had been made to establish a sinking fund, they were soon abandoned; the principal object of our financial measures being to provide for the immediate expenses of the year, by borrowing such sums as were necessary for the extraordinary expenses, and laying on taxes to such an amount as would pay the interest of the sum borrowed. Peace was regarded as the proper season for paying off the debt; and during its short intervals, the schemes for establishing a sinking fund, to which we have already adverted, were set on foot; but they were so ineffectual, as between the peace of Utrecht and the close of the American war to have paid off only 8,330,000*l*. In consequence of the depressed state of public

public credit at the close of this war, and the great expenses which it had occasioned, Mr. Pitt laid the basis of a sinking fund by the acts of 1786 and 1792. It is not necessary here to inquire, whether he adopted the most provident and economical scheme; whatever were the merits of it, he adhered to it most strenuously and closely. When the first French revolutionary war commenced, Mr. Pitt thought it sufficient to supply the military and naval expenses by loans, permitting the operations of the funding system to go on towards the gradual redemption of the debt. In 1797, however, in consequence of the increased expenses of the war, and of there being no prospect of its conclusion, he determined to make an attempt to equalize the income with the expenditure of the country. Accordingly in 1798 he established a general tax on income, intended, with the aid of some other war taxes, "to provide within the year for a considerable part of the public expenses, and also to repay, within a few years after the conclusion of peace, all debt contracted beyond the amount of the sinking fund in each year." In the years 1803, 4, and 6, lord Sidmouth and lord Grenville adopted plans for increasing the national income: the object of the scheme of the latter (which is more generally known under the appellation of lord Henry Petty's scheme) was to lessen the necessity of additional taxation; on the simple but certainly improvident plan of borrowing the interest as well as the principal, and of mortgaging the war taxes. Taking the average of the public expenditure (exclusive of the sinking fund) for the years 1806 and 1807, it was rather more than 60,000,000*l.*; while the national income for the latter year was only

59,700,000*l.* By taking the average of the next three years, 1809, 10, and 11, it appeared that the net produce of the public income was about 64,000,000*l.* This, with the addition of the taxes imposed in 1811 and 1812, would seem to leave a considerable surplus beyond the amount of the expenditure in 1807, when the expenditure was greater than the income; but the increased charge of unredeemed debt since that year was to be added to the expenditure. In order, therefore, to equalize the receipt and expenditure of the country, on an average of the years 1809, 1810, and 1811, the amount of the sum to be provided was estimated at 9,000,000*l.* Mr. Vansittart was fully sensible, to use his own words, that "to raise this sum by an immediate imposition of new taxes, in addition to the great exertions already made, would be considered as a very heavy burden; and one, the severity of which might be felt still more sensibly, from an apprehension, by no means unreasonable, that such a sacrifice might eventually prove to have been unnecessary, as many supposable and even probable cases may arise during the continuance of the war, in which it would be possible very considerably to reduce our expenses."

All therefore which ought to be expected from a permanent war system was, that it should provide for such a scale of expense as would necessarily arise out of the state of war; without including the payment of such sums as extraordinary exertions had rendered, or might render necessary. At first sight it may appear that the sinking fund is really part of the national expenditure; but it ought to be considered, that by cancelling a certain portion of the debt, each year, it

reduces the debt really incurred to the amount in which the sum borrowed exceeds the sum to be redeemed; the equalization of the public expenditure and income therefore may justly be considered as a principal advantage of the sinking fund, no less than the actual redemption of the debt. The first object the sinking fund has already effected; at least so far as the expenditure consists in the usual charges of the war, and does not include its extraordinary charges. As therefore the sinking fund had thus completely effected one of its objects, Mr. Vansittart thought that its arrangement might be altered without violating the provisions of the act of 1792; while at the same time, by this alteration, the weight of further burdens, which it might be found necessary to impose on the nation, would be diminished. In order to point out the beneficial consequences of this proposed alteration in the arrangement of the sinking fund, the consequences which it had actually produced on the redemption of the debt require to be considered. On the first establishment of this fund in 1786, the debt was 240,000,000*l.*; at the time when Mr. Vansittart came forward with his new plan of finance, this sum had been completely redeemed, in a great measure by the operation of the sinking fund of 1786; but partly also by the provision made for the redemption of loans since contracted, and in a small degree by the purchase of life annuities.—By the act of 1792, provision is directed to be made for the redemption, within 45 years, of all debts contracted subsequently to the passing of that act; and within that limit, power was left to parliament to regulate the mode of redemption; and this power it has exer-

cised at different times. In the years 1798, 1799, and 1800, no provision was made for the immediate reduction of that part of the loan which was charged upon the income tax; but it was proposed that these sums should be redeemed by prolonging the tax after peace was restored. In the year 1802, when the income tax was repealed, and other funds were provided for paying the interest of these loans, parliament again exercised its discretionary power, as granted to it by the act of 1792, and thought it unnecessary to make immediate provision for the redemption of the principal; leaving this to be effected by the prolonged operation of the sinking fund already existing.

From this statement, Mr. Vansittart contended it was evident, that the financial measure he proposed was not contrary to the spirit of any act of parliament regarding the sinking fund; and that its principle had been recognised and acted upon in previous years; for the enactments of the act of 1792, the principal and most important one on the subject, would be fully complied with, so long as provision was made, in any manner, for the redemption of each respective portion of the public debt, within forty-five years from the period in which it was contracted. Mr. Vansittart further contended, that it would be equally consistent with the act of 1792, “either to redeem any number of loans, by applying to the separate redemption of each, the distinct portion of the sinking fund created at the time of its being contracted, or by applying the whole fund, in the first instance, to the total redemption of the first contracted loan, and afterwards to that of the several succeeding loans, in their respective

respective order, so that each of them should be redeemed within 46 years from its being raised."

Mr. Vansittart therefore had his choice of these two plans, or rather of these two principles, upon which to construct his financial arrangements; but the first appeared to him to have fewer advantages than the second. By the first, the whole charge of interest and sinking fund would be appropriated, without any relief to the public, until the whole of one of the loans should be completely redeemed by the exclusive operation of the one per cent. originally attached to it: of course, as this could not happen in less than forty years, the public would be unbenefited by this measure during that time.—

Whereas, by the second mode, several of the loans which were first contracted, even on the supposition of a war of great duration, would be redeemed previously to the conclusion of it, and thus would furnish the means of providing for a fresh charge. Another advantage from this mode would be, that this resource would be continually increasing in proportion to the duration of the war. But a still more important advantage would result from this second mode; for by it the redemption of the debt being more gradually diffused over the whole period, would necessarily produce less alteration in the state of property. This advantage is thus further illustrated and enforced by Mr. Vansittart:—"Successive redemption is indeed a point of no small importance to the regulation of the money market, as the rate of interest, and the value of money, might be very inconveniently affected by the too rapid increase, or the too sudden reduction, of the sums brought into circulation by

the sinking fund. It should not therefore be suffered to accumulate for too long a period; while, on the other hand, it should not be too much diminished by extinguishing at once too large a portion of the public debt." This second mode, therefore, seemed preferable to the first, on all these accounts; and it was still further recommended by the circumstance, that throughout nearly the whole period of its operation, a much smaller portion of the national resources would be occupied in paying off the national debt. But it was yet to be determined, whether the present period was favourable or adverse to the adoption of this mode. That it was extremely and peculiarly favourable, Mr. Vansittart contended, was evident from the circumstance already stated, viz. that the amount of the national debt, as it stood when Mr. Pitt first proposed the sinking fund, had actually been redeemed by that fund.

Such were the principles upon which the chancellor of the exchequer proposed his plan for a gradual and equable reduction of debt, with great immediate advantage to the public. The first step towards carrying this plan into effect, was to enact that the debt first contracted should be *deemed* first paid off; whether purchased by its own sinking fund, or by any other. As a sum equal to the whole debt as it stood in 1786, was already purchased, the execution of this plan only required, with respect either to this sum so redeemed, or to any hereafter redeemed, that a certificate of its redemption should be published in the Gazette; and that this stock should afterwards be at the disposal of parliament; and "liable to be cancelled in such proportions and at such times as parliament

ment may direct; but that the whole sinking fund, created by the act of 1786, shall be continued and applied, until the total redemption of any debt now existing, or which may be created during the war.— Thus only the sinking fund appropriated to each loan would be touched, and not till it had effected its purchase, by redeeming the amount of its loan, while the grand sinking fund would remain in its original state and full operation."

"In order, however, effectually to secure the means of redeeming all future loans within 45 years, and to preserve a proper proportion between the sinking fund and the unredeemed debt," Mr. Vansittart further proposed, that whenever the sum borrowed in any year should exceed the sum to be paid off, a sinking fund should be provided for the excess of loan, equal to one half of its interest; and that for the remainder of the loan, the provision of a sinking fund of one per cent. should be made as usual, conformably to the act of 1792. There were also some inferior and less important arrangements, which it is not necessary to detail: but we shall proceed to point out the advantages of this system, as compared with the former system; after which we shall notice some of the principal objections which were urged against it.

By the old system, it is taken for granted, that the loans for a great number of years will be equal to the loan which was raised in 1812; the amount of this, including the exchequer bills funded, was 28,000,000*l*. By the same system, it would require to fund this sum at five per cent. for four years, new taxes to the amount of nearly 7,500,000*l*.; and in the whole, till the year 1830, about which time

the debt consolidated in 1802 would, at that rate of interest, be redeemed, if the war lasted so long, taxes would be required to the amount of upwards of 31,000,000*l*.; whereas, by Mr. Vansittart's plan, it would require no new taxes for four years, except about 1,100,000*l*. for the year 1813, in order to make some necessary immediate additions to the sinking fund; and the whole amount of taxes, till the year 1830, would, by the same plan, not exceed 18,000,000*l*. By the old plan, the whole amount of the debt, as it stood in the spring of 1813, would be paid off about the year 1845; whereas by Mr. Vansittart's plan it would be paid off about 1837.

The next thing to be considered is, whether by the old plan, or that of Mr. Vansittart, the sinking fund would be most affected. Till the year 1830, it would be much greater, according to the former; but after that period the amount will be nearly equal. In one respect, however, Mr. Vansittart's plan, as has been already hinted, has the advantage: its operation on the sinking fund will be more equable and uniform.

This comparative view of the two plans has proceeded on the idea, that for a considerable number of years the annual loan will not exceed 28,000,000*l*. If it should, however, be necessary to raise a larger sum, Mr. Vansittart acknowledges that the advantages of his plan would be somewhat diminished; but, on the other hand, the redemption of the existing debt would be accelerated, and the sinking fund would increase more rapidly. The effects of the two plans would, of course, be opposite, if the sums borrowed were diminished, or if they were obtained at a rate of interest below 5 per cent.

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But in detailing the benefits of this plan, we ought to look beyond the single and bare circumstance that no fresh taxes would be requisite for some years; since it is highly probable that this cessation of taxes would improve the revenue, and thus lessen the amount to be borrowed. That this is not a rash anticipation of the beneficial effects of this plan, is evident from the consequences which have resulted from the adoption of lord Henry Petty's plan, 'since the year 1806. The immediate consequence of it was a partial relief from additional taxes, and this lessened the amount of the sums borrowed. Hence, as the relief from taxation by Mr. Vansittart's plan will be more complete, at least for some years, we are justified in expecting that there will not be occasion for such heavy loans, on the supposition that no extraordinary and unforeseen circumstances render them requisite; for it ought always to be recollected, that this and every other financial scheme must proceed on the assumption that the rate of our expenditure will be similar to what it has latterly been: even should it be greater, the plan will still be effectual, though not to such extent; and its policy will be evident, if it render the loans less than they otherwise would have been.

It is now necessary to consider this plan of Mr. Vansittart's in its operations during peace: in this event, the sinking fund would continue to accumulate, as it does at present, at compound interest, unless parliament should deem it proper, in order to prevent the inconveniences which would be produced by too rapid a diminution of the rate of interest, to cancel the stock purchased by the commissioners. Even this cannot be con-

sidered as peculiarly affecting the plan now under consideration; since it must equally take place under the old mode of redemption, whenever the progress of the sinking fund should be found to be too rapid. "In case our old mode of redemption should be adhered to, such a change, whenever it might take place, would, however, be attended with the disadvantage of appearing to be a deviation from the established principles of his sinking fund; while, according to Mr. Vansittart's plan, it would obviously be a consequence flowing from them." In order, however, that no alarm or apprehension might arise, under the idea that, by this or any other plan which interfered with the operations of the sinking fund, any particular portion of the national debt would be ultimately redeemed within forty-five years from its creation, according to the provisions of the act of 1792, Mr. Vansittart proposed that sufficient security should be preserved for that purpose.

There is still another point of view in which this plan of finance may be advantageously placed, on the supposition that peace was restored to this country; for during peace, from it would result the facility of keeping in reserve the means of funding a large sum, as a resource in case of the renewal of hostilities: this fund would be produced in a few years, by his redeemed stock standing in the name of the commissioners; and it is evident that it would be continually increasing. It would be advisable, however, not to reduce it below such a sum as might be thought necessary to keep up the public credit and confidence at home, and to maintain the dignity of the country abroad. This fund would



would, when created, present a novel and gratifying spectacle; as it would be the first instance of an immense accumulation of public product, "formed without the impoverishment of any individual, or any embarrassment of the general circulation."

It may, however, be objected to this plan, that it interferes with the very principle of the sinking fund; but this objection, when closely examined, will be found to be irrelevant; in fact, this plan interferes with the sinking fund less than any other modification of that fund, and is less liable to be abused as a precedent for encroaching upon it: for these reasons in the first place, it arises out of the principles of the sinking fund itself; and in the second place, it depends entirely on the application of the stock purchased by the commissioners. Now the object for which the stock is purchased, is undoubtedly that it should be cancelled, sooner or later. This must take place in any possible arrangement of the sinking fund; and under these circumstances, the only question that can arise, or produce a difference of opinion, must respect the time and mode of cancelling it. Some people, who entertain indistinct notions of the sinking fund, seem to mistake its very nature and purpose; and feel violently and unaccountably prejudiced against any scheme which should have a tendency to modify its operations: but the great and ultimate object of it undoubtedly is, to relieve the nation from the burden of taxes which would be entailed upon it by the indefinite extension of the public debt. With this view it was originally created; and to answer this purpose, government have aided it by the act of

1792. If, therefore, it is made to answer this purpose more quickly or more certainly, or at a period when the nation particularly requires not to be pressed with additional taxes; in any or all of these cases, any modification of it must be agreeable to its original principles and purposes, instead of a deviation from them; and it would be absurd to object to such a beneficial modification, thus consonant to the original principles and purposes of the sinking fund, because it might interfere with some of the collateral advantages of that fund, which were not contemplated when it was created, and which, in every point of view, are, when compared with its grand object, of infinitely small consequence. "Now, as it cannot be less important to prevent the immediate increase of taxes, than to provide for their future possible reduction, *that* would seem to be the best arrangement of a sinking fund, which, while it provide for the ultimate discharge of debt, within a certain moderate period, afforded the earliest relief to the public, and limited the maximum of total charge within the narrowest compass."

We have thus given the principal statements and illustrations which prove the expediency of Mr. Vansittart's plan of finance. We have been induced to go so much into detail, from the conviction that it is a plan of great political wisdom, which, if steadily and judiciously persevered in, must afford great relief to the public. That it was suggested, or rather rendered necessary, by the peculiar circumstances of the times, ought not to be brought forward as an argument against it, if its tendency is to lessen the public burdens, at a period when they could not be safely increased.

creased, but which still required great exertions and sacrifices. It ought to be viewed as highly beneficial to the nation, even though, for the sake of present relief, it cut off part of the hope which the sinking fund had created, that the national debt would be entirely annihilated at a given period; for it is evident, if our burdens are now as great as we can bear, and if there is an absolute necessity that our expenditures should be increased, we must either trench upon the sinking fund entirely, or modify it in such a manner as still to preserve its principles and the progress of its operation, while we benefit the present generation. The statements and illustrations which we have given, have been principally derived from a pamphlet which Mr. Vansittart distributed on the subject; the concluding paragraph of which deserves to be quoted:—  
 “There is, however, no wish to disguise the weight which the political circumstances of the present moment have had in recommending it; but, on the contrary, a very confident persuasion that the more fully those circumstances are investigated, the more they will be found to enforce the expediency of such a system.”

It was not to be expected that the financial plan of Mr. Vansittart would pass without discussion or objection, either in or out of parliament. For the observations made upon it in parliament, by Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Tierney, and other members of the house of commons, we refer our readers to the debates: in this place we shall notice only those objections which were either not urged in parliament, or were noticed and enforced there incidentally. In the statement and illustration which we have given

of this plan, it was hinted that the sinking fund was calculated, though not perhaps originally intended, to produce collateral advantages, besides the direct and main advantage of relieving the nation from debt. One of the most obvious and important of these collateral advantages, undoubtedly is the effect which it produces on the funds: at first, while the commissioners were able only to purchase small quantities of stock every quarter, this effect must have been inconsiderable; but when the sums to be purchased became large, the effect would, of course, be proportionally increased. The price of stock, like the price of all other commodities, must depend entirely on the proportion between the supply and the demand, if that proportion is changed, either by a larger demand, while the supply continues the same, or by a larger supply while the demand is stationary; or, in short, by any alteration, either in the supply or demand, the price of stock must be affected. Now, it is obvious that when the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt were enabled to come into the stock market with large sums for the purchase of stock, the price of that stock, supposing the quantity of it not to be increased, must rise; and the great steadiness, as well as the comparatively high price of stocks, during this long and expensive war, may, in a great measure, be ascribed to the effect of the sums with which the commissioners came into the stock market. It was therefore objected to Mr. Vansittart's plan, that it would tend to lower the price of stocks, by taking away from the commissioners a portion of that sum with which they would otherwise have purchased stock.

This objection is very plausible, and, till closely examined, seems one of great weight: indeed, it cannot be denied that the effect of Mr. Vansittart's plan is to lessen the demand for stock; and therefore, according to the principles by which the price of any commodity is regulated, it would seem a necessary consequence, that the price of stock would be also lessened. But we should recollect, that a diminished demand for any commodity will not lower the price of that commodity, if the supply be also diminished in the same proportion: for it is an alteration in the proportion of supply and demand, which affects price. Now, though the plan of Mr. Vansittart would undoubtedly lessen the demand for stock, it would also as certainly lessen the quantity of stock in the market, and that in the same proportion: hence, if this position be correct, this plan cannot, in any degree or mode, affect the price of stocks. It may not be quite so obvious how it will lessen the quantity of stock, as it is that it will diminish the demand; but the consequence is equally certain and necessary; for how does Mr. Vansittart's plan relieve the public? Undoubtedly by rendering a loan, and the taxes to pay the interest of a loan, unnecessary. But if a loan were raised, to the amount we will suppose of ten millions, would not stock be created to that amount? It is obvious that it must. If therefore, to prevent the necessity of a loan, ten millions are taken from the commissioners, with which they would otherwise have purchased stock, the same sum of ten millions is not, as it would be in the case of a loan, added to the funded debt or national stock. In fact, the consequence of this plan is, that

the proportion between the supply of stock, and the demand for it, is preserved the same as before: and therefore, though the commissioners can purchase less by the amount of the sum which the plan takes out of their hands: yet, as there is less stock created, by the amount of the sum saved in the loan by this plan, and as these amounts must necessarily be exactly the same, the price of stock cannot be affected, at least in this point of view, by Mr. Vansittart's plan.

The only other objection to this plan, which we shall notice, may be thus stated: Those who have lent their money to government, or who have purchased stock, have done it under the implied condition, on the part of government, that at some future period the principal of their debt would be paid off: but as this plan trenches on the fund set apart for the redemption of the debt, it so far breaks this implied condition; and therefore injustice is done to the stockholder, who gave more for his stock than he would otherwise have been disposed to do, on the faith that he should be paid his capital at a period which this plan must necessarily postpone. In reply to this objection, it is sufficient to observe, that as long as the stockholder can obtain his principal by selling his stock, it must be a matter of perfect indifference to him at what period government proposes to pay off the national debt. If Mr. Vansittart's plan rendered it less easy for him to dispose of his stock, or reduced the value of it, then he might object to it on these grounds; but it is ridiculous in the stockholder to assert that the value of his stock is lessened by the period of its repayment being protracted, while, whenever he chooses, he can

find

find a purchaser for it; or, in other words, a person who will give him his principal. Besides, what is the fact? Are those descriptions of stock which government have the option of paying off, under circumstances which may occur, or those which are less likely to be paid off, more valuable? The latter, certainly, if we may judge by the proportionate prices of the navy 5 per cents. and the other descriptions of stock, not so likely to be paid off. Indeed it must be obviously so; for all men must prefer that stock which they can sell whenever they please, to that for which they may be obliged to accept the principal when they know not what to do with it.

We shall conclude this chapter with the following extracts relative to the revenue and expenditure, the imports and exports of the year, ending the 5th of January, 1813, as they appear in the annual statement laid before parliament, of the finances and commerce of the country.

The revenue of that year, including the loan, amounted to 95,712,695*l*. The gross receipt of the income tax, within the same period, was 13,131,548*l*.

The total expenditure during the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1813 was 104,398,248*l*.

The public debt during the same period cost the country 36,607,128*l*. of which the sum of 13,482,510*l*. passed into the hands of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt.

The following is a comparative view of the imports of the country for three years, ending the 5th of January in each year:

1811	IMPORTS	£36,427,722
1812	Ditto	24,520,329
1813	Ditto	22,994,843

The imports from India are not included in any of the three sums

given above. They amounted, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1812, to 4,106,351*l*.

The following comparative view of the import of corn seems to afford a satisfactory proof, that we are becoming less dependent on foreign countries for that necessary article:—

1811	IMPORT OF CORN	£2,701,240
1812	Ditto	463,995
1813	Ditto	378,872

The following is a comparative view of the import of coffee, cotton, and sugar, for three years, ending the 5th of January in each year:

COFFEE.		
1811	.. ..	£5,312,795
1812	.. ..	3,646,814
1813	.. ..	2,573,514
COTTON.		
1811	.. ..	£3,882,423
1812	.. ..	2,990,821
1813	.. ..	2,166,412
SUGAR.		
1811	.. ..	£6,429,044
1812	.. ..	5,324,409
1813	.. ..	5,033,396

The imports of this country from Ireland, it appears, are regularly on the increase:

1811	.. ..	£3,230,747
1812	.. ..	3,312,879
1813	.. ..	3,551,269

But if the imports of Great Britain fell off during the last year, it appears that the exports have materially improved. The following is a comparative view of our exports for three years, ending the 5th of January in each year:—

1811	EXPORTS	£34,923,575
1812	Do.	24,131,734
1813	Do.	31,243,362

The real value of British produce and manufactures exported, as estimated at the custom-house, is 43,657,864*l*.

Besides which, the amount of foreign merchandize exported, is given as follows: 1811

1811 .. .. £10,946,284

1812 .. .. 8,277,927

1813 .. .. 11,998,179

The following is a comparative view of the principal articles of which these exports consist:

COTTON GOODS.

1811 .. .. £18,033,794

1812 .. .. 11,715,501

1813 .. .. 15,972,826

WOOLLENS.

1811 .. .. £5,773,719

1812 .. .. 4,376,497

1813 .. .. 5,084,991

COFFEES.

1811 .. .. £1,455,427

1812 .. .. 1,418,034

1813 .. .. 4,382,730

SUGAR.

1811 .. .. £1,471,697

1812 .. .. 1,215,119

1813 .. .. 1,570,277

The following is a comparative view of the shipping and navigation of Great Britain and her dependencies, for three years, ending the 30th of September in each year:

NUMBER OF SHIPS.

1810 .. .. 28,709

1811 .. .. 24,106

1812 .. .. 24,107

Which, in the last-mentioned year, were navigated by 165,030 seamen.

## CHAPTER X.

*Great Importance and Difficulty of the Question respecting the Justice and Policy of the East Indian Monopoly—Views of it taken by different Classes of People—by the Merchants and Manufacturers—by the religious Part of the Community—by the Friends of Civilization and Knowledge—Collateral Topics respecting opening the Trade to the Out Ports—and respecting the China Trade first considered—Remarks on the American Tea Trade—Misconception on that Point—Grand and primary Subject considered—Objections to a free Trade—as injurious to the East India Company—to the Merchants and Manufacturers—to the Country at large—and to the Natives of the East Indies—these Objections considered—Remarks on the Conduct of Government with respect to the Renewal of the Charter—Concluding Observations.*

**B**Y far the most important, momentous, and permanently interesting question which came before parliament, during the session of 1812, was that which related to the renewal of the charter of the East India company. This question at any time must have been interesting and important, from the magnitude and extension of the subject which it embraced; but it was most peculiarly so at the period when it was discussed, both on account of the existing circumstances of the country at large, and

of the East India company. We have already had occasion to notice, both in this and in our preceding volume, that the trade and commerce of Britain had suffered very considerably and generally by the exclusion of our produce and manufactures from the continent of Europe, and from the United States of America. The capital of our merchants was consuming itself idly and unprofitably in immense stocks of goods, for which they could find no purchasers: our labouring manufacturers were, in

many places, reduced almost to a state of starvation, and in all in a condition comparatively poor and wretched; and as a natural and unavoidable consequence, our taxes had diminished in their produce, while the nation at large felt the bad consequences of this stagnation of trade in the increase of the poor's rates. Under such circumstances, it was not to be wondered at that the distressed manufacturers looked forward to the East Indian market with great confidence, as one which would not only for the present take off their accumulated produce, but also permanently supply a regular and large demand for their goods; and consequently that they became extremely interested in their opposition to the renewal of the charter of the East India company. Nor were the circumstances of the company less calculated to give a peculiar importance to the subject at this time: for many years their public affairs had gone on so ill, that they had contracted a debt of nearly 30,000,000*l.*; and this debt, it was shrewdly suspected, would be increased, instead of being diminished; as every year, for some time past, instead of fulfilling the predictions of the company, that their affairs would speedily assume a more favourable appearance, had witnessed only increased pecuniary embarrassments. Whenever these embarrassments occurred, parliament was applied to, in order to relieve them, and thus the nation saw itself burdened with the debts of the company.

This alone must have prompted the country at large to coincide with the merchants in their opposition to the renewal of the charter: but they were further urged to this

measure by a different view of the affairs of the company: for while their pecuniary embarrassments were so very great, and were continually increasing;—while in fact they could not, at least immediately and completely, discharge their debts,—they were dividing an interest on their capital (on that capital which, to whatever amount it really existed, was, strictly speaking, not theirs, but their creditors') of upwards of ten per cent. It seemed obvious, therefore, to common sense, that if they could afford to make this dividend, they could afford to pay off part of their debts; or at least that they ought to have divided a more moderate interest, and to have set apart the remainder towards freeing themselves from their embarrassments: but from their actual circumstances, and mode of going on, it was evident that there was some gross mismanagement on their part, and that the nation would have to pay, as it had paid, for this mismanagement.

Such were the more obvious and general motives which induced the country at large to coincide with the merchants and manufacturers in their opposition to the renewal of the charter of the East India company; but there were other reasons of a higher nature, which operated with some persons to the same effect, on their viewing the subject more deeply and extensively. In the first place, these persons objected to the renewal of the charter, on the broad principle, that, as it gave the company a monopoly, it must be injurious to the country; and probably, they added, not very profitable to themselves as a body; for they contended it is the effect of a monopoly,

poly, not only to injure those against whom it is granted, but very often even those on whom it is bestowed. In confirmation of this opinion, they referred to several instances of monopolies in times when, from an ignorance of the nature of trade, they were more common, in most of which the affairs of the body who possessed the monopoly were unprosperous, though the affairs of many of the individuals who composed that body might be flourishing. In the second place, these persons opposed the renewal of the charter on still more important grounds;—on grounds which affected our character as a nation, and which also affected the condition and improvement of the millions in the East Indies whom the fate of war had placed under our power and protection. They contended that the East India company had done little or nothing for the improvement of their territory, or for the melioration of the inhabitants; and that the only mode by which these desirable effects could take place, would be, by destroying the monopoly, to allow a freer and more general intercourse between the people of Britain and those of the East Indies. The means by which we had acquired our territory there, perhaps could not bear very close or strict examination:—on that subject they were not disposed to enter: but as we had acquired it, it was the duty, both of the British government and the British people, to take care that the condition of the inhabitants was improved, as much as possible, by their connexion and subjection to us.

There was yet another class of people who felt interested in the

subject of the renewal of the charter, and who were strongly disposed to object to it on grounds different from any of those which we have yet stated: we allude to those who are called the religious party in parliament, and to those in the country at large who were favourable to missionary societies. They laid it down as an undeniable axiom, that it was among the first duties incumbent upon real christians, to spread the light of the gospel among those nations which were still strangers to it; and as in India the inhabitants were not only unbelievers, but addicted to the most gross and barbarous superstitions, which displayed not merely a want of true faith, but a corrupted system of morals,—these advocates for proselytism contended, that as friends of humanity and of good morals, as well as christians, they were bound to enlighten and reform the miserable and mistaken inhabitants of India: but this scheme, they further maintained, they could but partially and incompletely carry into execution, while the East India company retained the full power given them by their existing charter. They therefore were anxious that, if the charter were renewed, some provision might be made for converting the natives to christianity. Thus we perceive that very different classes of people were interested in this question:—the merchant and manufacturer, the philosopher, politician, and friend of humanity, and the zealous christian, had each their motives for feeling an interest in it; besides that the nation at large,—those who either did not understand the question as those other descriptions of persons did,—or who were comparatively indifferent to it under

Under any of the views of it which they respectively took, was interested for reasons which we have already stated.

Nor was the question less important when considered in its relation to government. It was evident that they had a difficult and delicate part to act. On the one hand, the manufacturing classes called upon them to do them what they conceived to be merely justice, in opening for them a market for their commodities; and this call they conceived they were at this period more bound to obey, since all other markets were closed. Government also felt that they had a higher duty to perform, and that the views and arguments of those who expected from them the civilization, if not the conversion, of the Indians deserved the most serious consideration. On the other hand, there were motives, some perhaps not quite pure or patriotic, which disposed government to incline to the side of the East India company; while they were on good terms with them, they might expect their support in parliament, which was no trifling consideration: but, setting aside this circumstance, government conceived it to be their duty to take care that, by throwing open the trade suddenly and completely, they might not injure that very manufacturing and commercial interest which they were disposed to benefit; or that, by admitting all classes of people to our East Indian possessions, they might not render the condition of the natives worse instead of better, or perhaps prepare the means for the loss of our possessions there altogether. The subject, thus delicate, extensive, and important,

government seemed to have considered deeply and impartially; and their decision to grant a renewal of the charter to the East India company, under certain restrictions, satisfied the moderate and impartial part of the nation.

Before we proceed to a brief statement and examination of the general arguments for and against a renewal of the East India charter, (for our limits must necessarily render it very brief,) we shall, in order to leave the main subject completely open to our view, consider one or two of the collateral and subordinate points of discussion. In the first place, it was strenuously disputed, whether, if the trade were made free, it should be extended to the most important out-ports in Great Britain and Ireland, or only confined to the port of London. That this should be a subject of dispute, may seem strange; and many people will be at a loss to conceive by what argument the London merchants, who objected to the monopoly of the East India company, could defend their own claim to monopoly. These arguments were indeed very futile, and display very clearly and lamentably the selfish views, as well as the confined information, of the commercial world. In the first place they contended that, if the trade were opened to the out-ports, those ship-owners, and all other descriptions of people in the metropolis, who had either embarked their capital in the service of the East India company, or who depended upon it for employment and support, would be greatly injured: but even granting that this would be the case, (though by this we furnish ourselves with an answer to



the argument, that the trade, if opened, would be found so very unprofitable that it would revert to the East India company,) might not the same plea be urged in defence of the continuance of all monopolies? Is it not the fact, that wherever they have been long established, many people must depend upon them for employment and support? and is it to be endured, that their annihilation should be objected to, and solely because those who have enjoyed the advantages of them will by their annihilation be stripped of those advantages? If these principles were admitted, indeed, no public evil could be removed; for the existence of every public evil and abuse is connected with the pecuniary benefit of individuals, who consequently would be injured by what would prove advantageous to the nation at large. The second objection which was urged against extending the East India trade to the out-ports was, that in these ports there was neither the capital nor the other means necessary to carry it on: but, if this were the case, is it not evident that the trade, though nominally granted to the out-ports, will, in fact, centre in London? But is there not reason to doubt the accuracy of this statement, when it proceeds from those who would be benefited by its truth? What, in fact, is the substance of this argument;—We are exceedingly anxious that the out-ports should not partake of the East India trade, because, in fact, they are *not* able, from want of capital, &c. to partake of it?—Why then this opposition to their claim? why this apprehension? Lastly, if it was objected on the part of the London merchants, that by extend-

ing the trade to the out-ports, smuggling would become much more general, extensive, and easy; this may be true,—but one would think it is a consideration for government, not for the merchants of London.

The next collateral and subordinate topic related to the trade with China. It was soon ascertained, that government intended to throw open the trade to the East Indies, but to continue the exclusive trade to China in the hands of the company. To this scheme it was objected, that it would in fact leave the most lucrative branch of traffic, and that which, if opened, would afford the greatest relief to our manufactures, in the possession of the company, and thus confirm their monopoly in that particular point in which it ought most especially to have been annulled. This statement could not be denied; for, by the company's own showing, it was evident that the China trade was very profitable: but in defence of the plan of government in this particular, it was with great plausibility urged, that the character and disposition of the Chinese government were of such a singular cast and tendency, that it would be impossible to trade with them, except through the medium of a company; that, if the trade were open, our sailors would be continually involved in disputes with the Chinese; and that the necessary consequence of these disputes would be, that we should be expelled from China altogether.—In reply to this it was observed, that the Americans, who traded pretty extensively to this country, not under the management of a company, has not, in fact, been involved

involved in disputes with the Chinese government, nearly so frequently nor so seriously as our seamen had been; and that the same methods which had kept them free from disputes, might, if adopted and strictly enforced, equally preserve our men from disputes. The evidence given before the house of commons, however, on this point, uniformly tended to prove that the American seamen were more steady and regular, and better behaved than ours; and consequently that no inference could be drawn from the circumstance of their trading peaceably with the Chinese without the means of an exclusive company.—As we are on the subject of the American trade with China, it may not be improper to advert to one supposed fact, on which the advocates for an open trade there were much disposed to rely. They contended that the profits of the East India company from this trade, and especially from the article of tea, were very great; much greater than they ought to be, or would be if the trade were thrown open; and in proof of this they stated, that a certain description of tea, which at the company's sales was generally sold for about 3s. 6d. per pound, (independently of duty,) might always be purchased in America for less than one shilling per pound. In reply to this it was observed, that the Americans certainly could afford to sell their East India commodities cheaper than we could, because their ships were navigated at much less expense; but it was denied either that the company had an unfair profit on tea, or that the Americans could sell the same description of tea so much below its price at the company's sales. The company

could not possibly derive an unfair profit on this article, because, by the express terms of their charter, they were obliged to put up all their teas to public sale, at a very small advance (we believe on most descriptions of teas of not more than one penny per pound) on the prime cost and expenses of that article; hence, all advance above this sum must depend upon the bidders; and, if it were great, should be charged to the company. That the Americans could not sell the same description of tea so much cheaper, as was alleged, than the company sold it, was proved by the unexceptionable evidence of many persons well acquainted with the tea trade in China, who gave testimony to the prime cost of these descriptions of tea in that country, by which it appeared that it was below the price at which the Americans sold it in the United States. And they accounted for the circumstance very satisfactorily: all teas were first offered to the agents of the East India company, and such as were rejected by them were then offered to, and generally bought by, the Americans; so that, in fact, though the names and descriptions of the teas sold in America and at the company's sales might be the same, their qualities were very different. We have thought it right to enter into this explanation, because the circumstance of America having teas so much cheaper than we have them, was considered as a strong reason for opening the Chinese trade.—After all, with respect to the trade, government were probably wise in not opening it at present, but waiting till they saw all the effects of laying open the East India trade.

Having thus considered these

two collateral and inferior points, we shall now proceed to the discussion and examination of the grand and leading question, Ought government to have thrown open the trade, or not? We have already adverted to the argument respecting monopoly; and it may be further remarked that the principles of political œconomy, on which the objections to monopolies of all kinds are founded, are so fundamental and comprehensive, that the circumstance must be very peculiar indeed, which takes any particular monopoly out of their view and operation. It must be acknowledged at the same time, that even Adam Smith, than whom no man was less disposed to qualify or limit the general principles of the important science which he has contributed so largely and successfully to illustrate, is disposed to be of opinion that the East India monopoly was allowable and beneficial. But by this he could not mean that it should never terminate; because, though at the first establishment of the trade it might be necessary, and though, when once established, it might produce such relations and consequences in the state of commercial society as would render its continuance necessary, if not essential; yet the time must arrive, when its destruction, like the destruction of all other monopolies, would be advisable. At that period, whenever it arrived, it could be defended, not on the grounds on which it was originally established, but on distinct and peculiar grounds: these were accordingly stated, in reply to the general objection, on the score of its being a monopoly; and the sum and object of them was, that throwing open the trade, so far from proving beneficial, would be injuri-

ous to the company, to the merchants and manufacturers, to the nation at large, and to the inhabitants of the East Indies. These objections we shall state and examine more fully, in the order in which they are here given.

In the first place, the destruction of the East India monopoly would be injurious to the company. Respecting this, two things are to be considered: whether it would be really injurious, at least to the extent which it was contended it would be; and, if it would be injurious, whether the consideration of this injury should influence the decision of government in a paramount or material degree. By the statements and accounts of the East India company themselves, it appears that the monopoly trade has not been advantageous to them; therefore it may be contended that they cannot have much reason for apprehension, if the trade were opened. But we should be disposed to go further, and to maintain that the probability is, that the throwing open the trade, by producing competition, would compel the East India company to be more attentive to the management of their concerns, and thus remove one cause of their pecuniary embarrassments; for, as has been already observed, monopolies are seldom profitable to the companies which possess them, both because the absence of competition renders them negligent, and because each individual is more interested for himself than for the company. But, granting that the East India company would be materially and permanently injured by throwing open the trade, surely the consideration of this injury ought not to weigh against the interests of the nation at large, or even against the

The interests of any part of it who could be benefited by a trade from which they have hitherto been excluded. The sole question seems to be, whether the public benefit, or the benefit accruing to any class of the nation, by throwing open the trade, would not be greater than the injury inflicted on the East India company by this measure: and this naturally brings us to the second ground of objection to the opening of the trade, viz.

That it would immediately prove highly injurious to the British merchants and manufacturers, and that even ultimately it would not be nearly so advantageous to them as they anticipated and expected. The first part of this assertion rested on the known character of our merchants and manufacturers; on the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed; and on what their conduct had been on former occasions somewhat similar. Their known character led them to speculate, too often, with much more rashness and ignorance than judgement and information; and this speculating disposition, at all times perhaps characteristic of men in trade, had been much increased by the peculiar nature of the trade of these islands for some years; since by its frequent embarrassments, and by its being sometimes very flourishing, and at other times quite depressed, a spirit of gambling and desperate speculation had seized upon a large portion of our merchants; and this spirit was very likely to display itself in all its energy, at a time when their goods were so much accumulated, and when their appetite for speculation must have been keenly whetted by long abstinence. But there was a case nearly in point:—Scarcely had the intelligence of the

capture of Buenos Ayres reached this country, when goods of all descriptions were exported thither; and it was a matter of doubt, whether the ignorance or the rashness displayed on this occasion were more to be censured. The consequences are well known: the first adventurers made large fortunes, adventured again and were ruined; and this ruin extended to many who at first were cautious, but whose caution deserted them when they learnt the success of their more daring brethren. If the infatuation, and consequent ruin, were great in the case of Buenos Ayres, how much greater were they likely to be if the trade to the East Indies were opened! It became therefore the duty of government (the enemies of a free trade exclaimed) to guard the merchants and manufacturers from this ruin. On the other hand, it was contended that merchants should be left at perfect freedom to act as their own interests and experience may direct; since, "when a body of men pay for their folly, all out of their own pockets, we need not fear that it will be a folly of very long duration." At the same time, it must be allowed that it would be a desirable thing to prevent rash and ruinous speculation. But then there is great danger of government, if it does interfere, not interfering with judgement or impartiality; and there is still greater danger from admitting the principle and precedent, that government have a right to interfere in regulating and directing the trade of individuals; so that, upon the whole, even allowing that government in some cases might do good by its interference; yet as, in a much greater number of cases, it would probably do mischief, and this mis-

chief would necessarily be more permanent and extensive than the good; the maxim of political economy is wise and beneficial, which forbids governments to interfere in matters of trade. With respect to the particular case before us, there can be little doubt that, whenever the trade to India is actually opened, there will be much ignorant, rash, and ruinous speculation, and many individuals will suffer eventually: but, provided the trade will ultimately open a regular and extensive market for our goods, this evil being temporary, and having a necessary tendency to cure itself, is comparatively of little moment; and the apprehension, or even the certainty of it, ought not to be esteemed sufficient reasons for continuing the East India monopoly.

But it is further contended, that a trade from this country to the East Indies, even when conducted with adequate information, and with the most comprehensive and calculating prudence, cannot prove nearly so advantageous as is anticipated and expected. This grand point the East India company, in the evidence they brought before the house of commons, seemed most anxious to establish: the substance of this evidence was, that the feelings and habits and manners of the native inhabitants of India are totally different from those of all other people; that they have no desire to possess any of our commodities, at least to any considerable extent; that even the more wealthy classes display no wish for those things with which we could supply them; and that the wants as well as the means of the lower classes are so confined, that they are not either disposed or able to purchase the most trifling and cheap of our commodities. Many of the witnesses, who had been captains of East India ships, stated, that the commodities which by their privilege they were allowed to carry out were almost entirely bought by the Europeans settled in India; and that they had in vain endeavoured to find an extensive, ready, or regular market for them among the natives. On this evidence much weight was laid, as it was argued, if those who united in themselves the characters of merchant and mariner, and who consequently traded with every advantage, could not succeed in selling their commodities among the natives, it was not to be expected that our merchants would succeed if the trade were thrown open. To this it was replied, in the first place, that many of the East India captains had realized large fortunes by their private trade: this however, in all probability, proceeded from the sales which they effected among the resident Europeans. But, in the second place, the very circumstance of their combining the two characters of merchant and mariner, would rather be disadvantageous than favourable to their success in the former character, on the general ground that they could not give such undivided attention to their interests in the latter character as if they had been merchants only. But to consider this branch of the subject on more enlarged principles: it cannot be denied, that at present the natives of India are neither disposed nor able to purchase many of our commodities: there is there no middle class, that class for which our staple manufactures are more particularly adapted; while the lower and more numerous classes are too poor to buy them; and the wealth of the rich

rich is laid out on different articles : it must also be admitted that the character of the natives of India, more particularly of the Hindoos, has been nearly the same for upwards of two thousand years. But the admission of both these circumstances, though they prove that any change in their manners and habits, and consequently in their wants, must be slowly and with great difficulty brought about, by no means proves that such a change is impossible. The Hindoos are constituted like other men; and their character is formed as the character of all other men is formed; less by what nature impresses upon them, than by the situation and circumstances in which they are placed: they are the same or nearly the same now, as they were upwards of two thousand years ago, simply and entirely because their situation and circumstances are nearly the same; they have had little intercourse with nations of very different habits and characters from their own: but it may be presumed, if this intercourse were general, and had continued for a length of time, and were not attended with any violent attempts to change their opinions and habits, that those would gradually undergo a change of themselves. Wherever Europeans have established themselves and mixed with the nations in any part of the world, there the natives have in some degree conformed to the habits and felt the wants of Europeans; and the same consequences would result in India, though more slowly and gradually, because the opinions and habits and wants of the Hindoos have been more strongly confirmed by their longer duration. To suppose otherwise, would be to suppose that they are fashioned by

nature different from other men; and if they are not, then their natural character as men will ultimately prevail over their artificial character as Hindoos, if circumstances are favourable to the change: indeed we have already evidence of the truth of this position; for the sepoy in our service have changed their native dress, and the Hindoo servants of Europeans are clad in a variety of liveries. If therefore one consequence of a free trade would be, that the intercourse between Europeans and the natives would become more general and intimate, another consequence would be, that by this intercourse the natives would change their habits, and feel those wants which could alone be supplied by our manufactures. The other part of the objection, that they have not the means of purchasing our commodities, would in this case soon be removed; for where desire exists strongly, it will lead to the means of its gratification. The Indians have few means now, because they feel few wants: increase their wants, and you will increase their means; render the intercourse between them and Europeans more general and intimate, and you will increase their wants; lay open the trade, and (what would be much more effectual) permit the country to be colonised, and you would soon render the intimacy more general and close. We have dwelt thus long and minutely on this objection, because it has been urged repeatedly, and with great force and confidence; and because it wears a most plausible aspect.—But there are other answers to it of a less important nature which must not be entirely overlooked: the profit of any trade must depend partly upon the extent

extent of the trade and partly upon the terms on which it is carried on: it is contended that a free trade to India would not be advantageous to the British merchant, because the demand there for his commodities is very limited, and because even with that limited demand, even when the supply has been exactly proportioned to it by the East India company, their profit has been very small: hence it is inferred that, if the trade were in the hands of merchants who would not proportion the supply to the demand, it would be a losing trade. This argument consists of three parts: that the British merchants would speculate rashly and ignorantly; that the market in India cannot be extended; and that the profit, even when the supply is proportioned to the demand, is very trifling. The first two parts we have already examined at sufficient length; it is only necessary therefore, in this place, to examine the third branch of this argument. The company, it is said, though always regulating their exports by the demand for them, do not gain by the trade: but it should be recollected that monopolies always trade with disadvantage; and that, besides this general cause of unprofitable trade, there are particular causes, which came out in evidence before the house of commons; the most material of which we shall specify.

In the first place, the rate of freight which the company pay in time of war, averages between 50 and 60*l.* a ton; this must eat up a great share of the profits: individuals would procure ships at a much cheaper rate.

In the second place, not more than seven or eight voyages are performed in seventeen or eighteen

years; the ships are fitted out in the most expensive manner; and the company, instead of trading, load them in many instances with naval and military stores: none of these things would occur with individuals: in fact, the union of the two characters of merchants and sovereigns must have a tendency to render the company's trade unprofitable.

In the third place, when the produce of India is imported into London, it is lodged in the company's warehouses; and instead of advantage being taken of good markets, a period is fixed on for the sale of the whole by public auction, whether there be a demand for the goods or not.

In the last place, the charter of the company obliged them to import saltpetre and to export cloth, whether there was a demand for these articles or not; of course these must often have caused a loss.

That these are causes of an unprofitable trade is sufficiently obvious; and that they would be removed if the trade were open, is evident from the example of America: voyages are performed from that country and back again sometimes in seven months, and seldom in more than nine and ten; and from their more economical mode of conducting the traffic in other respects, they have been enabled to supply not only their own wants, but the wants of a great part of the continent of Europe.

The case of America however was brought forward by the directors and proprietors of the East India company as a further proof of the impracticability of extending the consumption of British produce and manufactures in India; because, they contend, the Americans would not have been in the constant habit

habit of taking with them nothing but dollars, if any thing else would have answered their purpose as well. But, in the first place, it is not correct that the Americans carry dollars only; since their ships are generally, if not always, laden with full cargoes of small cost indeed, but of great bulk; and the dollars are taken merely to pay the balance, since the value of their cargoes would not be equivalent to the value of the commodities which they require. In the second place, the great object of the Americans is the homeward investment, not the outward cargo; consequently by taking dollars they save time, not being obliged first to sell and then to buy, and besides enter the market on better terms. Lastly, the case of America does not apply to us: she is not a manufacturing country: we are. If she took out manufactures to India, they must have been previously purchased by us, and consequently could not meet ours in the market. But the most material reply to the argument drawn from the case of the Americans is, that under other circumstances, the nature as well as the extent of the Indian market would be essentially changed whenever, as we have stated above, our intercourse with the Indians changed their habits and wants.

In the third place, it is contended by the opponents of a free trade, that it would not only be injurious to the company, and the merchants and manufacturers, but to the nation at large: this objection, however, is so essentially involved in the last which we have considered, that it is scarcely necessary to dwell upon it any further; for it would not be easy to prove how a trade, that would give life to our

manufactures, employment to our superfluous population and capital, and extension to our commerce, could be hurtful to the nation: if we have rendered it probable that such would be the *ultimate and permanent* effects of a free trade to India, we have in fact proved that the nation must be benefited. It is asserted however that the revenue would suffer materially, as there would be great room for smuggling in case of a free trade: let us allow that smuggling would be increased, still it may be doubted whether the revenue would be diminished; indeed, if the East India trade flourished and extended, it is probable that this extension would bring more into the revenue than would be taken out of it by smuggling. But assuredly means might be fallen upon to prevent an increase of smuggling; and even if no such means can be suggested, is the extension of trade to be prevented because smuggling will thereby be increased? would this mode of argument be adopted or listened to, if applied to any plan for extending our commerce in any other branch where duties are paid? would not that man be laughed at, who should object to a plan for procuring cotton in larger quantities—because thus the facilities of evading the duty on it might be increased? But this objection is too paltry to be seriously considered, when the object is one of such infinite importance as the regulation of our East Indian trade.

Lastly, it was contended that by opening the trade the inhabitants of our Indian empire would be injured. This certainly is paying ourselves no compliment; for what is it but asserting, that an intercourse with us will injure and not benefit



benefit them? But let us consider the objection more particularly and closely; it consists of two parts.

In the first place, it is said that the English nation in general, and in particular that class of them which would be most disposed to go to India, are very injudicious and rude in their attacks on the peculiar habits and prejudices of foreigners; and that, from the high idea they entertain of themselves, they are very apt to be haughty and violent in their intercourse with them.—This natural disposition being combined with the feeling and persuasion which, it is said, every Englishman in India possesses, that some share of the sovereignty of the country belongs to him, as a native of Britain, it is supposed, would lead him to behave towards the East Indians in such a manner as not only would be hurtful to their feelings and their comfort, but might even provoke them to resistance and rebellion. It is not meant to deny that there is much truth in this statement: but the inference is, not that India should be kept locked up from Englishmen in general, but that they should be governed and watched while there with great strictness and impartiality; and that the natives should soon by experience learn, that the British government was willing and able to protect them from oppression and violence. The ultimate and grand question, when these objections are urged, should always be put:—Would not the Hindoos and other natives of India be better in every respect;—better in their intellect, in their morals, and in the comfort and happiness of their lives, if they were more like Europeans;—if they could be induced to change their

present ignorance, degradation, and superstition, for the knowledge, independence, and christianity of Englishmen? There can be no doubt that by this change their situation and character in every respect would be improved; but it cannot be effected unless they come more closely, generally, and permanently in contact with Englishmen than they now do, under a restricted trade; and therefore all partial and temporary evil ought to be regarded as comparatively of no moment, if the great object can be obtained of bettering their situation and character.

Nearly the same remarks will apply to the second part of this objection: that a free trade, by opening the door to missionaries of all descriptions, would create disturbances in India, and thus prove injurious to the natives as well as to Britain. It appears surprising to us, how any people who profess christianity can object to the employment of means for the conversion of the natives of India: yet some object, not merely to the modes proposed for their conversion, but even to any attempt of the kind. That no beneficial change would be effected by merely gaining their assent to doctrines which they did not understand, or by inducing them to perform the ceremonies, while they were strangers to the moral influence of christianity, we certainly admit;—and if the risque of provoking them to rebellion were incurred on this account, we should say that it was incurred for purposes at once contemptible and mischievous:—but when the object is of a higher cast, when it aims at the real conversion of the Hindoos, at the conversion of their ignorance into knowledge,

knowledge, and of their gross and horrid superstitions into pure and undefiled christianity,—this object ought not to be neglected and thrown aside from the apprehension of any common danger which may attend its accomplishment. But we are far from thinking that, if this object were pursued as it ought to be;—if the purification of their religious ideas and practices were preceded by their instruction in the arts of civilization and comfort;—and if the whole process were properly and judiciously digested before it was begun; and carried through under the superintendence and control of humane, circumspect, and enlightened men;—any serious evil or danger would result. The Quakers, in the mode which they have adopted and pursued for the conversion of the Indians in America, have set us an example of good sense and rational piety, which all who engage in the solemn and difficult work of proselytism ought most carefully to study, and most scrupulously to follow. They began by gaining the respect, confidence, and good-will of the Indians, by improving their condition in life: they aimed at civilizing them before they attempted to convert them; and after the Indians had experienced the advantages of listening to them on what respected the happiness of this life, they were not only more disposed but better able to listen to them, and comprehend what they taught respecting a life to come. Such ought to be our plan, with respect to the conversion of the natives of the East Indies.

We have thus examined this important subject in its principal bearings and relations, as extensively and minutely as our limits would admit; and as it cannot be

deemed a subject unconnected with British history, or indifferent to Britons, we trust that we shall be excused for having devoted so much room to it. We shall now conclude this chapter, with offering a few remarks on the plan which government actually pursued with regard to the renewal of the charter.

In the first place, as interfering with a monopoly so long and extensively established as that of the East India company was certainly a matter of serious and complicated difficulty, they acted wisely and prudently in examining the subject with the utmost care and attention. Evidence was heard at considerable length before the house of commons; and though it necessarily consisted, for the most part, of those who had been in the service of the company, and who consequently had a partial feeling towards their views and interests, yet much useful information was collected.

In the second place, government appear to have acted prudently and wisely, in not only examining this evidence at great length, but also in proffering such a renewed charter to the company, as would at once secure them part of their exclusive privileges, and give them time and opportunity to prepare themselves for the loss of the whole; for though we have contended against the monopoly, we are not such rash and unadvised speculators, as to maintain that a monopoly which had existed so long, and which of course had incorporated itself so intimately with many parts of our political and commercial system, and on the continuance of which so many persons depended for the necessary or comfortable means of subsistence, should be at once entirely destroyed: a gradual preparation

preparation was necessary for those who were interested in its continuance, as well as for those who hoped to reap benefit from its destruction.

When the question respecting the renewal of their charter was first agitated, the directors and proprietors of the East India company assumed high ground, and seemed disposed not to accept of a new charter, unless it were granted them on their own terms; but their tone changed, when they witnessed the firmness of government, and that the nation was against their pretensions.

Some time must necessarily elapse before the real and permanent ef-

fects of opening the trade to India, either in a political or a commercial point of view, or as they will operate on the situation and character of the natives, can be clearly and accurately ascertained; and we should be upon our guard against mistaking and confounding the immediate consequences with the necessary and permanent consequences. In all great political and commercial changes, much confusion and partial evil must at first result: it requires a considerable time to elapse before every thing adjusts itself to the change; and till this adjustment takes place, any judgement that is formed must be rash, premature, and unjust.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Transactions respecting the Princess of Wales—possess both a political and a moral Interest—First Communication to the Prince in 1805—Warrant for Investigation, May 1806—Report of the Commissioners—acquit the Princess of the criminal Charges—but not entirely of the others—Letters of the Princess to the King, August 12 and 17—Abstract of her Letter of October, in which she enters into a full and minute Examination of all the Evidence—complaints of the Substance of the Proceeding, and the unfair and indecorous Conduct of the Commissioners, in not letting her know immediately the Result of the Report—Remarks on the Testimony of Lady Douglas—on Cole's Deposition respecting Sir Sydney Smith—and Mr. Lawrence—on the Evidence respecting Captain Manby—Conclusion of the Letter—Delay in admitting her to the Royal Presence—her Remonstrance on the Cause of it—Change of Ministers—New Ministry completely avow her Innocence—Her Letter to the Prince, January 1813—Proceedings on it—Her Letter to the Speaker—Addresses to her—Conduct of Ministers, Opposition, &c. on this Occasion.*

**A**LTHOUGH the inhabitants of this country take a greater interest in, and pay more attention to *politics*, strictly so called, than the inhabitants of any other country in Europe; yet it does not often happen, that the circumstances which call forth and display this disposition, also appeal to feelings

less circumscribed in their nature, and more peculiarly and generally characteristic of mankind. In the year 1813 such circumstances however did occur in Great Britain; and a political event occurred, which, while in that character it was strongly calculated to excite attention and interest, also spoke most

most powerfully to the feelings of every person who was the friend of injured innocence, and who sympathized in the distresses, and felt joyful at the triumph, of that innocence. We allude to the events which took place respecting the princess of Wales. To the mere cold politician they were important, as they threatened to affect the succession to the throne, and as they were calculated to display most thoroughly the characters and conduct of some of the highest personages in the state, as well as those who were at the head of the different political parties; while the same events were most interesting to all who considered that the person to whom they related was a female of the highest rank, a deserted wife, a stranger, and a mother deprived in a great measure of the society of her daughter. In order, however, to give a clear, connected, and complete view of this business, it will be necessary to trace the transactions relative to the princess of Wales from the beginning.

In the month of November, 1805, the duke of Sussex informed the prince of Wales, that sir John Douglas had made known to him some circumstances respecting the behaviour of the princess of Wales, which, in the opinion of the duke, it was of the highest importance that the prince should hear, as they must, if true, not only affect the honour and peace of mind of his royal highness, but also the security of the succession to the throne: the duke added, that sir John and lady Douglas were willing, if called upon for that purpose, to make a full disclosure of all they knew respecting the conduct of the princess of Wales; and that the duke of Kent had known of these circum-

stances in some measure for more than twelve months. His royal highness was naturally much astonished at this communication; and particularly that the duke of Kent should have been so silent on a matter of such infinite importance to his feelings and honour: he therefore requested the duke to state what had been communicated to him, and also to explain the reason why he had hitherto kept it concealed from the person most affected by it.

Upon this the duke of Kent gave in a written declaration; the substance of which was, that about the end of 1804 he had received a note from the princess of Wales, informing him that she had got into an unpleasant dispute with sir John and lady Douglas, in consequence of their charging her with having sent the latter an anonymous letter and a loose drawing; and she requested the duke to use his endeavour to settle the difference between them, or at least prevent the subject from being talked of. The duke upon this had an interview with sir John Douglas, who persisted in his belief that the letter and drawing were the work of her royal highness; and was with difficulty prevailed upon by the duke to abstain from a prosecution. In the course of their conversation on this subject, sir John spoke with great indignation of the conduct of the princess, and threatening, if he should be annoyed again, to make further disclosures: as, however, the duke of Kent, at last, pacified him, he thought it unnecessary to trouble the prince with these circumstances, considering the whole as a gossiping story, which might be entirely founded on the misapprehension of the parties. The prince, however, was not satisfied that

that the matter should remain in this unpleasant and unsatisfactory state; and sir John and lady Douglas made a formal declaration of all that they conceived themselves bound to charge the princess of Wales with; which was submitted by the prince to the late lord Thurlow. He gave it as his opinion, that his royal highness had no alternative, but that his duty imperiously called upon him to submit it to the king, as the royal succession might be affected if the allegations were true: the nature and extent of these allegations will be afterwards seen in the course of this narrative. In consequence of this opinion of lord Thurlow, and some further examinations which took place, the declarations of William and Sarah Lampert, (servants to sir John Douglas,) William Cole, Robert and Sarah Bidgood, Frances Loyd, and sir John and lady Douglas, were submitted to his majesty, who thereupon issued a warrant, in May 1806, directing and authorizing lord Erskine as lord chancellor, lord Grenville as first lord of the treasury, earl Spencer as one of the secretaries of state, and lord Ellenborough as chief justice of the court of king's bench, "to inquire into the truth of the allegations, and to report to him thereon."

The statements made by sir John and lady Douglas, and the other persons who were examined, not only imputed to her royal highness great impropriety of behaviour, but accused her, partly on the ground of what she had said herself, and partly on the observation of the informants, that she had been pregnant in 1802, in consequence of illicit intercourse, and that she had been that year secretly delivered of a child, which had

been brought up in her own house, and under her own inspection. Sir John Douglas swore positively to his having observed the fact of pregnancy; and lady Douglas, not only that she had observed it, but that her royal highness made not the least scruple of talking about it. To this point, therefore, as by far the most serious, the commissioners directed their first and particular attention; and after having well and carefully weighed all the evidence and circumstances attending the alleged pregnancy, they declared, in their report to his majesty, their firm conviction that there was no foundation whatever for believing that the child which lived with her royal highness was her own child; or that she had been delivered of any child in the year 1802; or that she had ever been pregnant that year, or at any other period within the compass of their inquiries. They next proceeded to examine the truth of the other allegations; on which they gave it as their opinion, that several strong circumstances respecting the improper conduct of her royal highness had been positively sworn to by witnesses who could not in their judgement be suspected of any unfavourable bias, and whose veracity, in this respect, they had seen no ground to question. They concluded their report with expressing their opinion generally, that as, on the one hand, the facts of pregnancy and delivery were to their mind satisfactorily disproved—so, on the other hand, they thought that the circumstances to which they referred respecting the conduct of her royal highness, particularly those stated to have passed between her and captain Manby, must be credited till they should receive some decisive contradiction;

tradiction; and, if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration."

This report was dated the 14th of July, but a copy of it was not delivered to the princess of Wales till the 11th of August. On the following day she wrote to his majesty on the subject: she began by stating that she had flattered herself that the commissioners would not have delivered in their report before they had been informed of various circumstances, which, to a delicate-minded woman, it must be very unpleasant for her to have spread, without having the means to exculpate herself. Her observations on the other parts of the conduct of the commissioners also were very pertinent and severe; they had given credit to evidence taken behind her back, without her knowledge, and which she had had no means or opportunity to refute: she had not even been allowed to explain or account for any part of her behaviour, which might, without such explanation, seem to be improper. In short, she had been condemned in an unfair and unjust manner, and therefore conceived that she had a right to complain to his majesty on the subject, and to request of him his protection. On the 17th of August she again wrote to the king, having in the mean time consulted with her legal advisers: they informed her, and upon their information she stated to his majesty, that the copies of the report, and of the accompanying papers, which were sent to her, were unauthenticated; that in some parts of them there had been *erasures*; and that copies of the written declarations upon which the report proceeded, had not been transmitted to her: she therefore begged that his ma-

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jesty would give directions that the copies of the report, &c. might be authenticated, and that copies of the declarations might be sent to her. She also requested that she might be informed who were her accusers, and how many there were of them, in order that she might judge of the credit due to their accusations, and be enabled to refute them. His majesty was graciously pleased to order copies of the declarations to be sent; but of the other parts of her royal highness's letter no notice seems to have been taken.

Having received these papers, the princess of Wales submitted them to her legal advisers, the principal of whom is understood to have been the late Mr. Perceval; and on the 2d of October 1806 she transmitted to his majesty her observations on the charges against her, and on the evidence on which they rested, in a very long letter. This letter is drawn up with uncommon ability: while it displays a very considerable portion of acuteness and penetration, such as might have been expected from the legal experience and talents of Mr. Perceval, there are in it many passages distinguished by that dignified, solemn, and pathetic tone of remonstrance and feeling, which could only have proceeded from the person most interested in the subject. The letter is so very long, that we can only notice the most important parts of it; those parts which either examine the most material evidence with the greatest acuteness and effect, or which display the character and frame of mind of her royal highness the most clearly and completely.

After mentioning that the extravagance of the malice of sir John and lady Douglas had defeated

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feated itself, she complains that there still remained imputations, "strangely sanctioned and countenanced by the report," respecting which she could not remain silent without incurring the most fatal consequences to her honour and character; since the report distinctly and emphatically stated, that the circumstances detailed against her must be credited, till they were decisively contradicted. Against the substance of the proceeding itself, and the manner in which it was conducted, however, she first of all considers herself bound to protest, especially that any of the charges should ever have been entertained upon testimony so little worthy of credit; charges which displayed in every sentence the motive in which they originated; and that, if it had been thought proper to investigate them, the ordinary legal modes of inquiry were not pursued, but one adopted which was open to many objections, and which could not do her justice, while it debarred her entirely from proceeding against those witnesses who had most foully and falsely calumniated her character. She was willing, however, to suppose that the commissioners, through the pressure and urgency of their official occupations, "did not, perhaps could not," give that attention to the case which must have enabled them to detect the villainy of her accusers. Still she could not help most solemnly protesting against their giving in such a report upon *ex parte* examination, without affording her an opportunity of explaining or defending her conduct, or even hearing one word which she could urge. However, she conceived, she should have no reason to lament, that at last, a fit opportu-

nity had occurred for laying open her heart to his majesty. For more than two years, she had been informed that her conduct had been made the subject of investigation, and that her neighbours' servants had been examined concerning it; but the cause of this she did not learn for some time, nor till the investigation had actually taken place. "His royal highness the duke of Kent on the 7th of June announced it to me. He announced to me, the princess of Wales, in the first communication made to me with respect to this proceeding, the near approach of two attorneys (one of them, I since find, the solicitor employed by sir John Douglas,) claiming to enter my dwelling with a warrant, to take away one half of my household for immediate examination upon a charge against myself. Of the nature of that charge I was then uninformed. It now appears it was the charge of high treason committed in the infamous crime of adultery. His royal highness, I am sure, will do me the justice to represent to your majesty, that I betrayed no fear; that I manifested no symptoms of conscious guilt; that I sought no excuses to prepare or to tutor my servants for the examination which they were to undergo."

From this period, till the appearance of the report, her royal highness stated that her impatience had been most painful, but at the same time most natural: it was known, not only to her, but to the whole world, that an inquiry of the most delicate nature and tendency had been instituted into her conduct; and she looked to the result, with an absolute conviction that her innocence and honour would be established, to the dismay and disgrace of her accusers; she had taught herself

herself most firmly to believe, "that it was *utterly impossible*, that any opinion which could in the smallest degree work a prejudice to her honour and character, could ever be expressed in any terms, by any persons, in a report upon a solemn formal inquiry, and more especially to his majesty, without her having some notice, and some opportunity of being heard." Had only the ordinary means and opportunities granted to accused persons been granted to her; had she been treated as the lowest person in the state, if accused of the most trifling crime, would assuredly have been treated, her honour and innocence must then, in any opinion which could have been expressed, have been fully vindicated, and effectually established. "What then, sire, must have been my astonishment and my dismay, when I saw that notwithstanding the principal accusation was found to be utterly false, yet some of the witnesses to those charges which were brought in support of the principal accusation—witnesses, whom any person interested to have protected my character would easily have shown, out of their own mouths, to be utterly unworthy of credit, and confederates in foul conspiracy with my false accusers—are reported to be 'free from all suspicion of unfavourable bias!'—their veracity, 'in the judgement of the commissioners, not to be questioned!'—and their infamous stories and insinuations against me, to be 'such as deserve the most serious consideration, and as must be credited till decisively contradicted!'"

Her royal highness next proceeds, again to notice the delay which took place in sending a copy of the report to her: if her innocence were thoroughly established

by it, she had a right to be immediately informed of that circumstance; if the report condemned her, the weight of such a sentence should not have been left to settle in any mind, much less in the mind of his majesty, without giving her an opportunity of clearing her character. "And why all consideration of my feelings was thus cruelly neglected;—why I was kept upon the rack, during all this time, ignorant of the result of a charge which affected my honour and my life;—and why, especially in a case where such grave matters were to continue to be 'credited,' to the prejudice of my honour, 'till they were decidedly contradicted,' the means of knowing what it was that I must at least endeavour to contradict were withholden from me a single unnecessary hour, I know not, and I will not hurt myself in the attempts to conjecture." After these preliminary and general remarks, her royal highness points out the hardship she had suffered by the proceeding having been under warrant or commission: had the inquiry been entered into before his majesty's privy council, or before any magistrates who were legally authorized to take cognisance of treason, the investigation would have been conducted in a more methodical manner, and in a manner which would have preserved her from hearing matters made the subject of inquiry, which had in law no substantive, criminal character; and from having her reputation injured by calumny, which, though proved to be unfounded, could not be punished. The letter next proceeds to make particular observations on the report itself, and on the examinations: it is of course impossible for us to follow her royal highness through nearly all these



observations:—the most important, however, either in respect to the falsity of the charges brought against her, or as displaying her feelings and character, we shall give in as brief a manner as possible.

She dwells with great force of argument on the extreme improbability of lady Douglas's accusation respecting her pregnancy: to believe it, it is necessary to believe "that a person guilty of so foul a crime as adultery, so highly penal—so fatal to her honour, her station, and her life—should gratuitously and uselessly have confessed it;" and not only confessed the fact, but have added to this madness, the still greater madness, if possible, of determining to bring up the child in her own house, and to suckle it herself.—But those who could credit all this, were called upon to lend their faith to more: for, if the statements of lady Douglas were true, the princess, after having thus made her her confidante in a case where her honour and her life were at stake, sought an occasion, wantonly and without provocation, from the mere fickleness and wilfulness of her own mind, to quarrel with her; to insult her openly and violently; to endeavour to ruin her reputation; and to expose her in infamous and indecent drawings, in letters to her husband!—As however the commissioners most unequivocally and decidedly acquitted her of the charges of adultery and pregnancy, she goes to consider the other charges, which, though they involved, comparatively speaking, no criminality, the commissioners were disposed to think entitled to some credit. She very justly complains that these charges are brought forward, and reported

upon, not merely as containing substantive matters in themselves, but as containing evidence of the charges of pregnancy and delivery; and that the commissioners hint at particulars and circumstances, which in their judgement must give occasion to the most unfavourable interpretations, and which must be credited till they are decidedly contradicted—without ever specifying what these circumstances are. There were indeed circumstances respecting captain Manby particularized; but they contained much matter of opinion, of hearsay, of suspicion. Are these hearsays, are these opinions, are these suspicions and conjectures of these witnesses to be believed against me, unless decidedly contradicted? How can I decidedly contradict any person's opinion? I may reason against its justice, but how can I contradict it? Or, how can I decidedly contradict any thing which is not precisely specified, nor distinctly known to me?"

The witnesses who, in the opinion of the commissioners, were particularly deserving of credit, were W. Cole, R. Bidgood, F. Loyd, and Mrs. Lisle: the evidence of the last her royal highness examines separately, because, as she had a high respect for her character, she could not wish it to be thought that the observations she should feel herself compelled to make on the testimony of the other witnesses, in the smallest degree applied to her.—In the deposition of W. Cole, sir Sydney Smith is the first person mentioned; with whom he asserted her royal highness was too intimate:—but allowing the truth of all this witness stated, what did this intimacy amount to?—that her royal highness was amused and interested with sir Sydney Smith's con-

conversation, and with his account of the various and extraordinary events and heroic achievements in which he had been concerned.—On lady Douglas's depositions to the same effect, her royal highness makes the following pointed and just remarks, which indeed go far to destroy the credibility of all her evidence:—these remarks are delivered with all that proud and sarcastic display of feeling, which in several other parts characterizes this letter: “Your majesty will have an excellent portraiture of the true female delicacy and purity of my lady Douglas's mind and character, when you will observe that she seems wholly insensible into what a sink of infamy she degrades herself, by her testimony against me. It is, not only that it appears from her statement that she was contented to live in familiarity and apparent friendship with me after the confession which I had made of my adultery—for, by the indulgence and liberality, as it is called, of modern manners, the company of adulteresses has ceased to reflect that discredit upon the characters of other women who admit of their society, which the best interests of female virtue may, perhaps, require—but she was contented to live in familiarity with a woman, who, if lady Douglas's evidence of me is true, was a most low, vulgar, and profligate disgrace to her sex; the grossness of whose ideas and conversation would add infamy to the lowest, most vulgar, and most infamous prostitute.”

The commissioners had said, that the charge respecting the princess of Wales and sir Sydney Smith must, in their opinion, be credited; till it was decidedly contradicted; but they had not thought proper to explain how inferences and unfavourable

interpretations of conduct could be decidedly contradicted: there could be no other mode, but the declaration of the princess and sir Sydney Smith: the latter, in consequence of his absence from the country, could not make his declaration; but the princess in the most solemn manner denied the charge. “I am sure, however, your majesty will feel for the humiliated and degrading situation to which this report has reduced your daughter-in-law, the princess of Wales; when you see her reduced to the necessity of either risking the danger, that the most unfavourable interpretations should be credited; or else of stating, as I am now degraded to the necessity of stating, that not only no adulterous or criminal, but no indecent or improper intercourse whatever, ever subsisted between sir Sydney Smith and myself; or any thing which I should have objected that all the world should have seen!”

The next person with whom any improper intercourse was insinuated, was Mr. Lawrence the painter; and this charge rested on the evidence of Cole. But had the commissioners sifted and examined this evidence, as they ought to have done? had they conducted their inquiries on this point, as if they wished to learn the whole truth, and nothing but the truth? The princess did not wish or mean to push these questions; but she could not help lamenting, that Mr. Cole was not examined against Mr. Cole; as, if he had, his prevarications and his falsehoods could never have escaped the commissioners. The letter then proceeds to point out some most material and palpable contradictions in Cole's evidence: “Is this one of those witnesses who cannot be suspected of un-

favourable bias, and whose veracity is not to be questioned, and whose evidence must be credited till decidedly contradicted?"

The next person with whom the examinations charged the princess with improper familiarity, and with regard to whom the report represented the evidence as particularly strong, was captain Manby: the witnesses in support of this charge were Bidgood, Loyd, and Mrs. Lisle:—the last stated that her royal highness behaved to captain Manby only as any woman would who likes flirting. She would not have thought any married woman would have behaved properly, who behaved as her royal highness did to captain Manby. She cannot say whether the princess was attached to captain Manby;—only that it was a flirting conduct. But this flirting conduct could not have been any thing very improper, because it passed openly in the company of the princess's ladies, of whom Mrs. Lisle herself was one. After this general remark, the princess goes on to state in a very frank and full manner, the origin and the circumstances of her acquaintance with captain Manby; and then thus solemnly appeals to his majesty: "Let me conjure your majesty; over and over again, before you suffer this circumstance to prejudice me in your opinion, not only to weigh all the circumstances I have stated, but to look round the first ranks of female virtue in this country, and see how many women there are of most unimpeached reputation, of most unsullied and unsuspected honour, character, and virtue, whose conduct, though living happily with their husbands, if submitted to the judgement of persons of a severer cast of mind, especially if saddened at the moment

by calamity, might be styled to be flirting."—"How would it be endured, that the judgement of one man should be asked, and recorded in a solemn report, against the conduct of another, either with respect to his behaviour to his children, or to his wife, or to any other relative? How would it be endured, in general, (and I trust that my case ought not in this respect to form an exception,) that one woman should in a similar manner be placed in judgement upon the conduct of another? and that judgement be reported, where her character was of most importance to her, as amongst things which must be credited till decidedly contradicted? Let every one put these questions home to their own breasts, and, before they impute blame to me for protesting against the fairness and justice of this procedure, ask how they would feel upon it, if it were their own case?—But, perhaps, they cannot bring their imaginations to conceive that it could ever become their own case: a few months ago, I could not have believed that it would have been mine."

The evidence of Bidgood respecting captain Manby is next investigated: he swore that in the reflection of a looking-glass he saw the princess of Wales and the captain salute one another: notwithstanding the incredibility of this statement, and that it rested solely upon his testimony, yet the commissioners do not seem to have put a single question to him, to try and sift the credit which was due to him and his story; but, assuming that he was telling the truth, and not paying attention to the circumstances of his deposition—that in a room with the door open, and a servant known to be waiting just by, such a scene of gross indecency should

should have been acted—they declare him without hesitation to be the witness of truth, of unquestionable veracity. He does not appear even to have been asked, to whom he told the fact before; when he told it; what was done in consequence of his information; and, if he never told it, how he could account for having concealed it so long?—The next circumstance of Bidgood's deposition went still further; it went to accuse her royal highness of criminal intercourse with captain Manby: and this implied accusation rested on some unimportant facts, relative to putting out the candles, the placing of basons and towels, &c. "What is the charge (she indignantly asks) that he would insinuate? That I meditated, and effected, a stolen, secret, clandestine intercourse with an adulterer? No—Captain Manby, it seems, according to his insinuation, slept with me in my own house, under circumstances of such notoriety, that it was impossible that any of my female attendants, at least, should not have known it. Their duties were varied on the occasion; they had to supply basons and towels in places where they never were supplied except when prepared for him; and they were not only purposely so prepared, but prepared in an open passage, exposed to view, in a manner to excite the suspicion of those who were not admitted into the secret! And what a secret was it that was thus to be hazarded? No less than what, if discovered, would fix captain Manby and myself with high treason. Not only therefore must I have been thus careless of reputation, and eager for infamy; but I must have been as careless of my life as of my honour. Lost to all sense of shame, surely I must have

still retained some regard for life."

"But, sire, may I ask, did the commissioners believe this man's suspicions? If they did, what do they mean by saying that these facts of great indecency, &c. went to a much less extent than the principal charges; and that it was not for them to state their bearing and effect? The bearing of this fact, unquestionably, if believed, is the same as that of the principal charge; namely, to prove me guilty of high treason. They, therefore, could not believe it; but if they did not believe it, and, as it seems to me, sire, no men of common judgement could on such a statement, how could they bring themselves to name Mr. Bidgood as one of those witnesses on whose unbiassed testimony they could so rely?"

The next deposition which her royal highness examines is that of Fanny Loyd; who swore that one of the medical attendants of the princess told her that the princess was with child, or looked as if she was with child:—this deposition was most pointedly contradicted by the medical attendant alluded to: and yet Fanny Loyd was declared by the commissioners to be a person whose credit there appeared no reason to question. But, on this point, the princess complains that the conduct of the commissioners was unfair in another respect; for though the fact, that the medical attendant positively contradicted what Fanny Loyd asserted, was known when the declarations were forwarded to his majesty, this contradiction was not stated; while the charge of Fanny Loyd, which it so fully refuted, was recorded.

The other allegations are examined with equal acuteness, and rebutted with equal success: but as they were of minor importance

we shall pass them over, and conclude our account of this letter by extracting some of the closing paragraphs, which are distinguished for their solemn and pathetic eloquence:

"But, how am I to insure a patient attention to all this statement? How many will hear that the lord high chancellor, the lord chief justice of the king's bench, the first lord of the treasury, and one of your majesty's principal secretaries of state, have reported against me, upon evidence which they have declared to be unbiassed and unquestionable; who will never have the opportunity, or, if they had the opportunity, might not have the inclination, to correct the error of that report by the examination of my statement?

"I feel, therefore, that by this proceeding my character has received essential injury. For a princess of Wales to have been placed in a situation in which it was essential to her honour to request one gentleman to swear that he was not locked up at midnight in a room with her alone;—and another, that he did not give her a lascivious salute, and never slept in her house,—is to have been actually degraded and disgraced. I have been, sire, placed in this situation: I have been cruelly,—your majesty will permit me to say so,—cruelly degraded into the necessity of making such requests: a necessity which I never could have been exposed to, even under this inquiry, if more attention had been given to the examination of these malicious charges, and of the evidence on which they rest.

"If, indeed, after the most diligent and anxious inquiry, penetrating into every circumstance connected with the charge, searching

every source from which information could be derived, and scrutinizing with all that acuteness into the credit and character of the witnesses, which great experience, talent, and intelligence could bring to such a subject; and above all, if, after giving me some opportunity of being heard, the force of truth had, at length, compelled any persons to form, as reluctantly and as unwillingly as they would against their own daughters, the opinion that has been pronounced;—no regard, unquestionably, to my honour and character, nor to that of your majesty's family, as in some degree involved in mine, could have justified the suppression of that opinion, if legally called for, in the course of official and public duty. Whether such caution and reluctance are really manifest in these proceedings, I must leave to less partial judgements than my own to determine.

"In the full examination of these proceedings, which justice to my own character has required of me, I have been compelled to make many observations which I fear may prove offensive to persons in high power. But, "under" the circumstances of the report, "sire, what could I do? Could I forbear; in justice to myself, to announce to your majesty the existence of a conspiracy against my honour, and my station in this country at least, if not against my life? Could I forbear to point out, to your majesty how long this intended mischief had been meditated against me? Could I forbear to point out my doubts, at least, of the legality of the commission under which the proceeding had been had? or to point out the errors and inaccuracies into which the great and able men, who were named in this commission, under

der the hurry and pressure of their great official occupations, had fallen in the execution of this duty? Could I forbear to state, and to urge the great injustice and injury that had been done to my character and honour, by opinions pronounced against me without hearing me? And if, in the execution of this great task so essential to my honour, I have let drop any expressions which a colder and more cautious prudence would have checked, I appeal to your majesty's warm heart and generous feelings to suggest my excuse, and to afford my pardon.

"What I have said, I have said under the pressure of much misfortune; under the provocation of great and accumulated injustice. Oh! sire, to be unfortunate, and scarce to feel at liberty to lament; to be cruelly used, and to feel it almost an offence and a duty to be silent,—is a hard lot; but use had in some degree injured me to it.—But to find my misfortunes and injuries imputed to me as faults; to be called to account upon a charge made against me by lady Douglas, who was thought at first worthy of credit, although she had pledged her veracity to the fact of my having admitted that I was myself the aggressor in every thing of which I had to complain,—has subdued all power of patient bearing; and when I was called upon by the commissioners, either to admit by my silence the guilt which they imputed to me, or to enter into my defence in contradiction to it,—no longer at liberty to remain silent, I, perhaps, have not known how, with exact propriety, to limit my expressions.

"In happier days of my life, before my spirit had been yet at all lowered by misfortune, I should have been disposed to have met

such a charge with the contempt which, I trust, by this time, your majesty thinks due to it. I should have been disposed to have defied my enemies to the utmost, and to have scorned to answer to any thing but a legal charge before a competent tribunal; but in my present misfortunes, such force of mind is gone. I ought, perhaps, so far to be thankful to them for their wholesome lessons of humility. I have therefore entered into this long detail, to endeavour to remove, at the first possible opportunity, any unfavourable impressions; to rescue myself from the dangers which the continuance of these suspicions might occasion, and preserve to me your majesty's good opinion, in whose kindness hitherto I have found infinite consolation, and to whose justice, under all circumstances, I can confidently appeal.

"Under the impression of these sentiments, I throw myself at your majesty's feet. I know that whatever sentiments of resentment, whatever wish for redress, by the punishment of my false accusers, I ought to feel, your majesty, as the father of a stranger smarting under false accusations—as the head of your illustrious house dishonoured in me—and as the great guardian of the laws of your kingdom, thus foully attempted to have been applied to the purposes of injustice, will not fail to feel for me. At all events, I trust your majesty will restore me to the blessings of your gracious presence, and confirm to me, by your own gracious words, your satisfactory conviction of my innocence."

Nine weeks having elapsed after this letter was sent to his majesty, without any reply, the princess again wrote, expressing her anxiety, and her wish to learn whether she might again be admitted to the royal

royal presence. It seems that her letter, containing her vindication, was laid before the cabinet ministers on the 25th of January 1807, in which they gave it as their opinion, that his majesty ought not any longer to decline receiving the princess into his presence; but that he ought to convey to her a serious admonition to be more circumspect in her future conduct. As soon as the princess received a communication to this effect from his majesty, she named a day, on which, if agreeable to his majesty, she would have the happiness of throwing herself, in filial duty and affection, at his majesty's feet. The day, however, was at first postponed by his majesty, who afterwards informed the princess, that at the request of the prince he declined seeing her till her vindication had been examined by the prince. On this she wrote to his majesty, remonstrating in strong terms against the unparalleled injustice and cruelty of this interposition of the prince of Wales, at such a time and under such circumstances; and she trusted his majesty would recall his determination not to see her till the prince's answer respecting her vindication were received. She particularly dwelt on the circumstance that the judgement of his majesty's confidential servants was appealed from by the prince, whom from this time, therefore, she must be permitted to consider as assuming the character of her accuser. Her case, she urged, was certainly very hard and cruel, since justice was suspended towards her, while the judgement of his majesty's sworn servants was submitted to the revision of her accuser's counsel. She also noticed the delay that had taken place in coming to any determination respecting the request she had made to be again ad-

mitted into his majesty's presence. Four months had elapsed between the date of her answer, and the minute of the cabinet in which they advised his majesty to grant this request. Why was not the advice given sooner? "Nay, why was it not their opinion and advice from the date even of the original report itself?" "What could have warranted the withholding of it even for a single moment?" If the prince was allowed to interfere once, he might interfere again, so as to prevent for ever the arrival of that hour which was to prove to the world the innocence of her royal highness. In this letter, beside other topics, which were dwelt upon to show the hardship of her case, she introduced copies of the letter of the prince to her, first stating the conditions on which they were to live separate, and of her answer to this proposal. Of the reproof respecting her conduct, which his majesty, by the advice of his confidential servants, had transmitted to her, she complained, not so much for what it did, as for what it did not contain; since there was no particular mention of what was the cause and object of censure.

Soon after this letter was sent, the Grenville administration went out of office; and they were succeeded by the friends of the princess. It was therefore natural to suppose that now justice would be done her; and accordingly they had been but a very short time in power, when by a minute of council, dated April 23, 1807, they humbly submitted to his majesty, "that it was essentially necessary, in justice to her royal highness, and for the honour and interest of his majesty's illustrious family, that her royal highness the princess of Wales should be admitted, with as little delay

delay as possible, into his majesty's presence; and that she should be received in a manner due to her rank and station, in his majesty's court and family."

Notwithstanding this advice, it does not appear that the princess of Wales was ever on the same footing, either at court or in the royal family, as she had previously been; while her intercourse with her daughter was subjected to great restraint. Nothing however occurred, that is publicly and officially known, till the month of January 1813. At this time the princess was so much debarred from the society of her daughter, that she determined to write to the prince regent on the subject: she found, however, great difficulty in getting her letter conveyed to him; and though it had been transmitted to his ministers on the 14<sup>th</sup>, it was not till the 23<sup>d</sup> that it was read to him. In this letter she dwelt with great force on the hardship and injustice of widening the separation between mother and daughter;—it was not only cutting her off from one of the few domestic enjoyments which she still retained, but it was giving countenance to those reports which had been proved to be totally unfounded.

In consequence of this letter, which soon after it was sent appeared in one of the daily papers, various cabinet meetings were held; and at length, on the princess writing to lord Liverpool, to know the reason why her daughter had been suddenly prohibited from meeting her, on a day when she was given to understand permission would be allowed her, his lordship informed her, that in consequence of the publication of her letter, his royal highness had thought fit, by the advice of his confidential servants,

to signify his commands that the intended visit of the princess Charlotte to her mother should not take place. To this note of lord Liverpool, lady Anne Hamilton, by command of her royal highness, sent a very caustic and haughty reply; and as she understood that cabinet meetings were still held, as was publicly rumoured, respecting her conduct, she wrote to the earl of Harrowby, as president of the council, protesting against any resolutions affecting her, which they might adopt.

Shortly afterwards, the meetings of the privy council still continuing, and there being little doubt that they were engaged in examining anew into the charges against her royal highness, she felt herself bound to take some public and decisive step for the protection of her own honour and character. Accordingly, immediately on the meeting of the house of commons, she addressed a letter to the speaker: the contents of this letter, and all the subsequent proceedings in the house on this subject, will be found in the other parts of this volume.

The attention and interest of the nation were first drawn to this subject, in consequence of the publication of the princess's letter to the prince; which was followed by the publication of most of the other documents which we have analysed, as well as of the depositions on which the charges were founded; the papers in the interest of the prince publishing the depositions, and the papers which favoured the princess publishing her explanatory and vindicatory letters. It was a subject well calculated to excite a very deep and general degree of interest:—but perhaps there scarcely ever was a subject on which the nation were so nearly agreed. Even those  
who



who believed that the conduct of her royal highness had not been free from blame, were decidedly of opinion that she had been most unfairly and harshly treated, not only in the original report, but in almost all the subsequent stages of the proceedings; while the very great majority who had not a doubt of her complete innocence, and who even believed her conduct to have been spotless in every respect and on every occasion, was disposed to give a character to the proceedings against her, which we do not think it safe to describe. In a very short time, nothing was talked of but the hardships of her case; and as the British nation is never slow to sympathize with the afflicted, and to support the persecuted, the princess of Wales, more particularly as a female,—a deserted wife,—and the mother of the future sovereign of these realms,—obtained the most full portion of British sympathy and support. As soon as her innocence was declared, by the prince regent's ministers in parliament, to be completely established, addresses of congratulation poured in to her from all quarters of the kingdom; and, for a season, no individual ever possessed so much popularity as she did. But other events of greater national importance occurring, and the novelty wearing off, before the conclusion of the year the princess of Wales was scarcely ever mentioned. But though the nation turned aside its attention and interest from her to other subjects, it still retained, in a great degree, those feelings towards the prince, which his behaviour to the princess had given rise to; and no small share of his want of popularity may be attributed to his conduct towards her.

During the course of these proceedings respecting the princess of Wales, the ministry, as well as the opposition, were placed in an awkward and embarrassing situation; and neither of them did themselves much credit by the manner in which they conducted themselves. Most of the ministers, it will be recollected, had been the friends and advisers of the princess when the investigation into her conduct first began; and as ministers of the prince they were now called upon to desert the princess and her cause, and to take up his views and interests. Hence it may be supposed, that their conduct on this occasion was neither consistent nor dignified:—the conduct of the opposition was not at all less reprehensible, though it bore the appearance of being more consistent; for they still preserved the character of friends of the *prince of Wales*, on this occasion, though they were no longer the friends of the prince regent.

It will be seen from the parliamentary proceedings on this subject, that the warmest friends and advocates of the princess were those who are considered as belonging to no party; especially Mr. Whitbread; and certainly the whole of his behaviour does him great credit. Perhaps no man's character suffered more on this trying occasion than that of the earl of Moira: in the examination of some of the witnesses respecting the charge of pregnancy, he betrayed an apparent desire to discover evidence of its truth; and he seemed to have lent himself to the prince's interest, through the whole transaction, in a manner neither becoming his rank, nor his reputation for high and unsullied honour.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Miscellaneous Topics connected with the Domestic History of Great Britain during the Year 1813—Appointment of a Vice-Chancellor—alleged Necessity for it, on account of the arduous Duties of the Chancellor—Business of Chancery not increased since Lord Hardwicke's Time—Increase in the Number of Bankruptcies—Sir Samuel Romilly's Proposal for putting these under the Vice-Chancellor—Revenue of the Chancellor—Remarks on the Fund from which the Vice-Chancellor is paid—Rejection of the Catholic Bill—Hardships of the Catholics—their absurd and intemperate Conduct on the Occasion—Proposed Appeal to the Cortes of Spain—Remarks on the Institution or Renewal of the Orange Lodges—very properly discountenanced by Ministers—Debates in Parliament respecting the Conduct of the War in Spain—Abstract of Lord Wellesley's Opinion on this Head—The Prince Regent's Speech—Proposed Alteration in the Corn Laws considered.*

**B**ESIDES the discussions on the East India bill, and respecting the princess of Wales, which took place in the year 1813, there are some other points connected with what may be properly termed the domestic history of Great Britain, which require our notice. These points are indeed of very inferior importance and interest, compared with the two former; yet they ought not to be passed over altogether in silence, as they either serve to show the temper and degree of knowledge on subjects connected with the wise and prudent administration and well-being of states, possessed by the people of this country, or they involve subjects more properly historical. The points to which we allude, and to which we mean to devote this chapter, are the appointment of a vice-chancellor;—the Catholics;—the Orange lodges;—the debates on the war in Spain;—the regent's speech on the prorogation of parliament;—and the report of the corn committee.

It is well known that the office of lord chancellor is one of the most elevated and arduous under the crown; and that, by uniting in the same person this office and that of speaker of the house of lords, the duties are necessarily very considerably increased: some of the most important duties which the chancellor, in his latter character of speaker of the house of lords, has to discharge, are those which concern appeals: the house of lords is the highest court of appeal, in civil cases, in the kingdom; and the appeal cases before it from England are neither very numerous nor very important: yet those from Scotland—probably on account of the different constitution and usages of the civil courts there—are exceedingly numerous, and often involve the disposal of property of great magnitude, as well as the allotment of the highest hereditary honours in the state. Strictly speaking, the whole house of lords ought to form this high and dernier court of appeal; but the decision is left generally

nerally to the lord chancellor, the other law lords, and any individuals who may feel interested in the particular case: on the lord chancellor, however, fall the principal weight and responsibility: he is supposed, *ex officio*, to have paid particular attention to all subjects on which appeals are made to the house of lords. When this is considered, and it is further reflected, that by the very nature of a court of equity, the court of chancery, where he also presides, must be very slow and deliberate in its proceedings, and that all cases of difficulty and extreme importance are almost certain to come before this court, we need not be surprised if the business were too much for one individual. In the court of chancery, indeed, the lord chancellor has the assistance of the master of the rolls; but still the duties of the office are extremely arduous, and, to be strictly and conscientiously discharged, require a very considerable portion of time and attention.

Lord Eldon, who has held the office of lord high chancellor ever since Mr. Fox's party went out of power, is well known to be a man most scrupulously anxious to discharge his duty in such a manner as he thinks right; and for this purpose, no case comes before him, either in the court of chancery or by appeal to the house of lords, on which he does not bestow the most laborious and minute attention: he seems, indeed, to carry his scrupulosity to an improper and prejudicial length; for it ought always to be recollected, that in law, in some cases at least, nearly as much mischief may ensue from a protracted determination as from one that is erroneous; and that in a judge, decision, accompanied and guarded no doubt by close exa-

mination, and a conscientious wish to do right, is a quality of the very first importance. However, whether entirely from the numerous and important duties which he had to perform, or partly from this cause and his own individual character and mode of transacting business in the house of lords in appeal cases, the consequence was that these appeals were very much in arrear; and it was found necessary for parliament to adopt some measure by which the arrear might be brought up, and for the future avoided. The subject underwent considerable discussion in parliament; and at length it was determined to appoint a vice-chancellor. It is not our intention here to discuss the propriety of this determination at length, but merely as matter of history, and, that our readers may have some grounds on which they may judge of the necessity of this new office, to state some facts, which were established by the investigations of the committee which was appointed by parliament on this subject.

In the first place it appeared, contrary to all probability and expectation, that the number of suits in chancery had not increased since the days of lord Hardwicke: this is a singular fact in the history of the country, and to account for which, even on any plausible grounds, would carry us beyond our limits, as well as out of our proper province: but some curious discussions on the national character, as indicated by this circumstance, might be entered into;—the bearing of the fact on our more immediate and proper object, the necessity of the new office, need not be pointed out.

In the second place, as signing commissions of bankruptcy forms  
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part of the duty of the lord chancellor, it becomes necessary, in investigating this subject, to inquire into their actual comparative numbers now and at former periods; and it was found that during the year 1812 they amounted to nearly double the usual number:—this fact is interesting, both as connected with the commercial state and history of the country, and as giving some insight into the revenue of the lord chancellor, and consequently the propriety and justice, if an assistant were appointed him, that this assistant should be paid entirely by himself:—the average fee of a bankrupt's commission is 15*l*. the whole number in 1812 was 1800;—consequently from this source the lord chancellor must have derived the sum of 27,000*l*. The regular salary of the lord high chancellor is 10,000*l*. his joint income therefore will be 37,000*l*.

In the third place, it was fixed that the salary of the vice-chancellor should be 5000*l*. a year:—there were of course two considerations: the fund from which this was to be paid; and the duties which he ought to perform, in order most effectually to lighten the official burden of the lord chancellor. It was determined, after much discussion, that the salary of the vice-chancellor should be paid out of the "Dead fund," a fund consisting of money originally deposited by private suitors, who, as well as all their representatives, had died before their suits were terminated.—That this fund should have been able to supply a salary of 5000*l*. per annum, proves most incontrovertibly the necessity of some reformation in the court of chancery. But with respect to the appropriation of this fund to this particular purpose, one remark may be of-

fered:—when the plan of appointing a vice-chancellor was first agitated, the expense of the appointment was strongly objected to: to this the supporters of the measure replied, that the expense would not come out of the public purse; of course it was concluded from this reply, that the lord chancellor, not being able himself to discharge all the duties of his office, would, on the appointment of an assistant, cheerfully come forward and pay that assistant himself. When therefore it was proposed to take the salary of the vice-chancellor from the "Dead fund," much surprise was expressed; but ministers and the supporters of the measure contended, that the public purse did not pay the salary, though it must be evident that the money constituting this fund, having no legal claimants, must be public property: at any rate, the expectation that the lord chancellor would defray the expense of the appointment of a vice-chancellor was disappointed. With regard to the distribution of the business, sir S. Romilly proposed that the bankrupt cases should be withdrawn from the superintendence of the chancellor, and placed under that of the vice-chancellor: this, though containing a very feasible scheme, was rejected; and it was ultimately determined that no defined and systematic division of business should take place; but that the vice-chancellor should assist his principal as he should direct.

With respect to the catholics, it is not our intention to enter on the justice of their claims in this place. This has been done on different occasions in our former volumes: all we mean here is, to make some remarks on the rejection of the bill for their relief, and on the spirit which

which they manifested, and the conduct which they pursued, in consequence of this rejection. The catholics had been undoubtedly led to expect that their claims would be granted: and this expectation must have been evidently strengthened, when they found ministers not making the catholic question a cabinet question, but leaving it entirely to its own merits and weight: perhaps they might have been disposed to doubt of the sincerity of ministers on this occasion; and this suspicion certainly would not have been weakened when they reflected that they were, for the most part, the pupils and admirers of that Mr. Pitt, who always spoke and voted for the abolition of the slave trade, yet was never able to effect it. There is, however, good reason to believe that ministers were sincere in their wishes that the bill in favour of the catholics might pass. How then came it, it will naturally be inquired, that it was thrown out? The cause of its rejection, the impartial historian is no doubt bound to state and explain, if he can get at it with certainty: but as only surmises and conjectures were hazarded on this point, it may not only be just and fair, but prudent in him not to attempt to trace this unfortunate circumstance to the cause from which it is generally supposed to have proceeded.—We call it an unfortunate circumstance;—unfortunate for the prince regent—for his ministers—for the nation at large—and for the catholics. It was unfortunate for the prince regent, because, though he was known to have been a friend to catholic emancipation, before he became regent, yet a report had gone abroad that his opinions on this subject were radically changed; and this report, certainly not calcu-

lated to increase his character for steadiness of opinion, was unfortunately confirmed by the circumstance, that many of the members of his household voted against the catholics. The imagination naturally passed from them to their master; and some persons thought that they could thus account for the disappointment of the hopes of the catholics. It was unfortunate for the ministers that the catholic bill was thrown out, because they had conducted themselves, since they came into office, with so much prudence, good sense, liberality, and moderation, that the granting of the catholic claims seemed alone wanting to render them such a ministry, as every real and enlightened friend to his country would wish to preside over its affairs and interests. It was unfortunate for the nation, because, whatever opinion may be entertained respecting the justice of the catholic claims, all must allow that, by conciliating and attaching them to the constitution, a great national good would be effected; and that the bill which was rejected, was brought into the house under such favourable circumstances, as must have led the nation to hope that the day was near at hand, when their conciliation and attachment would be brought about. But it was peculiarly unfortunate for the catholics themselves, since it created jealousies and divisions among that body; and thus has weakened them so much, that they will never be able to come forward again with equal probability of success. But they have injured their own cause, not merely by their mutual jealousy, and their divisions, but also in a much greater degree by the violent and absurd conduct of some of their leading members. Much may

may indeed be said in palliation and excuse for this conduct; they consider themselves harshly and unjustly treated; their hopes and expectations have been repeatedly disappointed, and they are become excessively irritable and peevish. But these are feelings which no men, acting in a public cause, should permit to enter their minds; for they injure their cause, and afford matter of joy and triumph to their enemies. The most absurd, mischievous, and at the same time the most foolish and stupid proceeding of the catholics, after the rejection of their bill, was that which took place at the Irish catholic board in the month of July, when a motion was made by Mr. O'Gorman, and seconded by Mr. O'Connell, that the resolution of the aggregate meeting, respecting an application to the Spanish cortes, entreating their mediation with the British government on behalf of their suffering brethren the catholics of Ireland, be now referred to a committee of twenty-one, to consider of the same, and report their opinion and advice upon the best mode of carrying it into effect. The disposition manifested by this resolution would demand our most serious reprobation, did not it excite our contempt by its folly: if the catholics proceed in this manner, they will afford stronger facts and arguments against their own cause, than any which their opponents have hitherto been able to adduce.

The rashness and folly of the catholics in Ireland, however, was almost paralleled by the conduct of some protestants in England. We allude to those protestants who manifested their joy and triumph over the disappointed hopes of the catholics, by the establishment or renewal of the Orange lodges: their

conduct, however, was so severely reprobated, both in parliament and by the more sober and candid protestants in the nation at large, that these lodges were broken up.—Surely in the nineteenth century, a spirit of candour and toleration might be looked for among all descriptions of people: and it is lamentable to think that some of the leading men in the land, some of the chief favourites of princes, should have so far forgotten themselves, as to have patronized associations, which were not only hostile to wise and moderate policy, but directly at variance with the positive institutions of law; for it was satisfactorily proved, that the institution of Orange lodges was illegal. When we reflect, too, that these lodges were patronized at the very time when the catholics were sore with their defeat, there seems to be something peculiarly pitiful, as well as excessively rash and imprudent, in the conduct of those who did patronize them. On this occasion, ministers behaved like men of sense and moderation: when the subject of the Orange lodges was brought before parliament, they reprobated the principles on which they were founded, the object they had in view, and the spirit and temper which they displayed; and expressed themselves so unequivocally and strongly against them, as to have contributed very materially to their annihilation.

In our last volume, we took notice of the difference of opinion between the marquis of Wellesley and ministers respecting the conduct of the war in Spain. Although during the year 1812 ministers conducted the affairs of the peninsula more in conformity to the marquis's plan and suggestion, still he contended that they did not do all

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that the case required, and all which the nation expected and was capable of: the substance of his arguments and illustrations on this most important topic, collected from his speeches at the commencement of the sessions on the 12th of March, may be thus given.

He stated, 1st, that 15,000 men, joining lord Wellington at the proper moment, would have driven the French beyond the Pyrenees.

2d. He brought it as a fact from the official papers, that something short of 10,000 men had actually reached lord Wellington during the campaign, but at a season of the year, and under circumstances of operation, which rendered the junction useless. The question of reinforcement, therefore, was reduced to a difference of little more than 5,000 men;—and from the same official paper it was positively shown, that 53,000 infantry and cavalry of the line were at the very hour enjoying pay and idleness in England.

3d. On the question of money, the friends of government were equally unsuccessful. It was a gross mistake, or something worse, to represent the demand for more liberal supplies to lord Wellington, as entailing a necessity for additional burdens upon England. Had the fact been so, the crisis would have excused it: but the reverse was truth. The requisition for the peninsula, on the scale of action recommended by lord Wellesley, fell considerably short of a million sterling. Here, also, in money as in men, a mere trifle would have turned the beam of human fortune. The question was not whether more taxes should be raised, or heavier loans required, or a sinking fund fatally anticipated:—these measures have in-

deed been resorted to, but not by the noble marquis. His demand was for less than one million sterling; with which sum, applied to set in motion the corresponding reinforcement of troops, he pledged himself for the final deliverance of the Spaniards. But the money was already raised; it was only abused, and perverted to purposes frivolous yet lavish; needless as unprofitable. From the estimates and documents on the table, it was made clear, that for barracks and breakwaters, mints and martello-towers, with a few similar items of overwhelming and stupendous urgency, a sum was actually consumed in England, more than sufficient to terminate the war in Spain.

4th. Again: the mismanagement of the money-market, so far as regarded the supply of specie, was another subject of reasonable blame to ministers. What then came out upon an accurate inspection of this charge? Why, it appeared that England, pronounced by some persons to be wholly destitute of the precious metals, had been the depository of immense treasures, and the channel through which immense treasures had flowed into neighbouring countries. It appeared that, by the license-system, that specie which was inaccessible to the hands of our government, found its way, in payment for French luxuries, into the pockets of Bonaparte himself;—and, to use the emphatic words of the noble marquis—that while the armies of Great Britain were almost penniless, "*the French army was paid with English gold.*" It was moreover proved, that the system of pecuniary negotiation, adopted by ministers in Spain and elsewhere, tended mainly to aggravate the difficulties

difficulties of procuring it, and to enhance the price of it when procured; that we had refused, on some occasions, the moderate terms of the market,—and offered, on other occasions, terms immoderately exceeding those of the market; to crown all, that we had established a competition—not by rendering the merchants competitors for the custom of the British government—but by rendering the agents of that government competitors *against each other*, for the gold and silver of the merchant: and thus, by the complications of a pernicious system, bidding against ourselves for the remainder of that commodity, the marketable amount of which our licenses had sensibly diminished.

The speech of the prince regent on the prorogation of parliament, like all speeches on similar occasions, must be supposed to be the speech of the minister. We do not say this, because we mean to censure it; quite the reverse:—we think that in every respect it was highly commendable, and afforded a proof that ministers knew how to conduct themselves with moderation and propriety even in the midst of success. His royal highness mentioned with great propriety the prosperous events which had happened in the peninsula: and on this topic he assuredly met the feelings of the nation at large: for though at the commencement of the Spanish revolution, many people were inclined to despair of the success of the patriots, and thought that, even with our assistance, they must fall before the mighty power of France; yet these prospects soon brightened; and the hopes as well as the sympathy of Britons went along with the inhabitants of

the peninsula. But the part of the prince regent's speech which now more particularly calls for our attention and remark, related to the affairs of India: of course the terms on which the charter of the East India company was renewed, were commended, as at once equitable to them, and beneficial to the nation. But we think ministers might have put into the mouth of the regent more direct and full praise of this measure; and have made him point out with more emphasis the advantages which were likely to result from it. On the whole, however, the speech of the prince regent was more distinguished for containing nothing that was objectionable, than for its positive merits and contents. As connected with this subject, we may notice the reception which the prince met with, as he was going to the house of lords to prorogue parliament: it might have been expected, that as so many splendid and glorious events had happened while he had been regent; as Spain had been nearly liberated by British prowess, and the power of Bonaparte nearly curbed in the Russian campaign,—that some of the national joy and gratitude for these extraordinary and unexpected events, would have poured itself forth in expressions of applause towards the sovereign. But there were no symptoms of this kind:—the prince went and returned, almost unnoticed: there certainly were no exclamations or symptoms of disapprobation and unpopularity; but, on the other hand, the voice of applause, if it were raised at all, was raised very feebly, and even confined to a very few individuals. It is a strange, and in a national point of view, not



a very pleasing circumstance, that a new sovereign (for so the prince regent may justly be considered), who before he came to the throne was certainly a favourite with the people, and who, since his ascension, has witnessed more causes for national joy and exultation than any sovereign of these realms perhaps ever did—should, notwithstanding these circumstances, be considered by his subjects with such perfect indifference and apathy.

The last subject on which we mean to treat in this miscellaneous chapter, relates to a very important topic, but one at the same time of considerable delicacy and difficulty: as it belongs, however, rather to the political œconomist than to the historian, we shall only notice and discuss it here, as it is connected with the transactions of 1813. We allude to the proposed alteration of the corn laws. By these laws, as they at present exist, corn is not allowed to be either exported or imported, but at certain fixed prices: the object and intention of the corn committee, appointed this session, was to alter these prices, at least the import price, and to fix it considerably higher than it had been fixed by the last corn laws. The consequence of this proposal, if it had been acceded to, (but the bill founded on the report of the committee was withdrawn,) is sufficiently obvious: the people of this country could not have obtained wheat or other grain, on an average of years, at so cheap a rate as by the existing corn laws; for, till it reached a much higher price than they fixed, no importation could take place. As this consequence of the proposed alteration is so obviously and necessarily injurious to the great bulk of the

people, it is to be supposed that it was recommended by some very powerful reasons. The ground on which this, and indeed all regulations respecting the import and export prices of corn, is defended, may be simply stated to be this:—that encouragement should be given to our native agriculture, so that it may, if possible, supply us with all the grain we consume; that it cannot be encouraged, if foreigners are enabled to sell corn in our markets at a lower price than our farmers can afford to sell it; that they would be enabled to do this, in consequence of the lower rent of land, and the smaller expense attending its cultivation, abroad, than in Great Britain; and that therefore protecting and encouraging duties are absolutely necessary for our native agriculture.

The whole of this reasoning must be allowed to be correct, if the premises are granted;—or, in other words, none will dispute that foreigners can supply our markets with corn at a cheaper rate than our own farmers can do: but the main and important question is, why we should pay a higher price for our own corn, than we should have to pay for foreign corn;—why, in short, should not that very simple maxim of political œconomy, and indeed of personal and domestic œconomy, apply to corn as well as to other commodities:—viz. to purchase it from those who will sell it of the best quality, and at the cheapest rate?

The only reply that can be given to this question is, that thus we should become dependent on foreign nations for our means of subsistence. But it appears to us, that this argument has little or no force,

force, if its meaning and substance are examined, and not merely the words in which it is stated. When two nations trade with each other, it is absurd to say that one is more dependent on their mutual commerce than the other:—or, if it can be said that Britain depends upon foreign countries for corn, it may be said with equal justice, that they depend upon her for the commodities which they receive in exchange for their corn. After all, however, it certainly would be desirable that every country should supply itself with corn: but the principle and operation of all corn laws that have been, or probably can be, enacted for this purpose, it is apprehended, are, in a great measure, inefficient towards its accomplishment, while they undoubtedly tax the community heavily for the sake of the landed proprietor, by obliging them to pay a higher price than they otherwise would do for their corn.

In the report of the corn committee, one gratifying and unexpected fact was established;—viz. that in the year 1812, the value of the corn exported from Great Britain exceeded the value of the corn imported; or, in other words, that the circumstance about which all

the advocates for corn laws are so anxious, had taken place in 1812, since in that year we had grown corn sufficient for our own consumption. The committee remarked, that this had not been the case before, since the year 1765.—Another pleasing circumstance was established by the evidence before the corn committee,—that the agriculture of Ireland was in a state of rapid improvement; and that there was good reason to hope and believe, that Great Britain would, in the course of a few years, receive from that country even larger supplies of corn and provisions than she had received during 1812. As Ireland is naturally extremely fertile, but has been, till lately, much neglected in regard to its agriculture, as well as to its other natural advantages, it is very interesting thus to perceive that she is beginning to know her own importance, and to be animated with a spirit of industry and improvement. May her civil, intellectual, and moral amelioration speedily follow the improvement of her agriculture! and then she will be really a help-mate to Great Britain, who, on her part, will be made sensible of her vast importance.

## CHAPTER XIII.

*Remarks on the naval War between Great Britain and America—Example of the Force of Words in deciding the Opinion of many People on this Subject—The American Vessels, though called Frigates, much larger, and superior in Force to our Frigates—Apprehensions lest even the French might be animated by the American naval Triumphs—These Apprehensions apparently realized in the Instance of an Action on the Coast of Africa between an English and a French Frigate, which terminates in a drawn Battle—The Intelligence of this Engagement almost immediately followed by that of the Capture of the Java by the Constitution—In this Instance, as in the former ones, the American Ship manœuvred with more Skill than the English Frigate—The British Captains on the American Coast roused by these Defeats—Challenge from the Shannon to the Chesapeake—Battle between them—Most glorious Victory—The Boxer captured—Naval Enterprise on the Coast of Spain.*

THE naval events of 1813 are neither very numerous nor very important; though some of them are of a very interesting nature. In our last volume we described the anticipated naval triumphs, which in the opinion of most people were to flow from a war between Great Britain and America; and the cruel disappointment which the whole nation felt, when a power possessed but of a few frigates, and whom we despised, were not only able to meet us on our own element, on equal terms, but even successfully to dispute with us the mastery of the ocean. Those people who did not coolly, minutely and impartially examine the circumstances and causes of the capture of our frigates by the Americans, were filled with dreadful forebodings of the consequences. According to them, our naval character and talents were nearly at an end; and if our empire on the ocean were destroyed, our commerce and even our existence as a nation would be in great and imminent jeopardy. Per-

haps fewer cases prove more pointedly and forcibly the operation of words on the human mind: A British frigate had been captured by an American frigate: no inquiry was made (or, if made, the result was not attended to,) respecting the actual size and equipment of the vessels; but, both being denominated frigates, it was supposed that they must have been nearly equal, and therefore that our naval glory was on the wane. Those who were not led astray by words, viewed the circumstance in a different light: they considered the actions as, strictly speaking, actions between British frigates and ships of the line of the enemy; and therefore they were not much surprised or disappointed at the result. But even these people, after making all due and candid allowance on account of the difference in point of size between the opposing vessels, still experienced a feeling of disappointment and alarm crossing their minds; nor could the recalling to mind, in addition to the difference of size of the vessels, the circumstance

stance that the American vessels had a large proportion of British seamen on board, thoroughly or long quiet their apprehensions.

The truth seems to be, that the nation had been spoilt (if the expression may be allowed) by the victories of Nelson. We forgot, that before his time our supremacy on the ocean had not been very preeminent, very regular and constant, or entirely undisputed. If we go back to the middle and close of the 17th century, we shall find the Dutch frequently, and the French in some circumstances, contending with us at sea on equal terms. When the Dutch naval power, from various causes, declined, still we were not undisputed masters of the ocean; and though we can appeal to the victories of Hawke, Anson, &c. during the middle of the last century; yet, when we recollect that during the American war the fleet of the enemy swept the British channel; and when, in addition to this mortifying event, we call to mind the obstinate and indecisive actions in the East Indies during that war, and the drawn battle in which Keppel commanded; we shall be disposed to acknowledge, that our title to lords of the ocean was not yet confirmed. Even the victory of Rodney, glorious and decisive as it was, if it be viewed calmly and impartially, will not be thought to have confirmed this title. The nation, at the commencement of the first French revolutionary war, were evidently of this opinion; for when lord Howe sailed to meet the French fleet, there certainly was not that confident anticipation of victory, which was always afterwards felt when Nelson put to sea in quest of the enemy. But as soon as this wonderful man had

established his character for pre-eminent naval skill, courage and success, the hopes and expectations of the nation took a higher flight: it was no longer a matter of doubt or uncertainty, what would be the result if a British fleet, or single ship, encountered a fleet or vessel of the enemy. The nation scarcely ever inquired what was the difference in point of force; for, if the difference were not very great indeed, those who had been accustomed to the victories of Nelson expected new triumphs. It was the necessary consequence of this feeling and expectation, on the part of the nation at large, to raise the daring enterprise and courage of our seamen still higher: what before they would have regarded as something more than their country could justly expect from them, they now hardly deemed their bare duty; till, at last, British seamen scarcely deemed any enterprise beyond their power.

Even after Nelson had died in the arms of victory, and with him had fallen the remains of the naval power of France and Spain, the spirit which he had infused into our seamen, led them on to such enterprises as kept up the high feelings and expectations of the nation. They could not brook the idea that Britain, even in a single instance, or from the operation of any circumstance, should fall from that high and unparalleled naval pre-eminence on which he had placed her. Such were the feelings of the nation at the commencement of the war with America; and it is not surprising that under the impression and operation of these feelings, they should have looked forward, with the most warm and even haughty confidence, to the immediate and entire destruction of

the American navy. But there were other causes which tended to produce the same effect: America was still regarded by Britain with some remains of that hostile feeling which the war that had separated the two countries had produced; and to this feeling was added something approaching to contempt for the American character. When all these circumstances are taken into the account;—when it is moreover considered, that the disputes between Britain and America, which ultimately produced hostilities, had existed for many years; that they had been conducted with great animosity and bitterness; and that the American government had, in every instance, manifested a strong partiality for France, and had put up with indignities and oppression from that power, to which she refused to submit on the part of Great Britain;—when all these things are considered, we shall not be surprised that the British nation were as desirous of overwhelming America in the naval contest, as they were firmly convinced they could immediately and effectually accomplish this object.

After all, however, it is not easy to see on what rational grounds the people of this country looked forward to the immediate and total destruction of their naval power. It is true, their naval force, compared to ours, was truly contemptible; and could even a very small proportion of our navy have been brought to bear on theirs, it must have overwhelmed it. But it ought to have been recollected, that such a thing could scarcely happen; and the calculation ought to have been, what would be the probable result, if single ships of the two countries encountered one another. This

calculation, however, if it were made, does not appear to have been made on just and impartial grounds; and there was one circumstance which undoubtedly entered into it, and induced many people to rate the American naval courage too low: the circumstance to which we allude, was the attack on the *Little Belt*; it was considered as cowardly, on the part of the Americans, to attack a vessel of such very inferior force; and it was too rashly inferred that they would be afraid, or unable, to cope with vessels of equal size.

We have thus endeavoured to point out and explain the feelings of the British nation, at the commencement of the American war, with respect to the probable naval consequences of that war; and from the consideration of these feelings, we may in some measure judge of their disappointment at the issue of those naval battles which we recorded in our last volume. A general gloom spread itself over the minds of the people: the worst consequences were anticipated; it was even foreboded, that France would again be inspired with hopes of meeting us at sea on something like equal terms; and this foreboding appeared to be confirmed by the first naval event which we have to record this year.

Captain Irby, of the *Amelia*, was stationed off the coast of Africa, near the Sierra Leone river, for the protection of our settlements and trade in that part of the world:—towards the end of January, in consequence of orders from England, he prepared to return to this country; but he delayed his departure, on receiving information that some frigates of the enemy were off the coast, which had chased his majesty's gun brig *Daring*, the commander

mander of which had been obliged to run her ashore and blow her up. Although the force of the enemy was greatly superior to his own, captain Irby resolved to sail in quest of them, hoping that he might either fall in with some of his majesty's ships, or that he might meet one of the French frigates by herself. Soon after he left Sierra Leone river, he was joined by the Princess Charlotte government schooner, who informed him that one of the frigates was at anchor at a considerable distance from the other. As soon as the *Amelia* came near the island where the enemy was lying, one of the frigates weighed and stood out to sea, while the other had her signals flying, and top-sails hoisted: at this time it was beginning to grow dark, and the *Amelia* stood off for the night. The next morning, one of the frigates was just visible from the deck; scarcely a breeze was stirring; but about noon the wind springing up, the enemy stood towards the *Amelia*. Captain Irby, on perceiving this, thought he could manœuvre in such a manner as to draw her further off from her consort: for this purpose, he appeared anxious to decline the contest, and continued to stand out to sea till sun-set: at this time the other French frigate was not visible from the mast-head of the *Amelia*. Thus far captain Irby had succeeded in his purpose; and as he had no doubt of the result of the contest with a single frigate, he took advantage of a change in the wind, shortened sail, and stood towards his opponent, who in his turn tacked, and hoisted his colours. Not a gun was fired on either side till 45 minutes after 7 p.m. when the *Amelia* was within pistol-shot of the weather bow of

the French frigate: both ships commenced firing nearly at the same time: the battle was most obstinate: there was no manœuvring or change of position on the part of either; it was downright hard fighting: and thus it continued till 21 minutes past 11; when the French frigate, having suffered comparatively little in her rigging, bore up, leaving the *Amelia* in an ungovernable state; her sails, standing and running rigging, being all cut to pieces, and her masts much injured. Before the French frigate stood off, the two ships had twice fallen on board each other; and the enemy endeavoured to profit by this circumstance, by boarding the *Amelia*. The attempt they made for this purpose was well concerted, and in its execution they displayed considerable courage and enterprise; but it was met on the part of the crew of the *Amelia* with so much coolness and bravery, that it completely failed. During this part of the engagement, the marines on board of captain Irby's ship particularly distinguished themselves. The loss of the British, in this desperate and long-continued action, was very great; 51 of her crew being killed, and 95 wounded, 16 of them dangerously. But captain Irby, in his official despatches, states, that it is the greatest consolation to reflect, that they were never once exposed to a raking shot; that not even the slightest accident occurred; and that all fell by fair fighting.

In consequence of the deplorable state of most of those who were wounded, and of the probable vicinity of the other French frigate, captain Irby did not judge it prudent to attempt to renew the engagement.

The intelligence of this action certainly

certainly was not calculated to do away the impression which the capture of two of our frigates during the preceding year had produced; and yet, both with respect to weight of metal and complement of men, the French frigate was superior to the *Amelia*: but, as has already been observed, the superiority was not so great as to counterbalance, in the opinion of the nation, that moral superiority at sea, which the remembrance and example of Nelson had produced.

Within less than a month after the intelligence of this action reached England, our gazette was doomed to record another triumph of the Americans by sea. On the 20th of December, the *Java* frigate, capt. Lambert, being off the coast of Brazil, on her passage to the East Indies, perceived a strange sail, which soon afterwards they made out to be a large frigate:—chase was immediately given; and as the *Java* had the advantage in point of sailing, and the other frigate did not seem desirous of getting away, the two vessels were by noon within a very short distance of one another. The enemy now hoisted American colours; and at ten minutes after two o'clock, being at the distance of about half a mile, she began to fire. Captain Lambert gave orders that her fire should not be returned till they were close on her weather board. The enemy however seemed resolved, if possible, to avoid a close engagement; and some time was consumed in manœuvring in order to obtain advantageous positions. During these manœuvres, the fire of the American frigate was principally directed against the masts and rigging of the *Java*, and it was directed with so much skill and effect, that the bow-sprit and the jib-

boom were carried away, and the running rigging so much cut up, as to prevent the *Java* from preserving the weather gage.

After the contest had continued in this manner upwards of an hour, very much to the disadvantage of the British,—captain Lambert, finding his enemy's raking fire extremely heavy, ordered the ship to be laid on board; in this he would have succeeded, and probably have given a different and more favourable turn to the battle, had not the fore-mast, at this very critical moment, been shot away; and soon afterwards the main-top-mast fell. The *Java* was now completely unmanageable; and it was found impossible either to extricate her from her perilous situation, or to fight her except on very unequal terms; for most of the starboard guns were rendered useless by the wreck of the masts and rigging lying over them.

To add to the misfortunes of the *Java*, her gallant captain, who had hitherto directed and animated the crew by his skill and enterprise, received a dangerous wound in his breast, and was obliged to be carried below: the command, in consequence of this event, devolved on lieutenant Chadds, who nobly discharged his most arduous duty. But it was too manifest that all their efforts to save the *Java* from falling into the possession of the Americans would be unavailing: it was absolutely impossible to fire more than two or three guns; while the enemy, comparatively little disabled either for manœuvring or fighting, and fully sensible of the crippled state of the *Java*, and of his own superior advantages, continued to pour in a most destructive and well-directed fire. Still, however, notwithstanding all these distressing

tressing and discouraging circumstances, lieutenant Chadds could not bring his mind to the idea of surrendering his majesty's ship; and the same feeling pervaded his crew; not that even the most sanguine could expect to preserve her, or that the most consummate skill or courage could have been of the least avail to this effect. But they fought long after hope deserted them; and every minute their situation became more desperate. For a short time, indeed, a faint glimmering of hope dawned on them: but it seemed only destined to render their ultimate fate more distressing.

Soon after four o'clock, the mizen-mast was shot away; and this circumstance, which at first, to all appearance, was only calculated to render the Java a more complete wreck, by making her fall off a little, enabled her to bring many of her starboard guns to bear: at the same time the enemy, having suffered considerably in her rigging, shot a-head; and thus the two ships were fairly brought broadside to broadside. It was at this time and by this circumstance that the hopes of the gallant crew of the Java revived a little: they flattered themselves, that as now they should continue the battle on more equal terms, the issue of it would not be unfortunate: and anxiously laying hold of this idea, they called up all their skill and courage: and indeed for some time they were availing; for the enemy, suffering dreadfully from the fire of the Java, now brought to bear upon him, found it necessary to make sail out of gun-shot, where he continued an hour repairing his damages. But unfortunately the Java could not take advantage of this circumstance, as

she was now an unmanageable wreck, with only the main-mast left, and that on the point of falling: every exertion and endeavour however was made to place her in a condition to sustain the renewed attack; but as they were putting her before the wind, the main-mast fell over the side, and covered nearly the whole of the starboard guns. In this state, the enemy having repaired the damage he had sustained, they were compelled to await his approach: it was soon ascertained that his object was to take such a position a-head, as would enable him effectually to rake the Java; while the latter could not possibly either defend herself or escape from his fire. Under these circumstances, lieutenant Chadds consulted the officers, who agreed with him, that a great part of the crew being killed or wounded, all the masts gone, and several guns rendered useless, they could not be justified in wasting the lives of the survivors, by any longer defending his majesty's ship. Accordingly, in consequence of this opinion, with great reluctance, at fifty minutes past five their colours were lowered from the stump of the mizen-mast; and the Java was taken possession of by the American frigate Constitution, commodore Bainbridge.

The brave crew of the Java, however, had the satisfaction to perceive that they had fought their ship so well that she was not in a condition to be preserved as a trophy of American victory; for commodore Bainbridge immediately on ascertaining her state ordered her to be burnt. The loss of both ships was very great; but that of the Java, from the circumstances of the engagement, much more considerable than that of the Constitution.



stitution. Captain Lambert survived till the 4th of January, when he died at Salvador in the *Brazils*. The *Constitution* suffered severely in her rigging; and it was some time before she was in a condition again to put to sea.

Before offering any remarks on this engagement, it will be proper to state the relative force of the *Constitution* and *Java*: the latter had twenty-eight long eighteen-pounders; sixteen carronades, thirty-two pounders; and two long nine pounders, in all forty-six guns: her weight of metal was 1,034 pounds: her ship's company and supernumeraries amounted to 377 men. The *Constitution* had thirty-two long twenty-four pounders; twenty-two carronades, thirty-two pounders; and one carronade, eighteen pounder, in all fifty-five guns: her weight of metal was 1,490 pounds: her crew consisted of 480 men.

From this statement it is abundantly evident that there was a great disparity of force; and had not both vessels been-classed under the same rank and called by the same name, probably little surprise or mortification would have been felt at the result of the engagement. From the detail which we have given of it, there can be no doubt that the *Java* was fought with very commendable bravery, and that she was not surrendered till it would have been madness any longer to have attempted to defend her. But the same remark may be made with respect to this engagement which we offered on the engagements which took place during 1812, between our frigates and those of the Americans: they seem to have manœuvred their vessels with more skill than our sailors did; and this circumstance

appears to us more surprising and unaccountable, than would have been even decided proofs of their superior maritime bravery. One cause of it may perhaps be traced in the construction of their ships, which are undoubtedly better built for quick sailing and easy management than ours in general are.

Those who regarded these repeated naval triumphs of the Americans with the most gloomy and desponding apprehensions, anticipated and predicted from them the utter annihilation, in the breasts of our seamen, of that proud confidence which had hitherto been so eminently serviceable in leading them on to victory. But more philosophical or more candid and impartial people drew other inferences: they said that British seamen would be anxious to wipe off the stain from their character; that in future they would go into battle with American ships certainly with a more just and a higher estimate of their opponents' skill and bravery, but at the same time with a fixed and glowing determination, that the sceptre of the ocean should not be wrested from Britain by any failing or mismanagement of theirs: and proudly and happily for this country, such was the fact. The commanders of our frigates on the American station, instead of being anxious to avoid any future rencontre with the enemy in consequence of what had happened, seemed, on the contrary, to court a trial of strength, in the hopes that they were destined to raise the British naval character to its former rank; and the commanders of our frigates on that station succeeded in infusing their own sentiments and feelings into the breasts of their crews.

Two of our frigates, the *Tenedos*, captain

captain Parker, and the Shannon, captain Broke, had been cruising in the bay of Boston from the middle of February to the middle of May, in hopes that the Chesapeake would come out of Boston harbour; but the enemy not choosing to run the risk of encountering two British frigates, captain Broke directed captain Parker, in the Tenedos, to cruise off a different part of the coast, and not to rejoin him till after the expiration of a month. In order that captain Lawrence of the Chesapeake might learn the separation of the vessels, and be induced in consequence to put to sea, the Shannon stood close in to Boston light-house: the Chesapeake was here observed lying at anchor, ready for sea: upon this the British colours were hoisted on board the Shannon, and she hove-to near the land. This was meant for a challenge to the Americans; and captain Lawrence was not slow in accepting it: for at nine o'clock on the morning of the 1st of June the enemy's frigate was observed to loosen her sails, and fire a gun: soon after twelve, she weighed anchor, and stood out of the harbour. On this, the Shannon edged off, and was followed by the Chesapeake. About twenty minutes after five o'clock the two vessels were within musket-shot of one another. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more interesting or awful moment than this. The engagement which was about to commence, had few features in common with the usual and routine sea fights: there was, on the contrary, something chivalrous in it: each commander, as well as their respective crews, had offered themselves as champions of their country's glory and honour; and by this feeling it may be sup-

posed the Americans were more particularly influenced, as the engagement was about to commence within sight of their own shores: their countrymen, still glowing with the remembrance of their naval triumphs over Britain, would be witnesses of all that passed, and would be grievously disappointed, if another British frigate were not added to the list of the American navy. Captain Broke and his crew, on their part, must have experienced feelings equally stimulating to heroic enterprise: they had now an opportunity of proving to the world, that the sun of England's naval glory was not yet set; they had not merely to sustain, they had in some measure to retrieve and win back the glory and honour of their country; they had to prove themselves worthy of that country which had given birth to Nelson; and they did prove themselves worthy of it.

The American frigate was manœuvred, as she advanced against the Shannon, with so much skill, that for some time it was extremely doubtful on which side of the ship she intended to engage. At half past five, however, she luffed-up on the Shannon's weather quarter; and as soon as her fore-mast came on a line with the mizen-mast of the latter, the Shannon fired her after guns, and her others successively, till the enemy came directly abreast, when the Chesapeake fired her whole broadside, which the Shannon immediately returned: and thus broadside to broadside the action commenced. In the short space of five minutes the enemy's frigate fell on board the Shannon. Captain Broke immediately determined to take advantage of this circumstance, and if possible

possible to bring the engagement to an immediate and a glorious issue. Accordingly, ordering up the boarders, he put himself at their head, and from his quarter-deck entered the Chesapeake; while those seamen that were on the tops entered at the same time. The Americans fought well; but nothing could withstand the impetuous bravery of the British; they seemed animated with more than British courage: they had now their enemy close to them; and they were determined to prove to them, that British seamen only needed to be placed in this situation, where they could come at their foe, and where bravery alone could be brought into action, to be speedily and completely victorious. In eleven minutes from the commencement of the action, the three ensigns which the American frigate had flying were hauled down, and soon afterwards replaced with the English flag flying over them; her decks were cleared of the dead; the wounded taken below; and she was completely in possession of the Shannon. In the very moment of victory captain Broke was severely wounded in his head by a sabre, while exerting himself to save two Americans from the fury of his men. Captain Lawrence of the Chesapeake was also wounded, and died soon after he was landed at Halifax, into which port the captured vessel was taken. The respect due to a brave enemy was shown to his remains: the body was landed under a discharge of minute guns: the American ensign was spread as a pall over the coffin, on which his sword was placed: the officers of the Chesapeake followed as mourners: the governor, his staff, and the officers of the garri-

son as well as the officers of the navy attended the funeral, and three volleys were discharged by the troops over the grave.

During the whole of this memorable engagement, a great number of vessels and boats of every description, filled with spectators, were cruising near Boston; and it is said that captain Lawrence was so confident of victory, that he informed the inhabitants of that town, they might expect his return to the harbour in about two hours and a half from the time of his departure, with the Shannon; and that he desired a sumptuous dinner might be prepared for himself and his crew.

The capture of the Chesapeake, under such animating and glorious circumstances, could not fail, in some degree, to re-establish in the minds, even of the desponding, their confidence in British naval valour and skill; and an engagement which took place in the month of August, though not of such a brilliant nature, nor brought to a victorious issue so easily and speedily, contributed to the same effect. Captain Maples, of his majesty's sloop Pelican, had been ordered by vice-admiral Thornborough to cruize in St. George's channel for the protection of the trade, and to obtain information respecting an American sloop of war which was supposed to be somewhere in the channel. The commander and crew of the Pelican, knowing the foe they were sent out to meet and encounter, prepared their minds accordingly, and were extremely anxious to fall in with her. On the morning of the 14th of August they observed a vessel on fire, and a brig standing from her: the latter they suspected to be the vessel that

that they were in quest of; and their suspicions were soon confirmed. All sail was immediately made in chase: but for this there was no occasion, as the American instead of declining the combat slackened sail, and was observed to be making herself clear for an obstinate resistance. As soon as the Pelican came along side of her, the British seamen gave three cheers, and the action commenced; for 43 minutes it was kept up with great spirit on both sides; and though during this time the Pelican evidently had the advantage, yet it was by no means of a decisive nature, as the American brig was fought not only with great bravery but with very superior skill. Captain Maples, however, finding his crew anxious to come to close quarters with his opponents, laid the Pelican along side, and gave orders to board her; but when they were in the very act of boarding she struck her colours. She proved to be the United States sloop of war Argus, of 360 tons; 18 twenty-four pounder carronades, and 2 long twelve pounders: she had been on a two months cruise, and when she left America she had a complement of 149 men, but in the action only 127. Her commander fought his ship nobly, and was wounded early in the action so severely that he was obliged to suffer amputation of his left thigh. In point of force the Pelican and the Argus were nearly equal, though the latter had more men on board; the Pelican having a complement only of 116. Perhaps the circumstance which most strongly indicates the relative skill with which this battle was fought, is the loss of the Pelican when compared with the loss which the enemy sustained: on board the former there was only one man slain and six wound-

ed, while on board of the latter there were 40 killed and wounded.

But the absolute and undoubted superiority of the British by sea, was not yet put on such a firm footing as not to be liable in their engagements with the Americans sometimes to give way; and those who from the result of the action between the Shannon and the Chesapeake looked for victory as a matter of course, whenever the vessels were nearly of equal force, were soon to be cruelly disappointed. While the United States brig Enterprize, commanded by lieutenant Burrows, was cruising off the American coast, they descried a brig at anchor in shore, towards whom they immediately made sail; this was his Britannic majesty's brig Boxer, commanded by captain Blyth. The English commander as soon as he observed the American vessel standing towards him weighed anchor; and, having ascertained that she was an enemy, stood out to meet her. At half past eight o'clock the Boxer fired a shot as a challenge, and hoisted three English ensigns, which captain Blyth ordered to be nailed to the mast: the engagement however did not commence for some time, in consequence of its falling calm: during this period of suspense every preparation was made on both sides for a most obstinate and prolonged resistance. Soon after eleven o'clock, a breeze springing up from the S. W. enabled the American brig to gain the weather gage; and they continued to manœuvre to westward till two o'clock, in order to try the sailing and ascertain the force of their opponent. The American captain being satisfied on these points shortened sail, hoisted three ensigns, and fired a shot at the Boxer: the latter however did not deign

deign to return the fire till she came within half pistol-shot, when her crew gave three cheers, and commenced the action by firing her starboard broadside. It was now a few minutes past three o'clock; and in a very few minutes afterwards, the Americans returning five cheers, the action became most obstinate. At twenty minutes past three the American commander fell; and while lying on deck, (having refused to be carried below,) he raised his head, and requested that the flag might never be struck. Nor was his opponent less distinguished for his heroic bravery: so that this engagement, though between vessels of small force, derives considerable interest from the circumstances attending it. Within ten minutes after the American commander fell, the officer who succeeded him ordered his vessel to be ranged a-head of the Boxer, for the purpose of raking her with her starboard broadside. About this time captain Blyth fell. The situation of the vessels was now such, that the American could command any position which it might be deemed advisable to take; while the Boxer, having suffered considerably both in her masts and rigging, could neither be managed nor fought to advantage, but was exposed to a most destructive raking fire: this fire the enemy continued to pour in till forty-five minutes past three, when the British finding further resistance impracticable ceased firing and called for quarter, as their colours being nailed could not be hauled down. The loss of the Boxer was much more considerable than that of the American brig; but the most surprising circumstance attending this action was the contrast between the damage done to the Boxer and that

which the American suffered; and which confirms the remark which we have more than once made, that the Americans seem to excel us in the management and manœuvring of their ships in an engagement. The hull, sails, rigging, spars, &c. of the Boxer were nearly cut to pieces; while the Enterprize was left in a condition to commence another action of the same kind immediately, only some parts of her rigging being very slightly injured.

In dwelling thus long and minutely on these single actions, we are well aware that we are exposed to the charge of allotting them a space, and giving them an importance, to which at first they may appear to have no claims: but assuredly in the history of such a country as Britain, whose power and prosperity, if not her very existence as an independent nation, depend on her maritime superiority, those events and transactions ought to be deemed of the highest importance and interest which in the least relate to her peculiar character: and when we recollect that the actions which we have recorded present checkered success and defeat; that they prove that there is still room and occasion for improvement in the administration of our naval affairs; and that one of them discloses a most gratifying and brilliant instance of British bravery, an instance certainly not surpassed even in the days of Nelson; we are convinced that we shall not be accused of having allotted a greater number of our pages to them than their importance unquestionably deserves.

Ever since the commencement of the war in the peninsula, the British naval officers who were stationed off that coast seem to have

have been particularly anxious to render every service in their power to the cause of the patriots; and our former volumes contained many proofs that this cause was greatly indebted to them. From the events of 1813 we shall select one further proof of their zeal and activity, though in this case the usual success was not obtained.

The French had been twice repulsed before the walls of Castro; but as it was of great importance for them to obtain possession of this place, a renewal of the attack was expected. The Spanish governor having communicated his apprehensions to captain Bloye, of his majesty's ship *Lyra*, that officer in company with the Royalist and Sparrow took measures to assist in its defence. Accordingly some guns were landed from the ships, and a battery erected in a convenient and advantageous situation; while all the seamen who were sent ashore were animated with the most resolute determination to support the Spaniards. The enemy on their part recollecting the resistance they had already experienced, and anticipating a still more formidable resistance now that British seamen were to be among their opponents, advanced against the place in very great force, and constructed a battery, from which they greatly annoyed it: in these attempts they were too successful; but in some of their other arrangements, where they were more immediately opposed by our seamen, they suffered very considerable loss. Captain Bloye however was soon sensible that the place must fall, and he therefore resolved that the reduction of it should cost the enemy very dearly, and that every exertion should be made to bring off the garrison.

1813.

As soon as the French had made a breach large enough to admit twenty-one men abreast, they advanced against the town in great numbers; and having destroyed the walls, they turned their guns on the town and castle, and endeavoured to cut off the retreat of the garrison: after continuing the fire for some time, nearly 3,000 of them rushed into the town from every quarter, where they were most gallantly resisted by the Spaniards and English seamen, till, overwhelmed by numbers, they were obliged to retreat by the castle. It now became absolutely necessary to secure the retreat of the garrison on board the British ships; and this was effected in such a manner as did great credit to the cool and undisturbed bravery of our seamen. Notwithstanding the confusion necessarily attendant on a number of troops retreating under such circumstances, and that a most tremendous fire was incessantly kept up by the French, all the Spaniards were embarked by companies, except those which were left behind to defend the castle till such time as the guns should be destroyed. This last was a most dangerous and hazardous enterprise, as the enemy advanced in great force against the castle; but they were successfully resisted till every gun was thrown into the sea. Such was the zealous exertion of captain Bloye on this occasion, that every soldier was brought off, and many of the inhabitants. The merit and value of this enterprise will be fully appreciated, when it is stated that the French had brought 13,000 men against Castro; and that they seemed determined to take it let it cost them what it might: it is supposed that their loss was nearly 3,000 men.

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Perhaps on no occasions is the cool and collected bravery of British seamen more conspicuous and more useful than when they are employed in embarking or disembarking troops in the face of a powerful enemy, and exposed to a destructive fire. When they are themselves engaged on board their ships they are in circumstances familiar to them; and their thoughts and hopes being interested and raised as the battle proceeds, they are no longer sensible of danger: but the circumstances in which they are placed when embarking or disembarking

troops, or even when actively engaged on shore, are far different; and it may therefore be justly deemed as one of the most certain proofs and unequivocal characteristics of the radical and essential nature of the valour of British seamen, that they never lose their presence of mind; and that on every occasion, however dissimilar to their professional line of life, they may always be depended upon for the execution of any enterprise which requires calm, undeviating, and persevering valour.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

*Remarks on the Peninsular War, so far as it has been advantageous to the Constitution and Character of the British Army—the Objections to that War, and the Prejudice entertained by many against Lord Wellington, gradually removed by his Successes—the Effect of our Victories in the Peninsula on the Nations of the Continent—the Knowledge that our Operations there were regarded with great Interest by them stimulated our Officers and Men to great Exertions—Remarks on the Events and Transactions of the Peninsular Revolution and War, so far as they are likely to affect the Character of the Spanish and Portuguese Governments and People—Probability that the Portuguese will be more benefited by them than the Spaniards—radical Faults of the Spanish Character, which will prevent them from reaping equal Advantages—their individual and national Pride—Nature and Effects of that Pride—does not lead to active and heroic Exertion, but is satisfied with itself—their suspicious and jealous Character—in consequence of these they are averse to hearty Co-operation with the British, and suspicious of our Views and Designs—the Portuguese, though in most respects inferior to the Spanish, yet free from their individual and national Pride, and therefore more likely to improve by the Events of the Revolution and Contest—likewise better disposed towards the British—Consideration of the Effects likely to be produced by the Intermixture of the Portuguese and British Soldierly—in the first place, on the Portuguese Soldierly; and secondly, through them, on the Mass of the Nation—General Conclusion, that Good must be derived to the Governments and People of the Peninsula, whatever be the Result of the War—but most Good to the Portuguese,*

**T**HE events which had taken place in the peninsula, from the commencement of the Spanish revolution in 1808 to the close of the year 1812, had been of such a nature, as gradually to work a great

great change in the opinions of those who at first had more than doubted of the policy of our ministers in encouraging and supporting the war there. These events, indeed, had been highly gratifying to every true lover of his country. In the peninsula, the hitherto victorious armies of France had been first completely baffled and defeated in their projects; the most celebrated and successful of the French marshals had opposed lord Wellington only to add fresh laurels to his fame: and the œconomy, discipline, and skill of the British army had reached a state of perfection hitherto unexampled. The war, indeed, had been very expensive to this nation; some of her best blood had been shed in carrying it on; and the Spanish nation, or at least the Spanish government, seemed by no means impressed with a due and adequate sense of gratitude for what Britain had done and suffered in their behalf. These were undoubtedly drawbacks to the general satisfaction; but they were greatly counterbalanced by the prospect of effectually liberating the peninsula from the dominion of France, and by the certainty that already the character and fame of the French marshals and soldiers had fallen very considerably in the estimation of Europe. These points we merely touch upon;—but, before we proceed to the events of the campaign in the peninsula in 1813, we shall examine more closely and minutely the advantages which the British army derived from their operations and exploits there.

In the first place, by the uncommon activity of lord Wellington, united to a degree of comprehensive and penetrating sagacity not often found in the same person, he had been enabled to detect and remedy

all those faults which had hitherto prevented British soldiers from being as certainly and uniformly victorious as British seamen: he was convinced that the materials were good, but that they were ill sorted, and not arranged in due order or on a regular system. He especially found that British commanders-in-chief had done too little themselves, and trusted too much to their inferiors: he therefore resolved to examine into every department of the army himself; to convince the officers and men that he was resolved that they should discharge their respective duties; while, at the same time, he would take care that every thing necessary for their comfort, and for the due and regular discharge of that duty, should be provided for them. But above all, it was necessary that he should gain the confidence of his soldiers; and this he accomplished by his attention to their wants, by his valour and success, and especially by a kind of fatherly care which he displayed. He was thus enabled to mould the men to any thing he pleased; and certainly, by considering and treating them as human beings actuated by the same sentiments and feelings as himself, instead of treating them as mere machines, he organized an army as perfect in all its branches as ever took the field. He had, however, many difficulties and obstacles to struggle with and overcome. In the first place, when he took the command he was only known as a successful general in Indian warfare; and it was naturally imagined that talents, which in India might have been amply adequate to the command of an army and to the securing of victory,—in Europe, when opposed to French commanders and troops, would be found deficient.



In the second place, the prejudice against lord Wellington, or rather the disinclination to give him credit for military talents, was much increased by the part he took in the convention of Cintra: but the greatest obstacle he had to surmount arose from the nature and proceedings of the government and people in whose cause he was fighting. Soldiers are not given much to reason, or to inquire into the justice or policy of the war in which they are engaged;—but it was absolutely impossible that the soldiers of lord Wellington's army should not perceive and feel that they were fighting in defence of men whose prejudices were strong against them, and who treated them either with indifference, or, where they could do it with safety, with aversion: they could not help noticing that the Spanish troops, who ought to have been the principals in the war, acted only as auxiliaries; and seldom, even in that capacity and character, with any effect, or credit to themselves. These sentiments and feelings on the part of lord Wellington's army must have stood greatly in the way of his plans for its improvement; and nothing short of his uncommon perseverance, and of the confidence which his soldiers reposed in him, could have effected what he did.

In the second place, by the operations of the British army in the peninsula, the hope of again becoming independent and free was kept alive in Europe. We have already adverted to this circumstance in a previous chapter; but it deserves and requires a more serious and enlarged consideration. The long and arduous contest in which Europe was engaged, the French government was fond of representing as a contest begun and cherished by Great

Britain: this, by many people, was considered as false and calumnious; but it was undoubtedly true; nor is it a charge which many among us *now* will regard as calumnious. However the character and views of the French government may have been formed—whether they arose from the opposition given to the revolution at the commencement, or whether this event merely brought them, already existing, into regular and complete operation,—it is certain that they are utterly at variance with the independence, the repose, and the happiness of Europe. Great Britain, on the contrary, was the friend of the independence, repose, and the happiness of Europe; not from any disinterested motives or views, (for nothing disinterested can operate on the views or proceedings of nations or governments;) but, as depending for her rank and power, perhaps for her very existence, on commerce, Great Britain was necessarily and wisely the enemy of the French government. That the British ministry had on every occasion manifested or conducted their hostility against France in a politic or judicious manner, we are very far from asserting: it undoubtedly would have been more wise not to have goaded on the nations of the continent to premature and unequal contest; but as we had thus goaded them on, till at length they all in their turns had suffered from French tyranny, it was but fair and proper that, when we had an opportunity, we should try our strength against the same power to which we had exposed them. On no occasion had we such a good opportunity as on the breaking out of the Spanish revolution; and this opportunity that part of the British ministry and people who had all along been the

strenuous

strenuous friends and advocates of continental resistance to the French were most anxious to embrace. The first events of the war in the peninsula, especially the convention of Cintra and the retreat of sir John Moore, were certainly by no means calculated to establish our military character: but after lord Wellington had obtained the sole command, and had thoroughly considered the nature of the service on which he was employed, of the people and government in whose defence he was fighting, and of the enemy to whom he was opposed, the peninsular warfare took a different character, and the nations of Europe regarded it with considerable interest. The thought that their operations and exploits were thus regarded, must have had a wonderful effect at least on the British officers; even the common soldiers in our army must have felt this in some degree: for it is absurd to suppose, that, while British seamen pride themselves on being superior to the seamen of all other countries, a similar feeling or wish should not exist in the breasts of British soldiers. Besides, the latter had an additional incentive:—British seamen have been so long superior to the seamen of France in bravery and skill, that now they regard victory as a matter of course; and unless the enemy should be very superior, they hardly claim to themselves any merit for having achieved it. But this feeling had not been handed down to British soldiers:—on the contrary, even before the French revolution had given such perfection to the armies of our enemy, a Briton would hardly claim for his countrymen more than an equality in land engagements; and after the revolution, the most dispassionate and unprejudiced would have been very du-

bious of the results. The battle of Alexandria first contributed to give confidence to the nation with respect to the discipline and valour of their soldiers, and the skill of their commanders, when opposed to the French: but in this battle there were so many circumstances favourable to our troops and disadvantageous to the enemy, that it neither would have been safe nor fair to have drawn any general inference from its result. The contest in the peninsula, therefore, was regarded, both by those engaged in it and by the nation at large, as calculated most decisively to try the comparative merits of the British and French officers and soldiers: and the interest in this contest was very considerably augmented, as we have already remarked, by the reflection, on the part of the nations of Europe, that on its fate probably depended their ultimate and permanent fate; and on the part of Britain, and especially of her soldiers who were engaged in the contest, by the reflection that exhausted and oppressed Europe was looking anxiously to its issue.

He must be sadly and profoundly ignorant of human nature, who cannot at least obscurely and in some measure perceive how all these circumstances and considerations must have operated to raise the character and condition of the British army in the peninsula. Headed by a general whose whole soul was intent on his profession; who suffered no personal or party views or objects to interfere, even for a moment, with the grand and extensive schemes which he had formed; who regarded and treated his soldiers as his children; and who had the rare and admirable talent of impressing his own character on his officers and troops; who called for no fa-

tigue or privation from them, which he was not willing most cheerfully to endure himself; and who to all these qualifications added the most profound and comprehensive military skill; they were determined to prove themselves worthy of the cause in the defence of which they were engaged, and worthy of being considered as the harbingers and pioneers of the restored liberty and independence of Europe.

In the third place, the war in the peninsula was highly advantageous to the British military character, not only by adding to the experience of her officers, but also by giving a more scientific turn to their military knowledge. For lord Wellington was not a man who could brook inferiority or ignorance in any respect in his officers: he himself was intimately conversant with the theory of war, and he expected that those who entered into the army should qualify themselves completely for the service. Not only did he direct his thoughts to the purely military organization of his army, but to every branch, however remotely connected with its well being and success, and particularly to the reform of the commissariat department. In short, so signal and numerous have been the advantages that our troops have derived from the Spanish campaign, under the command of lord Wellington, that even had they not succeeded in liberating the peninsula, the blood that has been spilt and the treasure that has been expended could hardly be regarded as without their adequate reward and recompense. The British soldiers can now proudly claim the right hand of fellowship with the British sailor; and this country can boast of a Wellington as well as of a Nelson.

It is more difficult to point out

and appreciate the advantages which the Spanish and Portuguese governments and people will probably derive from the contest which has been carried on in the peninsula; we of course mean the advantages independently of those which must flow from the regained freedom and security of their respective countries. As far as present circumstances will enable us to discover and appreciate those advantages, it would seem that the Spanish government has been little, if at all, benefited;—that the Spanish people have been benefited in some degree;—and that the Portuguese government, people, and soldiery, but especially the soldiery, have reaped very considerable advantages. In some of our preceding volumes we endeavoured to explain the causes which stood in the way of the reform of the Spanish government, and the melioration of the Spanish people; as well as the causes which produced a more hearty and general co-operation of the Portuguese government and people with our army. As each succeeding year serves to prove the continued existence of these causes, or to bring up to view others either counteracting or assisting them, we shall, in the remainder of this chapter, sketch out what in our opinion will be the effect of the contest on the government and people of the peninsula.

In the first place, the Spanish and Portuguese governments, as they existed previously to the commencement of the peninsular war, were, perhaps, more than any other of the old European governments, sunk in imbecility and profligacy. We have been so long accustomed to think highly of the Spanish national character, to regard it as an excellent and well proportioned compound of dignity, a high sense

of

of honour, and a spirit of independence, that it is not without reluctance we can look into its defects, or, when they actually obtrude themselves on our notice, believe in their existence and operation. But during the peninsular war the Spanish character has developed itself more completely; and as the character and conduct of every government must in a great measure result from or depend upon the character and feelings of the people whom they govern, by examining closely the Spanish character we shall be enabled more satisfactorily and fully to estimate the character of the government as it existed previously to the revolution, and thus to form a pretty accurate opinion of the change which that revolution has produced, or will probably produce on it.

The most prominent and obtrusive feature in the Spanish national character is pride; not that pride, however, which is ashamed of ignorance, which stimulates to industry and active exertion, which is nearly allied to an honourable and useful ambition, and which exalts the individual or nation in which it exists and operates; but a passive pride—a sullen satisfaction with their own excellence—a foolish and obstinate belief that the mere circumstance of being Spaniards, quite apart from any regard to their intellectual or moral qualities, or their conduct, raises them far above all other people. Perhaps no feature in the character of a nation is more at variance with their improvement than this;—it effectually prevents them from perceiving their defects, or from attempting to rectify and remove them: they suffer themselves to sink in apathy; and while every day renders them less worthy of the esteem or good opinion of

other nations, their surprise and indignation that they do not obtain that esteem and good opinion regularly increase in proportion as they deserve it less.

Another feature in the Spanish national character, and which may be very clearly and distinctly traced in their government, is suspicion and jealousy, Too selfish, or too indolent, to exert themselves for the good of others,—if others come forward in their behalf, they regard and treat them as if their motives and objects were completely interested. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that this feature in the Spanish character has been too fully exhibited during our military operations on the peninsula. Towards the French they undoubtedly felt a strong national antipathy, united to a contempt for their thoughtless and undignified disposition: these feelings had been rendered much more acute by the misery which the French had inflicted on them, and by the wound which they had given to the pride of the Spanish character,—by depriving them of their legitimate monarch, and endeavouring to fix upon them a sovereign of a foreign race and a low family. And yet, notwithstanding they thus felt towards the French, notwithstanding they had suffered so much from them, they looked coolly and suspiciously on the English, who came professedly to liberate them from the yoke of their invaders and tyrants. No conduct of ours, neither our splendid and decisive successes, nor the liberal aid which we have given to their cause in other respects, has been able to do away their coolness and suspicion towards our troops. It, perhaps, would have been foolish and absurd to expect that they should have given us credit for entire disinterest-

deness in the exertions which we made on the peninsula ; but had the Spaniards been endowed with common sagacity---or rather, had not that sagacity been blinded by their obstinate pride and suspicion---they might have been convinced that the very interests which we sought to serve and promote, by engaging in the peninsular war, so far from requiring the sacrifice of the Spanish interests, or being incompatible with them, were actually necessary to their security and enlargement. But this idea never entered their minds : and the French, well knowing the obliquity of the Spanish understanding, and their jealous and suspicious disposition, have taken advantage of these circumstances to increase their distrust of the English.

The two features in the Spanish national character which we have just touched upon, their pride and jealous suspicion, are much aggravated by the mediocrity of their intellectual talents. Before the commencement of the peninsular war, the Spaniards had credit given them for a considerable share of acuteness and solid sense ; and it was anticipated by their friends and advocates, that these intellectual qualities would be brought into full operation by the necessities and events of the revolution : but certainly, neither on the part of the nation at large, nor on the part of the government, has there been any display or exercise of superior or even of moderate talents. And this circumstance we conceive to be one of the least promising and satisfactory to the friends of Spanish melioration ; for, undoubtedly, did they improve in talent, did they display any anxiety to rise among nations in the scale of intellect, their moral faults---their pride, suspicion, and bigotry---would soon give way ; it is

absolutely impossible that these should flourish with their ancient and accustomed vigour, even where a moderate share of talent and information existed.

Still, however, we are disposed and willing to believe and hope that the events of the contest, in which they have been engaged, and that the very nature of the contest itself, will improve the condition of the Spanish people, and place them under a more wise and enlightened government. In spite of the narrow and jealous policy of their rulers, in spite of their own bigotry, and indifference or antipathy to the British, much intercourse must necessarily have taken place between the two nations ; and the Spanish character is of such a nature and description, that it must improve by intercourse : they cannot witness the character and conduct of the English, they cannot associate with them, without feeling a disposition to alter some of their own habits ; or, even if they do not feel that disposition, without gradually, insensibly, and almost without their own knowledge and consciousness, assimilating themselves to the British in opinion, manners and conduct.

But putting out of consideration the effects which their intercourse with our troops will produce, the very circumstance of their having been so long in a state of activity and exertion (though they have not been at all commensurate to the occasion) must create or bring into action those qualities, both of the mind and heart, that cannot fail to meliorate their character and condition. The violence and unsettledness of revolutions and civil wars have justly been compared to the hurricanes and tempests which agitate the atmosphere : they both dis-

pel what is noxious, and leave what they operate upon in a state much better adapted to the wholesome and happy existence of mankind. Although, therefore, the efforts of the Spaniards must have disappointed all those who gave them credit for intellectual and moral energy; although hitherto there have been scarcely any proofs that their character has been changed by the revolution, while on the contrary the same imbecility marks all the proceedings of their government; yet we are still disposed to believe that, when order is completely restored, and their national independence and security placed on a firm footing, it will be found that the Spanish people and the Spanish government have been considerably benefited by their sufferings and exertions.

Our remarks have hitherto been confined to the Spaniards: we turn with more pleasure to the Portuguese,—to that nation which used to be reckoned almost if not quite at the bottom of the scale of European nations, both in respect to intellectual and moral qualities. Whence has it happened, therefore, that they are improved in a much greater proportion than the Spaniards? for there can be no doubt that the Portuguese government, people, and soldiery, but especially, as we before remarked, the soldiery, are much improved. The immediate and direct cause is sufficiently obvious,—they have associated more with the British—they have suffered themselves to be directed and instructed by their allies: but the question still recurs, How comes it to pass that the Portuguese have been more willing than the Spaniards to take advantage of these circumstances? In a former volume we have adverted to one cause: the

Portuguese and English governments and people, for upwards of a century, have had a much greater share of intimacy and connection with one another than the English and Spanish governments and people have had. To this cause we should ascribe much; but there is still another, which must be sought for in the difference of character of the Portuguese and Spaniards. The former are destitute of that haughty and retiring pride which distinguishes the latter: it might have been supposed that on this account they would have been less susceptible of improvement, since they undoubtedly are marked with almost all the other bad features of the Spaniards: but it has so happened, as we have already seen, that that very pride, from which energy and melioration might have been anticipated and expected, has done more harm to the Spaniards than all their other distinguishing qualities; while the Portuguese, destitute of this pride, have been benefited by the very circumstances which have left the Spanish character unaltered.

In the second place, if from the consideration of the effects which the peninsular revolution and contest are likely to produce, or have already produced, on the character of the Spanish and Portuguese government and people, we pass to the more particular consideration of their effects on the soldiery of the two nations, all that we have advanced will be illustrated and confirmed. Of the fact that the Portuguese soldiery are very much improved since they were under the command and discipline of British officers, and served along with British troops, there can be no doubt; but it seems impossible, as least so far

far as regards such a people as the Portuguese, that the soldiers which compose their armies can improve considerably as *soldiers*, without improving, though probably not in an equal and regular degree, as men. They must, at least, have lost that degrading feeling which produces or accompanies cowardice; a feeling of shame must be excited in their breasts; they must be anxious to distinguish themselves; and, when they have distinguished themselves, they must have felt gratified and proud. But these changes in the feelings and disposition cannot take place independently of other changes; strict discipline, and the regularity, method, and obedience, which are absolutely necessary to complete the character of good soldiers, must be beneficial to the Portuguese. Besides, we ought to consider them as constantly, or at least frequently, mixing and associating with the British, witnessing their conduct, learning their sentiments, and gradually becoming inspired with all those feelings which distinguish and ennoble the British character. It is not too much therefore to expect that the Portuguese soldiers, being improved as soldiers, will also be improved as men; and the consequences which they may produce when they return to their homes it is pleasing to anticipate. We are not indeed so sanguine as to expect that all the habits and feelings which they may have acquired from the British will remain unimpaired and in full exercise when they cease to associate with them; or, even if they did, that they would be sufficiently powerful to operate a similar change on the national character: but they must have their effect; and that effect, when assisted by the operation of those circumstances

arising out of the revolution on the mass of the people, must be rendered more general and permanent than it would otherwise have been.

But, viewed in another light, the benefit that the Portuguese will derive from the contest must be much greater than that which will probably fall to the lot of the Spaniards: for not only have the Portuguese people and soldiery associated more with the British, but the Portuguese government have had the policy and good sense to suffer themselves to be directed by British sagacity and experience; while the Spanish government have rejected with scorn or distrust all attempts on our part to alter and improve the system on which they conduct the affairs of the nation. It would be ascribing, we believe and trust, an illiberal, unfounded, and certainly a fatal share of imbecility and perverseness to the human mind, to suppose that the Portuguese government, after they have so thoroughly and satisfactorily experienced the benefits of acting on a wise and liberal system of policy, would again revert to their ancient system of oppression and tyranny. Indeed, we may rest assured that, not only on the peninsula, but over the whole continent of Europe, two grand and most important consequences will flow from the events of the last twenty years,—consequences, however beneficial to the interests of mankind, yet dearly purchased by those events. In the first place, sovereigns will rule over their people with more wisdom and moderation; a salutary lesson has been imprinted on their minds—a lesson which must produce its effects, since it speaks to their own interests: they must now see, that unless they possess and retain the confidence and good opinion of their subjects, their

their thrones are insecure ; and that with that confidence and good opinion, they are invulnerable to the attacks of foreign powers. In the second place, the people themselves have received a serious lesson : they will now be content with a government of comparative liberty ; nor,

in their desire and attempt to raise their condition to a state of chimerical and impracticable perfection, again run the risk of being exposed to a tyranny ten thousand times greater than that which they before endured.

## CHAPTER XV.

*Determination of Ministers to carry on the War in the Peninsula with more Vigour, and on a more extended Scale, in consequence either of Lord Wellington's Representations, or of Lord Wellesley's Attack on them in Parliament—The Campaign very late in commencing—Causes of this—Lord Wellington forms a most judicious and comprehensive Plan for carrying it on—which requires much preliminary Deliberation—puts his Army on the best Footing before he begins—Reasons which induced him to expect more decided Success this Campaign than in the former ones—Division of his Army and its Force—Strength and Position of the French Armies—a vigorous Resistance expected—rapid Movements of the British—the Enemy abandon all their strong Positions—Lord Wellington crosses the Ebro—comes up with the French main Army, under Joseph Bonaparte, at Vittoria—decisive Victory there—Honours conferred on Lord Wellington—most of the French retire from the Peninsula—Sir John Murray disgracefully unsuccessful.*

OUR readers will recollect that the marquis Wellesley, both in the session of parliament of 1812 and in that of 1813, most strenuously contended that ministers had not done all which they might and ought to have done, to bring the war in the peninsula to a speedy and happy conclusion: to his statements, calculations and arguments on this important subject, the replies of ministers were always of the same nature and tendency. They maintained that they had done, not only all which prudence, and the means of the nation, dictated, or enabled them to do, but all that the marquis Wellington requested or expected them to do; and in proof of this last assertion, they appealed to his official dispatches, from which it

appeared that he was satisfied with their exertions. It was supposed, however, by many people, that the marquis of Wellesley would not have pressed ministers on the subject of the war in the peninsula so closely and repeatedly, unless he *knew* that his brother was *not* satisfied with their measures, or the support which they had given him: but whatever private communication, on this point, lord Wellesley might have from his brother, it was plain, he could not adduce it to contradict their assertion, that lord Wellington had received all the support he required or deemed necessary. The supposition that the marquis Wellesley had received communications from his brother to the effect hinted at, is further confirmed by the circumstance,



cumstance, that the newspaper known to advocate most strenuously the peninsular war, and believed to be in the confidence of lord Wellesley, repeated all his assertions; and contended, in the face of lord Wellington's official dispatches, as quoted by ministers, that that general wished for larger reinforcements than he had received; and that such reinforcements might be sent him, notwithstanding the *impracticability* on which ministers dwelt so strongly and pointedly.

But the most singular circumstance attending the debates in parliament, respecting the conduct of the peninsular war, was the change of opinion avowed by several of the leading members of opposition. They decidedly were of lord Wellesley's opinion; and without expressly stating, whether they hoped for a favourable issue or not, they strenuously contended that, while it was carried on, it ought to be carried on with all the disposeable means of the nation, and not stinted, or needlessly and injuriously protracted, by a deficiency either in men or money. It did not appear, from the replies of ministry, that they were disposed to alter or extend the system on which they had hitherto conducted the peninsular war; not that they were not convinced, that the sooner it could be terminated the better, and that for its speedy termination every exertion should be put forth; but they talked of the risk to which the nation would be exposed, if the whole or nearly the whole of its disposeable forces were sent into the peninsula, in case of any misfortune happening to lord Wellington.—They did, however, change their system; whether in consequence of what lord Wellesley and the opposition had stated, or in consequence

of the representations and request of lord Wellington, cannot be ascertained; nor is the point of much moment; it is equally honourable to the ministry, that they did alter their system when they were convinced that an alteration was politic and practicable; and one should, in justice and candour, believe that they did not alter it sooner, merely because they were not sooner convinced they ought to alter it. The nation, however, for several months were disposed to believe that the peninsular war, instead of being carried on, during the campaign of 1813, on a more extended scale, and with more vigour than in any former year, would be stinted in its resources, and would probably terminate before the expulsion of the French beyond the Pyrenees had been effected. In 1812 lord Wellington commenced the campaign very early: in 1813, nearly five months passed away before he made any movement; and as this inactivity was very unusual with him, it was natural to ascribe it to his want of means for the adequate and comprehensive prosecution of hostilities. But though his lordship was inactive in the field, his mind was eagerly and busily employed: in the preceding years of the war, he had been obliged to limit his thoughts and efforts to one part of the peninsula; and he had generally the mortification to find, that such was the strength of the enemy, and such his own comparative inferiority, that at the end of each campaign not much had been done towards the liberation of the peninsula. Even in 1812, notwithstanding all his brilliant successes,—at the conclusion of the campaign the English army did little more than cover and protect Portugal: it was therefore highly desirable

desirable that the plan of the campaign of 1813 should be formed differently; that there should be more combination in it; and that the combinations should be of such a nature, that, if all the parts *told*, the expulsion of the enemy might be the consequence.

There were two circumstances which strongly favoured lord Wellington's plans and hopes: in the first place, Bonaparte, by the dreadful reverses he had sustained in Russia, and by the consequences of those reverses, with which he was still threatened, had been compelled to withdraw not only a considerable proportion of his best troops, but also some of his ablest and most experienced generals, from the peninsula; and the troops which were left, knowing, though probably obscurely and imperfectly, the reasons which had induced the emperor to withdraw their comrades, could not come into battle with their wonted confidence and spirit. Besides, the French army, at the commencement of the campaign of 1813, was commanded by men on whose experience and skill the soldiers could have little reliance: but it is evident that these circumstances, which necessarily operated against the enemy, operated in favour of the British. *They* were thoroughly acquainted with all the disasters of Bonaparte in the north of Europe: they knew that their own victories and achievements in the peninsula were cited, in order to encourage the German and Russian soldiers: these soldiers were proceeding in the great work of liberating the north of Europe, and could British soldiers be left behind in the career of glory? Thus we perceive, that the feelings and expectations of the hostile armies must have been very opposite at

the commencement of the peninsular campaign in 1813; and lord Wellington, well aware of this circumstance, must have calculated upon it when he conceived and matured his plan.

But, in the second place, lord Wellington had received considerable reinforcements from home; and from the disposition of the Spanish government, he was in hopes that the Spanish troops would be rendered much more generally and essentially serviceable than they had hitherto been. He therefore spent the spring months in organizing his army; in putting it, in every respect, on the best footing; and in making such arrangements as would accelerate and secure the completion of his plan. This plan was congenial to the comprehensive grasp of his own mind: he divided his force into three parts: he himself took the command of the centre, composed chiefly of light troops; with these he purposed to drive the enemy before him through the open country. Of course their operations commenced first; and his lordship soon proved, that if he had been late in commencing the campaign, it should not be carried on in a dilatory or inefficient manner. At the head of the centre, he pushed forward towards Salamanca; and his movements were so rapid and well concealed, that the French general, who commanded there, had barely time to evacuate it, with the loss of 300 of his rear guard, who were cut off by lord Wellington's troops entering the town at full gallop. While lord Wellington was advancing with the centre in this direction, the right, including only one division of the British under the command of sir Rowland Hill, moved up in a parallel direction with his lordship, on

on the left bank of the Douro: these two movements however were only subservient to the movement of the main body of the army under the command of sir Thomas Graham; and its movement and first operations distinctly marked the grand and judicious feature of the plan of the campaign. This part of the army was passed over to the north of the Douro, at Braganza, from which place it proceeded along the right bank of the river, and by this movement superseded the necessity of forcing a passage across it in the face of the enemy. On this the French had not calculated: on the contrary, as the right bank of the Douro, through all this part of its course, is rugged and precipitous, and completely commands the southern side, they confidently reckoned on an advantage of which lord Wellington's plan deprived them.

Having thus disclosed the grand feature of the campaign of 1813, and detailed the first movements by which that plan was to be carried into execution, it may be proper to form as accurate an estimate as our means of information will permit, of the numerical strength of the two armies. The combined British and Portuguese army probably amounted to 70,000 men, of which from 8,000 to 10,000 were cavalry: on the left of this force, the Gallician army were destined to manœuvre and act, and to support or accelerate their operations; if circumstances should render it necessary or expedient: on the right of the combined British and Portuguese army, the troops of Castanos, don Carlos d'Espana, and other Spanish generals were posted; the numerical force of this body was about 30,000 men. According to these calculations, the allied force,

in this part of the peninsula amounted to nearly 100,000 men. But it should be recollected, that not very much dependence could be placed on the Spanish troops; their constitution and equipment were not good; their officers had improved very little in discipline or experience: but above all, no dependence could be placed on the plans or promises of the Spanish government. They were continually suspecting or changing their generals; and though at the commencement of the campaign, they had consented that their troops should, in every respect, co-operate with lord Wellington, yet his lordship well knew that no dependence could be placed upon them. It is probable, therefore, that in the formation of his plan, and in devising the means by which he intended to carry it into effect, his lordship, though he did not entirely overlook the Spanish troops, did not reckon very confidently on their co-operation and support. On the Portuguese, however, he could place much more dependence; and therefore, putting out of the account the Spanish armies, we may reckon that he had about 70,000 men anxious and qualified to meet the French.

Of the numerical strength of the enemy it is still more difficult to form an accurate estimate: the losses of Bonaparte in his Russian campaign had compelled him, as we have already remarked, to draw off many of his best troops from the peninsula; but the number thus withdrawn cannot be ascertained: if we may credit the French statements, it was not very great; but these statements never can be depended upon, and in this instance they are expressly contradicted by the excuses which the French made for their defeats in the peninsula;

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for, in the very short and unsatisfactory notices which they gave of these defeats, they urged as their cause and excuse, the great number of troops which were withdrawn from the peninsula to supply the war in the north of Europe.

The French armies in Spain, however, though they were greatly weakened, and altogether scarcely made up one considerable army, still retained their distinctive appellations of the north, the centre, Portugal, and the south: according to one calculation, the whole of them amounted to 55,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry: but this is evidently below their real force, and it is much more probable that their force was nearly if not quite 80,000 men. If, however, they were inferior in numerical force to the allies, and still more inferior to them in respect to general and moral feeling, they had greatly the advantage of them in the positions which they occupied. They were indeed formidable: they were supported by fortresses and fastnesses, all along the line of their retreat, beginning with Zamora and Toro, and thence extending through the valleys of the Pisuegra and Arlanzon, to Burgos, Pancorvo, and Miranda. On account of the strength of these positions, and of the incredible activity which the enemy displayed in repairing the fortifications of Burgos, it was expected that the progress of the allies, at the beginning of the campaign, would be slow, tedious, and difficult: and ministers, in the expectation that it would be found necessary regularly to besiege Burgos, sent off a battering train for that purpose. But the French, from some cause not explained, and certainly not easily conjectured, resolved to abandon all their strong positions; and the

British public were agreeably surprised to learn, a very short time after lord Wellington had put his army in motion, that it had actually crossed the Ebro. On the 2d of June lord Wellington reached Toro; and moving up the course of the Douro, the Pisuegra, and the Alançon, he arrived at Burgos on the 13th; the French rapidly retreating before him, and evacuating all their strong positions. Even at Burgos they did not deem it prudent to make a stand; but blew up the inner walls of the castle and works with so little skill and caution, or with so much precipitation, that 30 of the garrison perished by the explosion. From Burgos they continued their flight (for it resembled a flight rather than a retreat) for about 48 miles, on the main road to the Ebro. Their object was to cross this river, and thus to place it between themselves and lord Wellington's army: but his lordship, aware of their intention, and knowing how difficult it would be to cross the river if they were in force on the opposite bank, ordered sir Thomas Graham to make a movement on the left, towards the upper part of the Ebro; which he crossed at the bridge of Arrano on the 15th. On the following day the remainder of the army crossed at Quintana: no halt was made: the enemy were evidently panic-struck, and lord Wellington resolved to give them no respite. The intelligence of these events, though they were justly regarded as only preparatory to something grand and decisive, inspired the nation with still higher ideas of lord Wellington's military talents: he had indeed, in his pursuit of the enemy, traversed 84 miles instead of 72; but by his judicious movements he had avoided the strongly fortified

fied defiles, which he would otherwise have been obliged to force. There was another advantage resulting from his plan: he had succeeded in cutting off Palombini, with an Italian division of nearly 4000 men, on the road to Bilbao, and against these he detached part of the Spanish troops, with some British cavalry and artillery.

Between the arrival of the dispatches announcing these events, and the next dispatches which were received from lord Wellington, the public mind, though not anxious, (for anxiety implies doubt, and there was no doubt,) was extremely interested: in a very short period, the enemy had been driven nearer the Pyrenees, without even the semblance of a battle, than he had ever been before, even in the whole course of a campaign, and after severe and obstinate fighting. It was then natural to ask, did he mean at length to evacuate the peninsula? was the time at length approaching in which all our fond hopes were to be realized? and were they to be realized without the shedding of any more British blood? Some people fondly cherished this expectation; but others, though they did not less confidently expect the expulsion of the French from the peninsula during the campaign of 1813, yet could see no reason to flatter themselves that this object would be accomplished without a battle; and those who were well acquainted with the military topography of this part of Spain, were of opinion that the French army would make a stand in the plains of Vittoria.

Such indeed was the fact: on the evening of the 19th of June the French army took up a position in front of Vittoria: Joseph Bonaparte had the nominal command

of it, but marshal Jourdan acted as major-general: the left rested on the heights of Puebla de Arlanzon, and stretched across the valley from thence, in front of the village of Arunéz: the right of their centre was posted on a height which commanded the valley of Zadora; and the right of the whole army was stationed near Vittoria, for the purpose of defending the passage of the river Zadora: besides these troops, there was a body of reserve in the rear of the left division. Lord Wellington, in his pursuit of the enemy, had been obliged, from the nature of the country, to spread and extend his columns: as soon, therefore, as he perceived that the French were determined to risk a battle, he halted, in order to close them up: on the 20th he reconnoitred their position, and fixed on his plan of attack. Early on the morning of the 21st the battle of Vittoria commenced; sir Rowland Hill's division marching to gain possession of the heights of La Puebla: here the left of the enemy were posted, but not in great strength: sir Rowland Hill, not deeming it necessary to employ a large force for this purpose, detached one brigade of the Spanish division under general Murillo, and ordered the other to keep the communication open with the main body. Scarcely however had the Spanish troops begun their march, before the enemy became sensible of the importance of the heights, and reinforced their troops there to such an extent that general Hill was under the necessity of detaching a strong body of troops to the same point: on these heights an obstinate contest took place; the allies gained possession of them; but the enemy poured in fresh troops, and endeavoured to recover them. For a short time they

they were partially successful; but at length the allies secured firm possession, which they retained during the whole period of the battle. General Hill, having secured these heights, lost no time in taking advantage of his success; for under cover of them he first passed the Zadora, and afterwards the defile formed by the heights of that river: his next object was to gain possession of the villages in front of the enemy's line, which he accomplished in spite of their repeated and obstinate resistance.

So far the plan and arrangements of lord Wellington had been completely successful; but there was a short delay in executing another part of them: the difficult nature of the country prevented the communication between the different columns, moving to the attack from their respective stations, at as early an hour as his lordship had expected and calculated upon: the column composed of the 3d and 7th divisions, under the command of the earl of Dalhousie, was particularly retarded from this cause. As soon however as the 4th and light divisions had passed the Zadora, they moved towards the divisions under the earl of Dalhousie and those under sir Thomas Picton. These divisions, when united, formed the centre of the army; and it was lord Wellington's intention that they should attack the heights on which the right of the enemy's centre was placed, while general Hill attacked the left: but the enemy, having been under the necessity of weakening his line for the purpose of strengthening his detachment on the hills, abandoned his position in the valley as soon as he perceived that it was the intention of the British army to attack it: as soon as he left this position, he

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directed his march towards Vittoria, and arrived there in good order. The British troops, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground, followed the retreating foe in admirable order, while the left advanced to the same point by the high road from Vittoria to Bilboa. On this road the enemy had a division of infantry and some cavalry, resting with their right on some strong heights, while they also occupied in considerable strength two villages, as *éclés-de-pont* to the bridges over the Zadora. It was of the greatest consequence either to drive them from these heights, or to turn their position; and for this purpose general Pack's Portuguese brigade, and a Spanish division, supported by a brigade of British light dragoons, and the 5th division of infantry were dispatched: in executing this service, the Portuguese particularly distinguished themselves; nor did the Spaniards behave in a manner unworthy of their companions in arms. As soon as the heights were gained, a brigade of the 5th division advanced to the storming of the village in their immediate vicinity, the possession of which was necessary for the future movements and operations of this part of the British army: the brigade advanced in columns, in the most masterly style, under a very heavy fire of artillery and musketry, without firing a shot. Here the loss of the enemy was very considerable, and three pieces of cannon fell into our hands. No time was lost in proceeding from this village to attack the next; but for this, it was judged expedient to form a strong battery, under the cover of the fire from which colonel Halkett's brigade advanced to the attack: the village was soon carried; and the enemy being pursued to the

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bridge were there charged by the light battalion, who took three guns and a howitzer. While these operations were going on, the enemy made repeated and desperate efforts to regain possession of the first village, which had been taken from them; but they were gallantly repulsed by the troops of the 5th division under the command of major-general Oswald. The next movement was the crossing of the Zadora; but this could not be made, while the reserve of the enemy continued on the heights on the left of that river: as soon however as they were driven from thence, and through the valley of Vittoria, the whole army co-operated in the pursuit. By this time the defeat of the French was most decisive and glorious; and in their retreat they discovered the utmost uncertainty and confusion.

General Graham moved his division in such a manner, and took up such a position as effectually intercepted the enemy's retreat by the high road to France: in consequence of this, they were compelled to turn towards the road leading to Pampeluna; but they were so closely pursued that it was utterly impossible for them to occupy any position for a sufficient length of time to allow their baggage and artillery to be drawn off: they were therefore compelled, either to expose themselves to the certainty of the utter ruin of their army, or to abandon their baggage and artillery; and preferring the latter alternative, the whole fell into the possession of the British.

Never was victory more decisive or glorious: and thus the army of Joseph Bonaparte, which consisted of the whole of the armies of the south and the centre, and of four divisions, and of all the cavalry of

the army of Portugal, besides some troops from the army of the north, was weakened and scattered in such a manner, as presented little prospect that it would again be able to oppose the British in the peninsula. Nor were those divisions of the enemy's troops, which had not been present at the battle of Vittoria, in a much better condition; for the result of that battle had cut them off from all communication with each other, and exposed them to almost certain ruin.

The trophies of the victors were numerous and splendid: 151 pieces of cannon and 415 ammunition waggons were captured, as great a number as ever were taken on the field of battle. Our loss was great, amounting to upwards of 4000 men in killed and wounded: that of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was at least three times as great.

The joy and congratulation with which the intelligence of the victory of Vittoria was received in Britain, it would be in vain to attempt to describe: every person was sensible that this victory bore, on its very front, more decisive marks of usefulness, as well as of glory, than any of the former victories which lord Wellington had gained. In most of his former victories, there had been much hard fighting; and though the enemy, whether they attacked, or sustained the attack, were always defeated, yet their defeat was not followed by any disorderly rout, nor accompanied by the loss of much of their artillery: besides, after most of their former defeats, they had so soon rallied in good order, and in considerable force, that lord Wellington had never been able to rescue much of the country from them. But the victory of Vittoria presented a happy

py and glorious contrast in all these respects; the rout of the enemy was complete, extensive, and signal; each succeeding day, instead of showing him recovered from its effects, was more likely to show him suffering more severely: he had lost all his artillery, which, with a French army, is of the most material importance: but above all, the moral effect of this victory would, from all the circumstances attending it, be much greater than that which had followed from any of lord Wellington's previous victories.

The British government and people displayed their sense of his high deserts in the most marked and gratifying manner: the staff of marshal Jourdan having been taken and sent over to the prince regent, he in return made lord Wellington a field marshal; while a grand fête was given at Vauxhall on this glorious occasion. The Spanish government, too, as a proof of their obligations to him, created him duke of Vittoria.

His lordship was not a man to neglect any opportunity of reaping every possible advantage from the victory which he had gained: he therefore pursued the beaten enemy closely and unremittingly: on the 24th of June their rear reached Pampeluna with only one howitzer. The French general Clausel, ignorant of the defeat of his countrymen, approached Vittoria with part of the army of the north on the 23d; but as soon as he learnt the result of the battle, and moreover found in the vicinity of that village a division of the British forces, he retired precipitately. Lord Wellington, on the receipt of this intelligence, conceived the idea of cutting off his retreat; and for this purpose, four divisions of infantry

and two brigades of cavalry, were moved towards Tudela, and two divisions and two brigades upon Logrono. Clausel, however, not thinking himself secure, pushed forward to Tudela, and ultimately to Saragossa, by forced marches: the Spanish generals Mina and don Julian pressed closely on the line of his retreat, and succeeded in capturing 300 French, 2 guns, and some stores. While these operations were going on against Clausel, the main body of the defeated army continued their flight beyond Pampeluna; and general Hill, leaving a sufficient force to blockade this place, moved the principal part of his division to the head of the Bidassoa, the rivulet which divides France from Spain. When he arrived there, he had the satisfaction to find that the enemy had actually quitted the peninsula, and retreated into France.

Besides Clausel's division, there was another considerable body of French troops under general Foy, who had not been engaged in the battle of Vittoria, and whom lord Wellington judged it proper to pursue: against them sir Thomas Graham was sent: they took the high road leading through Tolosa. On the 24th and 25th of June the British advanced guard came up with the enemy, when some sharp fighting took place, which was succeeded on the evening of the latter day by a general attack on them in the town of Tolzo, from which they were driven with considerable loss: in this attack the German and Portuguese troops were principally engaged, and they both behaved in a very gallant manner. As soon as general Graham had driven the enemy from their position, he advanced towards Irun on the confines of France, and on the 2d of



July general Foy's troops were forced to cross the Bidassoa. From the direction which general Clausel took in his retreat, it was at first supposed that he meant to join, or at least to co-operate with, Suchet in Catalonia; but after he reached Saragossa, he changed the line of his march, and proceeded towards Jaca, a village about 45 miles directly north of the former place, and consequently on the road to France. Thus, of the troops which had been beaten at Vittoria, the whole of the right and left wings had quitted the peninsula; but three divisions of the centre under general Gazan still loitered in the valley of Bastan, of which they seemed determined to retain possession, as it was very fertile and full of strong positions. Against them two brigades of British and two of Portuguese infantry, under the command of sir Rowland Hill, were sent; and on the 4th, 5th, and 7th of July they were successively dislodged from all their posts, and obliged to retreat into France.

We have already mentioned that lord Wellington had formed a most judicious and comprehensive plan for the operations of the peninsular campaign of 1813: this plan did not merely take in his own movements in the north-west of Spain, but embraced the movements and operations of the army which had been so long cooped up in Alicant, but which was now free, under the command of sir John Murray, and destined to act against Suchet in Catalonia. So far as lord Wellington himself was concerned in carrying his own plan into execution, it was most completely and gloriously successful; but it was far otherwise when acted upon by sir John Murray. His army had been so utterly inactive and useless, while

under the command of general Frederic Maitland, that it might have been expected that ministers would have chosen a more fit person to succeed him, and that his successor would have been stimulated by more than ordinary motives to enterprise and exertion. At first there was undoubtedly some appearance and hope, that sir John Murray would have been successful in the execution of that part of lord Wellington's plan which depended upon him; for he did engage, and partially defeat, the force under Suchet: but in his account of this action there was so much obscurity mixed with so much rodomontade, and the consequences of the victory which he claimed were of such an ambiguous nature, that many people were disposed to doubt of sir John Murray's qualifications for the arduous and important situation in which he was placed. These opinions were but too well founded: lord Wellington had sent instructions to sir John Murray to land in Catalonia, and undertake the siege of Tarragona, as a preparatory step to further operations: a British fleet was stationed off this part of the coast of Spain, under the command of admiral Hallowell, a most active and meritorious officer. The troops were landed; the siege of Tarragona was begun: but early in the month of June sir John Murray received information that the French were assembling in considerable numbers near Barcelona, and that marshal Suchet was advancing from Valencia: the English general was instantly panic-struck: he does not appear to have acted on accurate information respecting the strength of the enemy, but to have determined upon re-embarking his troops, on the faith of vague rumours. In his dispatch there

there is every indication of the truth of what we have stated: marshal Suchet, he says, in four or five days, if he had not re-embarked, could have attacked him with upwards of 20,000 men, or could have avoided an action, if he wished still further to re-inforce his army; while he himself could scarcely bring into the field 12,000 men. But allowing the accuracy of the statement respecting the enemy's force, it may be asked, why it was not ascertained before sir John Murray landed his army, and commenced the siege of Tarragona? But sir John Murray was still more censurable in the mode in which he conducted the re-embarkation of his troops: although, by his own account, the enemy were at a considerable distance, yet the re-embarkation was conducted with so much unnecessary precipitation, that all the artillery was left behind; and it is even said that the horses would have been shot, had it not been for the remonstrances of admiral Hallowell. That sir John Murray was apprehensive that lord Wellington would not approve of his conduct, is abundantly evident from the following passage in his official dispatches to his lordship: "Perhaps your lordship is of opinion that I ought to have risked an action; but when your lordship is informed that I had no possibility of a retreat, if unsuccessful; that there would have been no hopes of embarkation, if followed; and that the army must have been unavoidably lost, if beat; I venture to hope that your lordship will think, however much it is to be regretted, that I have adopted the only means of maintaining entire, or indeed of saving, an army on which so much depends. I am fully aware there are many circumstances which may

require further explanation, and upon all parts I shall be happy to give every explanation in my power. Your lordship perhaps may be of opinion, that the place should have been taken; but as it was far too strong to storm, I believe it not only to have been impossible, but that we should not have taken it in eight or ten days: my only regret is that I continued the siege so long. Induced by the hopes of the reinforcements I expected, I continued it to the last moment, and fortunately, the weather proving favourable, the troops were embarked without molestation. On this favourable circumstance I could not depend for another day; and therefore having taken my part, I immediately put it in execution, and I regret to say that I was in consequence obliged to leave the guns in the most advanced batteries. Had I remained another day, they might have been brought off; but this risk I could not run, when the existence of the army was at stake, not only from unfavourable weather, but from the appearance of an enemy, in whose presence I could not have embarked perhaps at all, certainly not without suffering a great loss, and without the possibility of deriving any advantage."

Notwithstanding this anxious, laboured, but confused and unsatisfactory defence of his conduct, lord Wellington, when he transmitted the dispatch to ministers, merely observed on it, "On this transaction I do not think myself sufficiently informed to be able to write more:" but it is not difficult to perceive, in this short remark, the dissatisfaction and disappointment of his lordship at the failure of sir John Murray.

Marshal Suchet, of course, represented the proceedings of sir

John before Tarragona as much more disgraceful, and his re-embarkation as much more disastrous, than it actually was; and while the French papers were silent respecting their defeat at Vittoria, and the evacuation of the peninsula by their main army, they were filled with the proceedings of marshal Suchet.

The account of sir John Murray's re-embarkation reaching England soon after the news of the victory which lord Wellington had gained, and it being known that his lordship had counted on sir John's co-operation to render his plans more perfect, excited against the latter a strong and general feeling of indignation; and his dispatches were scrutinized and canvassed with much severity. It was observed that, according to his own statement, he re-embarked when Suchet was six days' march from him; and this period this general would have required to collect his forces, and to bring them regularly into the field, as was distinctly mentioned in his report to the French war minister: "The necessity of following the movements of the English fleet forced

me to sacrifice the pleasure I should have had in congratulating the governor, Bartoletti; but by going to Tarragona I should have lost six days."

With respect to the last point of general Murray's defence, that, if beaten, "he had no possibility of retreat, but the whole army must have been sacrificed:" it may be observed that it is not necessary for a defeated general, with the sea in his rear, of which he has the command, to sacrifice more than the rear guard of his army. Even marshal Suchet seems to have entertained no hopes of being able to defeat the English; for he expressly states, "The report of twenty-five deserters proved to me, that the English, either covered by the fort of Balaguer or embarked, were placed beyond the reach of a land army." Indeed, according to the rule laid down by general Murray, general Stuart ought not to have fought against a superior force at Maida, because, if conquered, he had no possibility of retreat; and Abercrombie should equally have avoided an engagement in Egypt.

## CHAPTER XVI.

*Remarks on the first Events of the Campaign in the Peninsula—Soult takes the Command of the French Army—his high military Character—Observations on the Effects produced on the British Soldiers by taking Places by Storm—The Siege of St. Sebastian and Blockade of Pampeluna commenced—First Operations against St. Sebastian—Soult determines to relieve this Fortress and Pampeluna—Preparations of Lord Wellington to frustrate his Designs—Battle of the Pyrenees—Attack of the Enemy on the British right Wing and Centre—on their left Wing—the Enemy defeated at all Points—Lord Wellington becomes the Assailant—the Enemy driven back—Soult's Proclamation to his Soldiers—the Battles of Vittoria and of the Pyrenees compared—the latter both more glorious and more important in its Consequences—Siege of St. Sebastian recommenced—the Town taken by Assault—Gallantry of the British Troops—falsely accused of Outrage—Soult's second Attempt to relieve St. Sebastian defeated.*

SUCH were the first events and operations of the peninsular war in the campaign of 1813; of a chequered description and character no doubt: but when they are viewed fairly, and in all their consequences, it must be admitted, that what was glorious and successful very far preponderated over what was disgraceful and disastrous. Indeed the movements and operations of the enemy in the east of Spain were necessarily dependent, in a great measure, on their success, or want of success, in the north-west of the peninsula: between lord Wellington and the army directly opposed to him, was the fate of the war and of the peninsula to be decided: if he succeeded in completely defeating his opponents, Suchet might linger in Valencia or the neighbouring provinces; but he would retain them only on a precarious tenure, and might expose himself to serious if not irremediable disaster. It was however desirable that the direct opposition to Suchet should be as active and formidable as possible;

and that the British forces in that part of Spain, which had hitherto done nothing to assist lord Wellington's plans, should reap their share of the glory of delivering the peninsula: this army, as being composed in part of Sicilian troops, required a general of considerable talents; one who by the strictness of his discipline, by the activity and energy of his conduct, as well as by the hold which he possessed by his peculiar situation and character, might render these troops as efficient as their inexperience would admit. Hitherto, the generals who had commanded this mixt army were by no means qualified for their situation: not looked up to with confidence or respect by the British, it was impossible that the foreign troops could regard them with those feelings which an army must have towards its commander, before it can expect or even feel a strong desire to be victorious. It was therefore judged expedient by lord William Bentinck to go himself from Sicily and take the command of sir John Murray.

ray's army; which, having re-embarked, as we have seen, from Tarragona, was landed in Valencia for the purpose of more directly opposing Suchet.

It was equally the interest of Bonaparte to place his army, or rather the remnants of it, on the borders of the Pyrenees, under one of his ablest and most experienced generals, on the supposition that he still persevered in the idea of retaining Spain: but a man of common prudence, every man indeed not blinded by the most insane and fatal obstinacy, instead of employing his best general, and some of his best troops, in the defence of Spain, would have abandoned that country altogether, and employed them on purposes not only of a more urgent nature, but where there was a little better prospect of success. For at this period the affairs of Bonaparte in the north, as we shall afterwards see, were in a situation of great and imminent hazard: but such was the madness of his obstinacy, that when most undoubted proofs had been given him that he could not hold possession of Spain, he withdrew troops for this purpose from a quarter where he could ill spare them. He probably however did himself more disservice by dispatching Soult from Germany to take the command of the forces on the Pyrenees. This general in all his campaigns, especially in the south-west of Spain, had evinced more talents than any other of Bonaparte's generals: he was not only more active and energetic, but his activity and energy were accompanied and directed by more method and order; they rested on more clear and comprehensive views: under the most critical and embarrassing circumstances he was

never at a loss; his talents and resources seemed to rise in exact proportion to the dangers and difficulties with which he was surrounded. Nor was he by any means deficient in the most direct qualifications of a general: his courage was undoubted; possessed of great corporal activity and hardiness, he set an example of patient endurance of fatigue to all his troops. His military skill, too, was not only very extensive, but it was of a superior description: he had made himself well acquainted with those sciences by which the military art may be best assisted and most improved. In short, Soult was a man who might have preserved Spain to Bonaparte if it could have been preserved: but he was called to the office when things were desperate; he was placed against a general, who, even under circumstances more favourable to the French, would have proved himself superior to him: he had to command troops dispirited and weakened by repeated defeats, against troops inspired and flushed with victory.

When the intelligence of the battle of Vittoria, and its consequences, reached England, much conjecture and speculation were indulged with respect to the future designs and movements of Lord Wellington: some people were of opinion that he would advance immediately into France; others were disposed to believe, that before he crossed the Pyrenees, he would either proceed with his whole army, or dispatch a part of it against Suchet; while such as were better conversant with military affairs, and better acquainted with the country where the scene of operations was now laid, imagined that the reduction of St. Sebastian and Pampeluna must precede all ultimate operations,

rations. These two places were very strong, especially St. Sebastian, which indeed, both from its natural position and from the skill and labour which the French had expended on its fortifications, was not inferior in strength to any place in the peninsula, with the single exception of Gibraltar. Throughout the whole of the two revolutionary wars in which the French have been engaged, and particularly during the last war, they have selected for the defence of places likely to be besieged their best troops, and placed at their head such officers as were not only of the most obstinate and persevering bravery, but as also possessed great experience and skill in engineering. Scarcely a single place in the peninsula had fallen into our possession except after a gallant defence, and with a considerable loss on our part. It was not therefore to be supposed that either St. Sebastian or Pampeluna would be reduced easily or soon; especially when it was known that Soult had taken the command of the army, and that he had encouraged the governors of these fortresses to expect that he would with as little delay as possible advance to their relief.

The powers with which this general was invested by Bonaparte were of a very extensive and almost unprecedented nature: he was appointed lieutenant-general of all the armies in the peninsula, and authorised to act in every respect, and on all occasions, as his own judgement directed. His first object and endeavour was to re-organize the troops; to collect such as were scattered and dispersed; and to reinforce them by every means in his power. This was difficult in the actual state of France and of Bonaparte; but it was still more

difficult to put that spirit and feeling in them which might enable him again to lead them forth to combat with those who had often defeated them, with the smallest prospect of success. This however the French general attempted; and as he could not expect that St. Sebastian or Pampeluna would hold out very long, he was under the necessity of hastening his measures; and at last of proceeding to action, with an army only partially recruited in strength and spirits, or restored to discipline and organization.

In the mean time lord Wellington was not idle: he was well aware that Soult had taken the command of the French armies, and that he would soon resume offensive operations; it was therefore of importance to prosecute the siege of St. Sebastian with vigour. It seems to be part of the plan of lord Wellington's military operations, in most cases to prefer the assault to the gradual reduction of a place; and under most circumstances this mode is attended with great advantages; not the most trifling and unimportant of which is, that the gallantry of the troops, by being kept in play and exercise by assault, is much more likely to increase, than during the tedious and routine operations of a siege. The great object of a general ought undoubtedly to be, to infuse into his soldiers a most unshaken belief of their superiority to the enemy; and this belief can by nothing be so much strengthened, as by their carrying by assault places protected and defended with the utmost skill of French engineers, and the utmost bravery of select French troops. Even in a comparison of losses, it may be questioned whether in most instances, as many men are not lost by a protracted siege as by a vigorous

gorous assault: but undoubtedly the preference must be given to the latter mode, whenever a saving of time is an object of great consequence, or whenever the enemy's army is at hand; for it seldom happens that the besieging force is so strong, as at once to carry on the siege and oppose the army which comes to the relief of the besieged place.

Towards the end of July, the division of the British army, under sir Thomas Graham, commenced the siege of St. Sebastian: at this time Soult was at Bayonne: his line extended along the river Adour, from Bayonne to Oleron; his right rested on the former place, his left on the latter: one of his advanced guards was at St. Jean Pied de Port, and the other at Puerto de Bera. In this position his army was almost mixed with that of the allies at Irun, Lesaco, and Maya. The 1st and 5th divisions of lord Wellington's army, under the command of generals Pack and Bradford, were at this time before St. Sebastian, under general Graham; the 7th light division was posted on the right of the river Bidassoa, of course within the line of the Spanish frontier, and near to Lesaco: the Gallician army, under the command of Giron, was at Irun; Longa, with his troops, was between Irun and Lesaco; the 3d, 4th, and 6th divisions, which had been sent in pursuit of the enemy and to observe Pampeluna, were withdrawn from the latter place, and ordered to rejoin the main army: the 2d division, and the troops under Silviera, occupied respectively the two great passes of Roncevalles and Maya—the one from Pampeluna to Bayonne, and the other from Pampeluna to St. Jean Pied de Port: the Spanish corps,

under the command of O'Donnell, continued to blockade Pampeluna. The force under lord Wellington consisted of about 40,000 effective British troops; 25,000 Portuguese; the same number of Spaniards, under Giron and O'Donnell; besides those under Longa and Mina, and the guerillas. The force under Soult cannot at this time be so accurately ascertained, but it probably amounted to upwards of 60,000 men. Lord Wellington's objects were to reduce St. Sebastian as speedily as possible; to blockade at first and ultimately to reduce Pampeluna; and, while he was carrying on these two operations, to watch and defeat the movements of Soult. Soult's object of course was to raise the siege of St. Sebastian and the blockade of Pampeluna, either by a direct attack on the British, or by such a series of movements as would compel lord Wellington to withdraw the besieging portion of his armies.

The first object of sir T. Graham was to establish a battery against a convent, which the enemy had fortified and occupied in force, about six hundred yards from the works of St. Sebastian. On the 14th of July the battery was opened, and the convent was so far destroyed as to warrant the attempt to storm the building, and a redoubt which protected its left flank. This operation completely succeeded, and the British troops were established at the convent, and at a village immediately below it. Soon afterwards two practicable breaches were effected at St. Sebastian; and on the 24th of July orders were given to attack them: the assault was most obstinately and heroically made; but it did not succeed; and our loss on the occasion was very great. On the

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very day when this unsuccessful assault took place, Soult having made all his arrangements, and collected the right and left wings of his army, with one division of his centre, and two divisions of his cavalry, at St. Jean Pied de Port, attacked general Byng's post at Roncesvalles with between 30,000 and 40,000 men. As soon as general Cole was aware of this, he moved to the support of general Byng; and though their united divisions were very far inferior in numbers to the French, they maintained their position throughout the day: towards the evening however the enemy turned it, and the British were withdrawn in the course of the night. While this attack was going on under marshal Soult in person, two divisions of the centre of his army attacked sir Rowland Hill's position on the Puerto de Maya, and at first compelled part of our troops to give way: but general Barnes's brigade moving up to their support they regained their position: at this juncture, general Hill being informed that general Cole was retiring from his position, thought it expedient to withdraw his troops likewise.

As soon as lord Wellington was apprised of these events, he took such measures as might enable him still to continue the siege of St. Sebastian and the blockade of Pampeluna, even while he was engaged with the enemy; for a general battle was now almost certain. On the evening of the 27th his lordship joined the 3d and 4th divisions. The first attack of the enemy was made on a hill on the right, which was defended by one battalion of the 4th Portuguese regiment: this regiment maintained its position with great steadiness and bravery,

and, imitating the British, completely succeeded in repulsing the French with the bayonet. As, however, this hill was of great importance to the issue of the engagement, inasmuch as, if it had been turned, a road to Pampeluna might have been opened, the Portuguese troops were reinforced by the British 40th and two Spanish regiments; and in consequence of this reinforcement, the enemy were not able, notwithstanding their repeated and most obstinate attacks, to make any impression on this position.

On the morning of the 28th the 6th division of infantry joined the army, and lord Wellington gave orders that they should occupy the heights on the left of the valley of the Lauz, where they were supported by the 4th division. Scarcely had they taken up this position when they were attacked by a very large force of the enemy; but their front was so well defended by the fire of their own light troops from the heights on the left, that the enemy were soon driven back with immense loss. As they were now in a very difficult and dangerous situation in the valley of the Lauz,—in order to extricate themselves from it, they commenced an attack on the height on which the left of the 4th division were posted; and of this they obtained possession; but their success and triumph were only momentary; for they were soon driven from it by the 7th caçadores, supported by major-general Ross at the head of his brigade of the 4th division. The loss of the enemy on this occasion was very great. The battle was now general along the whole front of the heights, which were occupied by the 4th division; and it was every where favourable, except



cept where one battalion of the 10th Portuguese regiment was posted. Against this battalion the enemy advanced in such superior and overwhelming numbers, that it was compelled to give way; and in its retreat exposing the right of major-general Ross's brigade, the enemy were enabled to establish themselves on the British line; and major-general Ross was compelled to withdraw from his post. As soon as lord Wellington perceived this partial defeat, he ordered the 27th and 48th regiments to charge, in the first place, that portion of the enemy's troops which had succeeded in establishing themselves on the height, and next those on the left of them. These orders were instantly carried into execution in the most gallant and successful style; nothing could withstand the charge of these regiments. British soldiers know that the bayonet is, in a most marked and peculiar sense, their weapon: and the enemy are equally sensible, that when British troops employ this weapon they are invincible. The enemy by these charges were driven from the heights with great loss, and in the utmost disorder and confusion; and victory was again restored to the British in the only place where it seemed to be dubious or wavering. While these charges were carrying into execution, the 6th division moved forward to a situation in the valley nearer to the left of the 4th: as soon as this movement took place, the attack on this front ceased entirely.

The assault of the enemy on our left wing was not carried into execution with the same skill or bravery. As soon as lord Wellington found that general Cole, as we have already noticed, had changed his position, he directed general Hill

to march by Lauz upon Lesace, that part of the enemy's force which had been in front of general Hill, as soon as they observed his line of march, followed him, and arrived at Ostez on the 29th. Their object was, by an attack on this division of the British, to endeavour to turn the left of the whole army, as they found that they could not make any impression on the front: they were moreover induced to this attempt, in consequence of their own numerical strength in this part of the field of battle, and their having occupied a position on the mountains which seemed little exposed to attack. They commenced their operations by reinforcing with one division the troops which were opposed to general Hill, at the same time retaining their position on the mountains, where their principal force was posted: but the troops which had hitherto occupied the heights opposite the 3d British division were drawn in to their left; and during the night of the 29th they occupied in considerable strength the top of the mountain opposite the 6th and 7th divisions: the right, by these movements, was thus connected with the divisions destined to attack general Hill.

But lord Wellington was resolved that they should no longer be the assailants: he therefore ordered the earl of Dalhousie to obtain possession of the top of the mountain in his front, and thus turn the right of the enemy; while general Picton was directed to cross the heights on which the left of the enemy had been posted, and thus turn their left by the road to Roncesvalles. His lordship at the same time made the necessary preparations and arrangements to attack the front of the enemy, provided

success

success should attend the movements, and the operations on their flanks should be successful. As soon as the earl of Dalhousie had driven the enemy from the mountain, general Pack turned the village of Sorausen, which was instantly attacked and carried by the 6th division. The front of the enemy's main position was attacked by general Cole; and though it was very strong and difficult of access, they were obliged to abandon it: in their retreat a great many prisoners were taken.

As soon as lord Wellington was convinced that these operations would be successful, he detached troops to support general Hill: the enemy had appeared in front of him late in the morning, and immediately commenced an extended movement on his left flank: in consequence of this, he was under the necessity of withdrawing from the height that he had occupied near the Lizaco to the next range. In this position he maintained himself, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy to dislodge him from it. In the mean time, by the retreat of part of their line, the British troops who pursued them were placed in the rear of that which was attacking general Hill. Thus having this general in their front, and lord Wellington in their rear, they judged it necessary to commence their retreat; and on the 31st they occupied the pass of Donna Maria. His lordship directed general Hill and lord Dalhousie to pursue them to this place: on their arrival at the foot of the pass, they found the enemy ascending the hill in great haste; while the 7th division, moving on a road parallel and to the right of that by which general Hill was advancing, was pressing closely upon them. It was found impos-

sible to cut them off, as their rear had begun to ascend before general Hill's arrival: great annoyance was however given to the enemy in his retreat, till at last he took up a strong position at the top of the pass, with a cloud of skirmishers in his front: here he was attacked by lieutenant-general Stewart, who succeeded in forcing back the skirmishers to the top of the hill. Lieutenant-general Stewart, on this advantage, pressed forward; but coming on their main body, he found them so numerous and strongly posted, that he was obliged to withdraw till he was reinforced by the 7th division. In this attack lieutenant-general Stewart was wounded, and major-general Pringle took the command of the division: the attack was again renewed, while the 7th division pressed them on the other side: both these divisions, emulating one another in glorious and strenuous effort, gained the summit of the pass about the same time; the enemy retiring in good order, but after having sustained a very considerable loss. Our success in this point would have been both more decisive, and more speedily and completely gained, had it not been for a very thick fog, which prevented our troops taking that advantage of the situation of the enemy which they might otherwise have done.

Notwithstanding Soult was thus most signally defeated, two divisions of his army still continued posted on the Puerto de Echalar, and nearly the whole army behind the Puerto. On the 2d of August lord Wellington therefore resolved to compel him to quit these positions: accordingly he directed the 4th, 7th and light divisions to advance by the valley of the Bidassoa to the frontier, for the purpose of dislodging

ing the enemy, by a combined attack and movement of the three divisions. It so happened however that the 7th division, by crossing the mountains, arrived before the 4th division; and without waiting for the coming up of their companions, major-general Hill's brigade formed itself for the attack, with a regularity and gallantry which his lordship says he had seldom seen equalled: and notwithstanding the superior force of the enemy, the strong position which they occupied, and the formidable resistance which they made, they actually drove them from the heights. At the same time major-general Kempt's brigade of the light division drove a very considerable division of the enemy from the rock which formed the left of the Puerto; so that by these successes no enemy was left on the field within this part of the Spanish frontier. The loss of the enemy in the battle of the Pyrenees, for so this battle is denominated, was about 15,000 men; of whom 4,000 were made prisoners: our loss was between 2,000 and 3,000 killed and wounded.

It appeared from a proclamation by marshal Soult, addressed to his soldiers, and found on some of the killed or prisoners, that his object and expectation was not merely the relief of Pampeluna, but ulterior operations; and for the purpose of these, he had along with him a train of artillery, and a considerable body of cavalry, which could have been of no use till he descended from the mountains of Navarre, and this of course he could not possibly do till he had beaten and driven back the British army. It is not however, perhaps, always safe to infer, what were either the plans or the hopes of an

enemy from his address to his soldiers; because he must hold out to them the prospect of advantage which probably he himself does not anticipate. On the proclamation which he issued to his troops therefore, we are not disposed to lay much stress; and even the circumstance of his having along with him a train of artillery and a body of cavalry, by no means prove that he was sanguine in his expectation of victory: of course he thought the changes in his favour otherwise he would not have been the assailant; and he was naturally desirous, if he should prove the conqueror, of being able immediately, by artillery and cavalry, to take every possible advantage of his success. The convoy of provisions which the enemy endeavoured to introduce into Pampeluna under cover of Soult's attack on lord Wellington, was intercepted and the troops under whose escort it was were dispersed.

We have dwelt more fully and minutely on the battle of the Pyrenees, than we did on the battle of Vittoria, from several considerations: in the first place, although the defeat of the enemy in the battle of Vittoria was more signal and decisive than their defeat in the battle of the Pyrenees, it was not achieved by so much glory on our part: as there was less skill displayed by the French general, and less bravery by the French troops, in the battle of Vittoria, so there was of course room and occasion for less skill and bravery on our side. Indeed it may perhaps be justly observed, that in this battle the enemy put forth a smaller degree of military talent than in any other of their battles in the peninsula: there was little previous masterly arrangement; apparently no judi-

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cious plan or combination of movements or operations; and after the defeat, the rout and disorder of the enemy were very great: no circumstance can be a stronger proof of this, than their not being able to occupy a position long enough to save their artillery. Whereas in the battle of the Pyrenees, Soult seems to have made very masterly arrangements, all of which, by skillful combinations, were dependent on one another; and during the whole course of the battle his skill and military talents were equally apparent: on this account we consider the battle of the Pyrenees as more glorious to the British than the battle of Vittoria. But moreover, in the second place, it was the first pitched and regular battle in which Soult and lord Wellington had been opposed to each other; his lordship indeed had before had a partial engagement with Soult, but not to such an extent, or of such a description and nature, as could fairly try their comparative talents and skill. It must indeed be candidly admitted, that in the battle of the Pyrenees Soult fought under great disadvantages: his troops had been frequently beaten by the English under lord Wellington: even the veterans, therefore, could not advance to battle with any confidence and hope; and the raw troops, having learnt the character of the army with which they were about to contend, must have been exceedingly dispirited at the idea of commencing their military career with so little prospect of success. Still Soult was an antagonist worthy of lord Wellington; and as his lordship, by the operations and issue of the battle of the Pyrenees, proved his military skill to be superior to that of his antagonist, by defeating all his plans and move-

ments, we have deemed it thus proper to dwell at length on this battle. But lastly, the battle of the Pyrenees, when contrasted with the battle of Vittoria, appears to us to have been much more important in its consequences, and therefore more deserving of full and minute detail: by the defeat of the enemy at Vittoria we no doubt obtained possession of upwards of one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon; we routed them completely: but those consequences were rather splendid and temporary than solid and important. Our object was to drive the French out of the peninsula; to gain possession of the strong forts in this part of Spain, as well as the passes of the Pyrenees; and these objects were secured by the victory of the Pyrenees. It was gained too within sight of the people of France, and was the first ocular demonstration which they had of the superiority of the British; the first proof of the falsity of all the accounts that Bonaparte had published respecting Spain; and probably the first circumstance which made them more than doubt of his pretended successes in the north of Germany.

On the 26th of August the fire was recommenced against the fort of St. Sebastian; it was now directed principally against the towers which flanked the curtain on the eastern face. By the 30th of August every thing was effected which it was deemed practicable to carry into execution, in order to facilitate the approach to the breaches, which had before been made in the wall of the town; and lord Wellington gave orders to sir Thomas Graham to form a lodgement in them. The column destined for the attack consisted of the 2d, brigade of the 5th division, under the command of major-general

neral Robinson—the remainder of the same division being in reserve: the whole operation was placed by general Graham under the immediate direction and superintendence of sir J. Leith, who commanded that division.

As soon as the column filed out of the right of the trenches it was exposed to a very heavy fire of shells and grape-shot; at the same time the enemy exploded a mine, which did great damage, but did not hinder or check the progress, or damp the ardour, of the assailants. As soon as they came near the breach, they were convinced it was not nearly so practicable as it had appeared at a distance: indeed sir Thomas Graham represents the external appearance of it as very fallacious. The difficulties in the way of the troops entering by it were almost insupportable, since notwithstanding its great extent there was only one point where it was possible to enter, and there only by single files: on the inside of the wall there was a perpendicular scarp of at least twenty feet to the level of the street: under these circumstances, the only accessible point lay in the narrow ridge of the curtain itself. The enemy, besides these advantages, had employed their time, during the suspension of the operations of the siege, in every means of defence which military art and skill could devise; and thus, covered themselves by intrenchments, they were ready to pour a most destructive fire of musketry on both flanks of the approach to that point where the breach was practicable.

The British troops were brought forward from the trenches in succession, and advanced to the assault with the most cool and persevering bravery—but they could effect nothing: no man outlived the

attempt to gain the top of the ridge. The engineers in vain used all their endeavours to form a lodgement for the troops; for though the slope of the breach afforded shelter from the musquetry of the enemy yet the immense quantities and the position of the stone rubbish rendered all their efforts unavailing. Sir Thomas Graham, in these perilous and embarrassing circumstances, was convinced that, unless a part of the curtain were occupied a secure lodgement could never be obtained. "In this desperate state of the attack," to use his own words in his official dispatch to lord Wellington, "after consulting with colonel Dickson commanding the royal artillery, I ventured to order the guns to be turned against the curtain: a heavy fire of artillery was directed against it passing a few feet only over the heads of our troops on the breach and was kept up with a precision of practice beyond all example." In the mean time part of major general Bradford's Portuguese brigade offered to ford the river near its mouth: this offer was accepted, and proved of considerable service, while the 1st battalion of the 13th regiment and a detachment of the 24th advanced over the open breach and across the river, under a very severe fire of grape-shot: these troops afterwards occupied a small breach on the right of the great one, and afterwards the right of the great breach.

By this time the effect of the fire of the batteries against the curtain was very visible; and therefore general Graham resolved to make a great effort to gain the high ridge at all hazards, while at the same time he ordered an attempt to be made to storm the 26th work for this purpose the 2d brigade of the 5th division moved out of the

trenches

trenches, under the command of colonel Charles Greville; while the 3d battalion of the Royal Scots, and the 38th regiment, fortunately arrived to assault the breach in the curtain just at the moment when the enemy were thrown into confusion in consequence of an explosion on the rampart of the curtain. The narrow pass was now the scene of a most desperate combat; our troops pressing forward to occupy and retain it; while the enemy, sensible of its importance, defended it with great obstinacy: at last this pass was gained; and the troops on the right of the breach having about the same time succeeded in forcing the barricadoes on the top of the narrow wall, made their way into the houses that joined it. The assault had now continued upwards of two hours, under circumstances which called for all the heroism of British soldiers; but at last a firm footing was obtained.

Nothing now could restrain or oppose the impetuosity of the troops; and in less than an hour from this time the enemy were completely driven from all their defences which they had constructed in the streets, and retreated to the castle, after having suffered a very severe loss. The whole town was now in possession of the British.

Perhaps never were the steadiness, coolness, and perseverance of British valour put to a more arduous trial than on this occasion; never were the skill and presence of mind of British officers more requisite; but they ultimately triumphed; and by their triumph completely proved that British troops, when judiciously led on, are equal to the overcoming of all difficulties, and that nothing within the compass of

valour to effect, is too mighty for their efforts.

Some time after the capture of the town of St. Sebastian, a most serious charge was brought, in one of the Spanish papers, against our troops, for wanton and deliberate cruelty towards the inhabitants: and it was moreover alleged, that the officers, instead of repressing, encouraged the violence and disorder of the men. Such a charge was repelled with the solemnity and directness which became a nation so jealous of its honour as the British: it was proved that the officers, and especially general Graham, had done all in their power to restrain the impetuous violence of the troops; and that they had succeeded almost completely in their efforts: it was further made manifest, that those soldiers who had been found guilty of outrage against the inhabitants of St. Sebastian had been immediately punished in the most exemplary manner. It may be indeed admitted, without a very serious or peculiar charge against the discipline of the British army, or against the character of British soldiers, that they might, after taking a town by assault, with their indignation inflamed by the resistance which they had experienced, and their grief still fresh at the death of their brave companions, have committed many outrages against the inhabitants, even though those inhabitants were of a friendly nation: but the accusation is false, if it go to charge the British soldiery, generally, with a cruel disposition; and still more calumnious, if it assert that British officers are in the least disposed not to repress and punish all outrage and violence, even where the usages and rights of war may seem to justify or excuse this conduct.

As soon as general Graham had gained possession of the town of St. Sebastian, he directed his efforts against the castle ; and his fire was so effectual and destructive, that on the 8th of September a flag of truce was hoisted by the enemy, and after some discussion the terms of surrender were agreed upon : by these terms the French troops were made prisoners of war, to be sent to England. By the reduction of the town and fortress 2,600 men were made prisoners : our loss was very severe, though not more so than the nature of the operations might have rendered probable.

We have judged it expedient to narrate all the events respecting the fall of St. Sebastian without interruption ; but it will now be proper to detail the particulars of an attempt which Soult made to relieve that place. As soon as the fire against it had been recommenced, the enemy began to collect the greatest part of their force in such a manner, and to such a position, as left no doubt in the mind of lord Wellington, that it was his intention to make an attempt to relieve St. Sebastian. The approach to it was covered by three divisions of the 4th Spanish army, under the command of general don Manuel Freyre : these troops occupied the heights of San Marcial and the town of Irun : on their left, and in the rear of Irun, they were supported by some British troops ; and on their right by general Longa's division. Notwithstanding these precautions to prevent Soult from penetrating to the relief of St. Sebastian, lord Wellington judged it expedient to send reinforcements to this point, as he had no doubt that the attack, whenever it was made, would be made in a desperate man-

ner, and with a large body of troops. In all his arrangements on this occasion to meet and defeat the attempt of the French, his lordship displayed that minute and comprehensive judgement in military affairs, for which he is so eminently and justly distinguished : he saw every thing with the eye of a soldier : he anticipated every movement and operation which the enemy could make ; and he most effectually guarded against even the possibility of his ultimate success.

Before day broke, on the morning of the 31st, a very large French force crossed the river Bidassoa by the fords, as the bridge had been destroyed in that place : as soon as ever they got to the other side of the river, they commenced a most desperate attack along the whole front of the position of the Spanish troops who were stationed on the heights of San Marcial. Never before did the Spaniards behave with such gallantry : his lordship indeed seems to have been resolved to afford them an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, if they were so disposed ; for though there were British troops near them, in order to support them if there should be necessity for it ; yet it would appear that these troops had directions to permit the Spaniards to reap all the glory of repulsing the enemy. Soult, on the other hand, seems to have anticipated easy and complete success, from the consideration that he was about to attack Spaniards only ; and he was evidently much surprised and disappointed when he found that they withstood his attack with such cool and determined bravery. Lord Wellington expressly states, that the conduct of the Spanish troops on this occasion was equal to that of any troops that he ever saw engaged.

engaged. Indeed it may be remarked, that the nearer the Spanish forces approached to the frontiers of their country, the greater was the prospect of expelling the enemy, the more resolution and valour did they display: and his lordship knew well how to encourage and bring forth this increasing tendency to discipline and bravery: by appearing to place confidence in their bravery and steadiness, he made them brave and steady. But to return to the particulars of this attack.

The French, notwithstanding they received fatal and unequivocal proofs of Spanish valour, renewed the attack several times; but on every occasion they were repulsed with the same gallantry and determination. Finding at length they could not succeed in this mode of attack, they threw a bridge across the river a little above the high road: this they were enabled to do in consequence of the course of the river being immediately under the heights on their side of it, on which they had placed a considerable quantity of cannon. As soon as this bridge was erected, a large force passed, and uniting with those who had crossed by the fords, they made another desperate attack on the Spanish position. Still they could make no impression: the Spaniards, proud of the former repulses which they had given the enemy, and sensible that the eyes and expectations of the whole British army were placed upon them, exerted themselves to the utmost: at length the enemy, finding all their efforts on that side fruitless, took advantage of the darkness of a violent storm and retired. In this affair the Spaniards had all the glory, as the British troops who were posted on each

flank were not in the least engaged during the action.

About the same time that the French made this attack against the Spaniards on the heights of San Marcial, they crossed the river lower down in front of the position occupied by the 9th Portuguese brigade: here they were partially successful; as the British troops, which were directed by lord Wellington to move up to the support of the Portuguese, found it impossible to maintain the heights between the Lezaco and the Bidassoa: but their success was merely temporary; for, having failed in their attack on the Spaniards, by which their situation on the left of the Bidassoa was becoming every moment more critical, this part of the enemy also retired in the course of the night. But they found their retreat less easily effected than they had expected; for, in consequence of the rain which had fallen during the evening, the river was so much swollen, that the rear of their column was under the necessity of crossing at the bridge of Vera; and before they could do this, they had to attack the posts of major-general Skerret's brigade of the light division: it was impossible to prevent them from passing the bridge; but the passage was effected under a very heavy fire, and the enemy's loss was very considerable. Thus defeated in all his attempts, marshal Soult was compelled to leave St. Sebastian to its fate. In order fully to appreciate the bravery of the allied army on this occasion, it ought specially to be recollected, that these desperate attacks of the enemy were repulsed only by a very small portion of their forces, and at the very moment at which the town of St. Sebastian was taken by storm.



## CHAPTER XVII.

*Affairs in the North-east of Spain—Difficulties and Obstacles in the Way of Lord William Bentinck's Operations—from the Composition of the Army which he commanded—from the Backwardness of the Spaniards—and from the Force of the Enemy, and the Character of their General—He advances against Tarragona, but is obliged to retreat—He returns to Sicily, and General Clinton takes the Command—Lord Wellington resolves to cross the Bidasoa, and establish himself securely and permanently in France—his Movements and Operations for that Purpose—attacks the Positions of Soult—gallant Behaviour of the Andalusian Army on this Occasion—Remarks on the Behaviour of the Spanish Troops on different Occasions—Lord Wellington takes up a Position between the Nive and the Adour, while Soult retires into his intrenched Camp before Bayonne—the Blockade of Pampeluna committed solely to the Spaniards—Surrender of that Place—Lord Wellington fortifies the Passes of the Pyrenees—crosses the Nive, and commands the Navigation of the Adour—desperate Attack on him by Soult, who is repulsed, and quits his intrenched Camp—Reflections on the Termination of the peninsular War*

WE shall now direct our attention to the operations and the state of affairs in the north-east of Spain: it has been already mentioned, that on sir John Murray's disgraceful re-embarkation and retreat, lord William Bentinck judged it necessary to leave Sicily and assume the command of the Anglo-Sicilian army: much was justly expected from the known talents and activity of his lordship; and it was hoped that, at last, this army would at least retrieve its character, even if it did not very essentially or effectually co-operate with lord Wellington.

It was indeed of great consequence in many respects, that the east and north-east of the peninsula should if possible be freed from the presence of the French: the inhabitants, and especially those of Catalonia, are the most active and industrious of all the Spaniards: they possess the good qualities of the nation with but a compa-

ratively small proportion of the bad and debasing qualities: therefore their country could only be liberated from the tyranny of the enemy, it was to be expected that they would act with more decision and effect for the common cause than any others of their countrymen. Besides, this part of Spain is uncommonly fertile, and is better cultivated than the greatest part of the peninsula: and in the exhausted state of the country, it was of great consequence to rescue from the enemy such lands as would contribute to the support of the people and the armies.

But lord William Bentinck had many difficulties and obstacles to overcome. In the first place, the composition of his army was not the best description: of the discipline and valour of the British part of it there could be no doubt: but a considerable proportion consisted of Sicilians; and when we come to notice the affairs of that island,

will too evidently appear, that notwithstanding the dislike the Sicilians had to their old government, which the British showed a zealous and sincere desire to reform, and render less oppressive to the people; notwithstanding the examples of French oppression, which they had either witnessed or heard of on the neighbouring continent of Italy, from which also the British were anxious to free them; there was among many of the Sicilians—to use the mildest terms—a disinclination towards the British; and this disinclination, it might be reasonably apprehended, existed and operated among the Sicilian troops which lord William Bentinck had under his command. Besides, these troops, even though their fidelity and steadiness of attachment could have been depended upon, were very deficient in discipline, skill, and valour: they added to the numerical, but not much to the real, strength of the army.

In the second place, lord William Bentinck, even with this army, on the supposition that the whole had been equally effective with the British part of it, was not in sufficient force, without the Spaniards, to cope with the French under Suchet: and the Spaniards in this part of the peninsula were not of a superior description to the Spaniards along with lord Wellington. Indeed there were circumstances which must have operated to render them less effective troops, unless the Spaniards are totally unlike all other men: the victories which lord Wellington had achieved; the glory he had won; the services which he had rendered their country; the near prospect, if not the absolute certainty, of its secure and permanent liberation, and of their entering in their turn

as invaders into France,—must have roused in their breasts the united and powerful feelings of confidence in his lordship and in the army under his command, of gratitude to him and them; and of a desire of avenging in France all the outrages which Frenchmen had committed in Spain. Influenced by these considerations and feelings, the Spaniards along with lord Wellington, it might naturally be supposed, would make better soldiers than those who joined the army of lord William Bentinck; who could not have the confidence in him, or feel the same gratitude towards him; who were yet far from their frontiers; and were about to contend with a French general and French troops who hitherto had been victorious.

In the third place, Suchet, to whom lord William Bentinck was opposed, was a general of very considerable talents; certainly not equal to Soult, but perhaps next to him of all the French generals who had commanded in the peninsula: he was remarkably active; very popular with his army; and by his decision and energy, mixed too often with cruelty, had kept the Spaniards in that part of the country very much down. Probably, in point of talent, lord William Bentinck was not inferior to his opponent; but he did not possess his experience: he had been little accustomed to European warfare, especially that kind of it which the situation and circumstances of the peninsula required.

Such were the principal difficulties and obstacles which his lordship had to encounter when he assumed the command of the Anglo-Sicilian army: and it is to be lamented, that the British ministry did not pay more attention to this

army; that they did not increase both its numerical and its real strength. Lord Wellington evidently took the probable successes of this army into his calculation, when he arranged the plan and operations of the campaign for 1813: he was undisguisedly disappointed at its inactivity while under the command of general Frederic Maitland; and at its absolute want of success when under sir John Murray. Greater prospect of success no doubt was held out when lord William Bentinck took the command and management of it: but a general of the most consummate talents and skill requires time before he can organise and discipline inferior troops: and when circumstances will not admit of this time; and when moreover the numerical strength is inferior to the attainment of the object in view, it is impossible that the mere appointment of a good general should be of much avail.

Lord William Bentinck, however, was resolved not to be inactive; and his first enterprise was against Tarragona, that place from which sir John Murray had fled. On the 2d of August his lordship reached the neighbourhood of Tarragona, where he was joined by a Spanish division under the command of the duke del Parque. According to the plan he had formed, he intended to have taken up a position on the river Paya, about two leagues beyond Tarragona, for the purpose of covering the siege of that place if he had found it advisable to undertake its reduction. When however he came to reconnoitre the country, it was found that the river, on which he intended to have taken up his position, presented no place proper for that purpose. Under these circumstances, his lordship next

thought of pushing on to the Elobregat, a river which falls into the sea about four miles from Barcelona: this plan seems to have entered his thoughts, from the hope that, if he could occupy the ridge of hills which overhang this river, he might have fallen separately on the advanced division of the French army which was posted at Villa Franca, before it could be joined by the main body from Barcelona. As this attempt however was extremely hazardous, and indeed could not, with any prospect of success, be carried into execution unless his own army was reinforced, he determined to await the expected and promised junction of a body of Spanish troops under the command of general Sarsfield: this general, however, from some cause not explained, was very dilatory in his motions; and in the mean time marshal Suchet concentrated the whole of his army in Villa Franca. It was at the least computation 25,000 strong; he having been reinforced by a body of troops under Decaen. As soon as Suchet had taken up this position, he resolved to act on the offensive: his first attempt was to get at lord William Bentinck's army by the road along the sea-coast; but in this attempt he was completely and gallantly frustrated by the fire of some British gun-boats: he was therefore compelled to take a circuitous inland route, through Valls and Reus, in order to reach Tarragona. Lord William Bentinck watched the movements of the enemy with great judgement, and colonel lord Frederic Bentinck was particularly employed and distinguished on this occasion. He reconnoitred the column of the enemy as it was advancing on Valls. On this occasion a smart affair took place, highly creditable

credit to the Brunswick hussars; for, though they were engaged with a very superior number of the enemy, they came off victorious.

Suchet however at length succeeded in approaching Tarragona; and as his force was so much greater than that under lord William Bentinck, his lordship judged it prudent to retire: he effected his retreat in the best order, at first to about twelve miles distance from that place, and subsequently about nine miles further to Hospitalet. Lord Wellington, in his official dispatch to ministers, decidedly gave it as his opinion, that lord William Bentinck had acted very properly in retiring from Tarragona: and Suchet himself seems to have been disappointed with the result of his advance; for, after having blown up the works of that place, he fell back to the point from which he had set out; thus abandoning a considerable portion of Catalonia to the allies.

Nothing of consequence occurred in this part of Spain from this time till the beginning of September, when lord William Bentinck again advanced, and pushed his troops on all sides to the very posts of Barcelona. Suchet, determined to repel them, came on with a very large force: the advanced guard of the allied army consisted of three Spanish regiments and about eleven hundred Germans, Calabrians, and Portuguese. For several hours they made a most gallant and vigorous resistance against the greatest part of Suchet's army; but being overpowered by the numbers opposed to them, they were at last forced to give way: in their retreat they were under the necessity of abandoning two field-pieces and two mountain-guns. In consequence of this advance of the

enemy, lord William Bentinck judged it advisable to retire again to the neighbourhood of Tarragona. While he was in the act of retiring, the French, with their superior cavalry, made many attempts to harass and throw his troops into disorder: but all their attempts were fruitless, principally in consequence of the gallant charges made by the 20th light dragoons and the hussars of the king's German legion. The enemy, perceiving that he could make no impression, retreated behind the river Llobregat. Soon after this affair, circumstances rendering it expedient that his lordship should return to Sicily, the command of the allied army devolved upon general Clinton.

Suchet, in his official account of this affair, magnified it into the greatness and splendour of a victory: according to him, nearly the whole of the allied army was engaged; and their defeat was signal and decisive. But at this time it was absolutely necessary to present the French people with something that looked like victory in the bulletins from the peninsula: respecting the operations and defeat of Soult, the French government were most profoundly silent; though there is reason to believe, that this silence only gave room for suspicions and apprehensions even more gloomy than the actual state of affairs. As therefore the French government could not publish any bulletins respecting Soult's army; and as at this time the operations of the grand army under Bonaparte in the north of Germany presented nothing satisfactory, Suchet was probably directed to make up as favourable a report as he possibly could. It is however to be lamented, that while every

thing else was going on well for the cause of the continent of Europe, and of Britain; while lord Wellington was victoriously driving the enemy beyond the western Pyrenees; and while the allies in Germany were stimulated and encouraged by his lordship's successes to perseverance and glorious efforts,—we could not appeal to the operations of our army in the north-east of the peninsula with any satisfaction or confidence. As nothing further was done in this part of Spain, let us turn our thoughts and attention to the operations and movements of lord Wellington's army.

After the defeat of Soult in his attempt to relieve St. Sebastian, the British army took up its position on one side of the small river Bidassoa, which divides France from Spain; while the French army occupied the other side of the river: detached posts of the latter occupied the right bank from the mouth to the pass of Vera, and a mountain at the distance of about twelve miles. The French had rendered their positions extremely formidable by field-works skilfully contrived and well furnished with artillery. There would not however have been much difficulty in attacking them, had the celebrated wooden bridge, over which the high road formerly passed, been still in existence; but it had been for some time broken down. It was therefore necessary for the British army to cross the river by the fords; and in order to render their operations successful, it was necessary to cross it at various points at the same time, and simultaneously to attack the enemy in his entrenchments.

At Andaye near the mouth of the river the French had their principal position: the fortifications

of this place were tolerably strong, and there were entrenchments both above and below it. Against this position sir Thomas Graham, with the 1st and 5th British divisions, and the 1st Portuguese brigade, was directed to proceed: his corps crossed the river in four columns. At the same time, a little higher up, the greatest part of the fourth Spanish army, under the command of don Manuel Freyre, crossed in three columns, in order to carry the entrenchments on the Montagne Verte, and on the heights of Mandal. Both these divisions performed their duty in the most exemplary and successful manner: the British and Portuguese took seven pieces of cannon in the redoubts which they carried; and the Spaniards one piece of cannon in the redoubt carried by them. There seems indeed, on this occasion, to have been between the Spaniards and British and Portuguese a great degree of emulation; the one vying with the other in steadiness, gallantry, and perseverance; so that the enemy had no chance of standing against either of them.

These operations took place in the extreme left of the allied army; and, while they were going on, other bodies were ordered to cross the Bidassoa higher up. The French entrenchments at the pass of Vera were attacked by the British light division under the command of baron Alten, supported by the Spanish division of brigadier-general Longa; while the entrenchments on the mountain of La Rhone were attacked by the Andalusian army of reserve under the command of general Giron. Here, also, both the British and Spaniards behaved admirably; the light division charged with the bayonet, and carried every thing before them, taking upwards of

of four hundred prisoners and three pieces of cannon. The heights on which that part of the enemy were posted, and against which the Andalusian army advanced, were very steep and difficult of access: nevertheless they succeeded in establishing themselves on the same ridge with the enemy, and were only prevented by the utter inaccessibility of one rock from dislodging them entirely before night-fall of the 7th. As it was of the utmost consequence to the future operations of the army to dislodge them entirely from this rock, every effort was made for that purpose; but they were favoured by the intervention of a thick fog; and till that cleared away no attack could be made upon them with any prospect of success. As soon as it did clear away, lord Wellington himself reconnoitred the rock; and observing that on the right side it appeared to be in a small degree accessible, he directed an attack to be made in this quarter. As the Andalusians had had the honour and glory of driving the enemy from every part of the heights but this, his lordship resolved that they should possess a still further opportunity of distinguishing themselves: they were therefore ordered to attack this formidable position; and this order they instantly obeyed with the utmost alacrity, storming the entrenchment in a most gallant style. As by this operation the French camp at Sarre was entirely exposed, they were under the necessity of abandoning all the other works which covered it, and in the course of the night the camp itself. The loss of the allies on this occasion amounted to nearly 1,600 men; that of the enemy was much greater.

In this affair the Spaniards, and especially the army of Andalusia, behaved in such a manner as to receive from lord Wellington, in his

official dispatches, the most marked approbation; and indeed, both on this occasion and on others where the Spanish troops were entirely under his lordship's command, and where moreover they were mixed with the British, they showed themselves by no means deficient in discipline, skill, or valour. What then might they not have done—how much more might they not have contributed towards the liberation of their country than they actually did—had their government been wise and patriotic enough to have placed them at the commencement of the war completely and regularly under the direction and command of British officers!

The result of this attack on the positions of the enemy was to fix the British head-quarters securely and permanently within the boundaries of France: what a subject for reflection, and how proud a day for England! That country invaded, which, not eighteen months before, had given the law to nearly the whole continent of Europe; and invaded too by troops belonging to a nation who hitherto, whatever might have been their naval triumphs, had not greatly distinguished themselves by land! Bonaparte had threatened to drive our army in the peninsula into the sea; and that army was now driving his best troops and most experienced general to seek refuge within the territory of France!

Pampeluna still held out, but it was destined soon to fall; and lord Wellington, with a delicate and laudable attention to national feeling, delegated to a Spanish general the command of the blockade, and the authority to conclude a capitulation: and don Carlos d'España showed himself fully worthy of this confidence and honour. The enemy made several sorties, but in all

of them they were repulsed with very considerable loss. A circumstance is mentioned by his lordship very honourable to the gallantry and patriotism of don Carlos d'España : in repulsing one of the sorties he had the misfortune to be wounded ; yet anxious to see his country's standard planted on a fortress so basely stolen from her, he hastened to report himself able to discharge his duty, and was accordingly continued in the command by lord Wellington. The garrison, notwithstanding the ill success of all their sorties, and the conviction they must have felt that there was no prospect of relief or reinforcement, continued to hold out till the 26th of October, when they proposed to capitulate on condition that they should be permitted to march into France with six pieces of cannon. These terms being peremptorily refused, they then proposed to capitulate, and engage not to serve against the allies for the space of a year : when this condition also was rejected, they declared that they would never submit to be made prisoners of war. In the short space of five days, however, they altered their tone and determination, and consented to be marched to the port of Passages as prisoners of war.

As soon as lord Wellington had succeeded in completely freeing this part of the peninsula from the presence of the enemy, he directed his attention to the fortifying of the passes of the Pyrenees ; and in a very short time the most important of them were rendered nearly as strong and unassailable as the celebrated lines of Torres Vedras. If, therefore, the Spaniards are true to themselves ; if they are not most grossly and culpably negligent ; if they are at all worthy of the liberation and national independence which has been wrought out for

them by British valour and British blood ; they must be for ever safe from the invasion of the French. Lord Wellington has taught them that the French may be beaten ; he has even enabled them to beat themselves ; he has driven the enemy beyond the natural boundaries of their country ; and these boundaries, strong by nature, he has rendered still more so by art. The Spanish nation, therefore, secure from foreign tyranny, may, if they are so disposed, have sufficient leisure and opportunity to bring back their character to what it was formerly ; and may again resume their proper and just place among the nations of Europe. Let us hope that they will act in this manner.

Lord Wellington was not content with driving the enemy beyond the Pyrenees, and with establishing his head-quarters within the boundaries of France ; he resolved to advance further : indeed, the nature of the country and the season of the year rendered a movement further into France absolutely necessary ; for at the foot of the Pyrenees an army could not possibly exist during the winter. But Soult, not dispirited by his defeats and losses, and, wherever he was, still displaying the first-rate military talents, had taken up a position naturally very strong ; and this he had fortified, particularly on his right, in such a manner that lord Wellington did not deem it expedient to attack it in front ; and his plan of attacking it he had not a sufficient number of troops to carry into execution till the fall of Pampeluna.

As soon, however, as the right of his army was disengaged from covering the blockade of that place, he commenced his movements for the attack of the enemy ; but the state of the roads, in consequence of the very heavy rains, obliged him

him to defer his ultimate operations longer than he intended. On the 10th of November, however, the attack was practicable; the object of it to force the centre of the enemy, and to establish the British army in the rear of their right wing: the attack was made in columns of divisions, each led by the general officer commanding it, and each forming its own reserve. On the right the second division moved, under lieutenant-general Stewart; and the sixth division, under general Clinton, along with some Spanish and Portuguese troops, attacked the positions of the French behind Anhoue. The fourth division, under the command of general Cole, attacked the redoubts in front of the village of Sarre, and the heights behind it; in the attack they were supported by the army of reserve of Andalusia. The positions of the enemy on La Rhune were attacked and carried by the light division and general Longa's Spanish division; and these troops, as soon as they had succeeded, co-operated with the right of the centre in the attack of the heights behind Sarre.

The attack began at break of day; and general Cole having compelled the enemy to evacuate the redoubts on their right, in the front of Sarre; and the redoubt in the front of the left of the village having been also evacuated; general Cole took possession of the village, which was at the same time turned on its left by the third division. The enemy's positions on La Rhune being also carried, the whole of the British attacking army co-operated in the attack on the enemy's main position behind the village: this attack was so well concerted, and carried on in all its parts with so much skill and bravery, that the enemy were obliged to abandon

their strong positions, which they had fortified with so much skill and labour. By a few other judicious movements and operations lord Wellington succeeded in establishing his army in the rear of the enemy's right, which our readers will recollect was the principal object he had in view in making this attack. The day however was now too far spent to make any further movement. The next day the enemy manifested a disposition to retire without waiting to be again attacked; and in the night of the 11th they retreated into an entrenched camp which they had formed in front of Bayonne.

In the whole of this attack, which required a series of combined movements and operations, the military skill of lord Wellington is eminently conspicuous; nor are the discipline, the steadiness, and the bravery of the soldiers, Portuguese, Spanish, and British, less worthy of admiration. Many people were apprehensive, when his lordship was first appointed to the command of the British army in the peninsula, that he would be rash; and that his love of glory and his spirit of enterprise would induce him to be lavish of the blood of his soldiers. Neither of these anticipated evils has taken place; there is no rashness about him; and the event which we have just recorded, as well as many other operations of the peninsular war, fully prove that, wherever skill can be brought into action so as to save the lives of his men, lord Wellington always prefers it to a downright attack carried through by numbers or hard fighting.

Soon after the defeat of the French at Vittoria, at least as soon as Soult assumed the command in consequence of that defeat, they formed an entrenched camp close under Bayonne, extending semicircularly on the south side of the Adour,



Adour, above and below the junction of the river Nive. Bayonne is a strongly fortified town, (it is said, in the opinion of the celebrated Vauban who fortified it, one of his most scientific and perfect works,) lying on the northern bank of the Adour, near the point where the Nive falls into that river from the south. While lord Wellington continued on the side of the Nive next the Pyrenees, supplies of all sorts were brought down the Adour to Bayonne; and as the entrenched camp was uncommonly strong, and bade defiance to all attacks, his lordship could not expect to drive the enemy from it by main force: it therefore became necessary to pass the Nive, in order to intercept the supplies that were brought down the Adour to Bayonne. This movement was also expedient from another consideration; for though, by the last defeat of Soult, and consequent advance of the British army, they had got beyond the excessive cold of the Pyrenees, yet being still at the bottom of those mountains, they were obliged to encamp in a very moist and unhealthy situation, and were also cramped for want of room.

As soon, therefore, as the state of the weather and the roads permitted lord Wellington to collect the materials necessary for throwing bridges over the Nive, he resolved to pass that river: this did not occur till the 8th of December. He then gave orders for the right of the army, under the command of general Hill, to pass on the 9th at one place, while the 6th division under general Clinton passed at another place: both these operations succeeded completely; and the enemy were driven from the right bank of the river, and retired towards Bayonne. His lordship

had now an opportunity of reconnoitring their entrenched camp more closely: he found it to be under the fire of that city; the right resting on the Adour, and the front covered by a morass formed by a rivulet which falls into the Adour. The right of the centre of the entrenched camp rested on the same morass, and the left on the river Nive: the left was between the Adour and the Nive. In consequence of lord Wellington's having succeeded in crossing the Nive, he nearly inclosed the French camp, commanded the navigation of the Adour, and had it always in his power to throw detachments across that river, above the city, either for the purpose of intercepting convoys, or even of bombarding the town, or storming the works to the north of Bayonne.

It is evident from this account of the relative situation of the two armies, after the passage of the Nive by the British, that Soult could not safely continue in his entrenched camp while our army was between the Nive and the Adour; he therefore resolved to attempt to drive us back to our former position: for this purpose he assembled his troops in considerable force on a range of heights which run parallel with the Adour, keeping the village of Ville Franche on their right. This village lord Wellington ordered to be attacked, and it was carried in a very gallant style by a Portuguese regiment (the 9th caçadores) and the British light infantry battalions of the 6th division: as soon as they gained possession of the village, they proceeded to the attack of the heights, which they also carried in the same gallant style. It was lord Wellington's intention to have pushed these advantages still further; but he was not able to proceed, in consequence

sequence of the roads being rendered that day almost impassable by the heavy and continued rains. The next day, however, when general Hill was preparing to advance, he found that the enemy had retired, and he accordingly took up the position which it was intended he should have occupied the preceding day: the right of his division was towards the Adour, and his left at Ville Franche, while he communicated with the centre of the army, under general Beresford, by a bridge laid over the Nive.

The situation of Soult was now rendered still more critical; he therefore on the morning of the 10th moved out of his entrenched camp with his whole army, with the exception of that division that was posted opposite sir Rowland Hill. After driving in the picquets, he made a most desperate attack on the posts of the light division, and on the advanced posts of sir John Hope's corps, on the high road from Bayonne to St. Jean de Luz. The brunt of this attack fell principally on the 1st Portuguese brigade, and on a brigade of the 5th division which advanced to their support; both of which behaved most admirably; repulsing the enemy, and taking about 500 prisoners. The immediate object of the attack was to oblige lord Wellington to draw in his right, in order that he might support the divisions which were attacked: but as these divisions, though very inferior in force to the assailants, succeeded in repulsing them, the enemy were disappointed in their object. After this action was over, two regiments, one Dutch and the other German, came over to the British.

The enemy, though repulsed, still continued in considerable force in front of the British posts, on the

ground from which they had driven the picquets: in the course of the night, however, most of them retired, except those who occupied the ridge on which the picquets of the light division had stood. But though they had thus changed their position, they were still in front of the left of the British army; and lord Wellington entertained no doubt that on the following day the attack would be renewed.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 12th the attack recommenced, with the same want of success: it continued however till three in the afternoon, when the enemy retired entirely within their entrenched camp. Hitherto all their attempts had been against the left and centre of the British army; but in the night of the 12th having passed a large force through Bayonne, on the morning of the 13th they made a most desperate attack on general Hill's positions. This lord Wellington, with his accustomed penetration, had anticipated and prepared against, having requested marshal Beresford to reinforce general Hill with the 6th division. Before however this reinforcement came up, the troops under the command of general Hill had repulsed the enemy with very considerable loss: in this repulse the Portuguese had their share of glory, the principal attack having been made where they were posted, along with a brigade of British infantry. The enemy being thus beaten at all points, and having lost several pieces of cannon, were obliged to retire within their entrenchments. In consequence of the obstinate nature of these attacks, our loss was very severe, amounting to about 4000 men, killed and wounded.

The intelligence of this defeat of the French was at first received in this country with mixed sensations;

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for many people were disposed to think, if Soult should repeat his attacks, even though he were repulsed in all of them as completely as he had been in this, that we could not sustain the loss which they must occasion: it was moreover urged, that the enemy could much more easily and speedily repair his losses than we could possibly do. But a very short time proved how ill-founded all these forebodings of misfortune were; for Soult, after making another comparatively feeble attempt to drive our army behind the Nive, in which he failed, found himself under the necessity of quitting his entrenched camp before Bayonne, and of retreating further into France in a north-easterly direction. Indeed, from what we have already stated, it is evident that while we commanded the navigation of the Adour, and had it in our power to cut off his supplies, his continuance in his entrenched camp was perilous in the extreme. Thus lord Wellington, by a simple movement in advance, not only brought his own army into more wholesome quarters, and gave them the command of a wider range of country, but also rendered the entrenched camp of the enemy, on which they had expended so much time and labour, not only of no use to them, but a situation of great hazard.

We have now brought to a close our narrative of the peninsular campaign of 1813, and, we trust, of the peninsular war altogether; for though Suchet still lingers in the north-east of Spain, and though the enemy in that quarter still are in possession of some strong places, the contest in the peninsula may, we think, be justly regarded as at an end: and we must again recall to the consideration of our readers, (if they indeed, in reading the events

of the peninsular war, ever permit the consideration to be absent from their thoughts,) that the liberation of this fair and interesting portion of Europe has been wrought out by British perseverance and British valour; and most especially by the perseverance and valour of that man, who undertook the mighty task when the military talents of France were thought to be unequalled; when her military strength was greater than any the European world had ever previously seen; and when the Spanish government, and even the Spanish people, were inadequate to their own liberation. Let us look back to the fatal retreat of sir John Moore; to the congratulations which we interchanged with each other, when his army escaped at Corunna; or even let us look back to the period when the victory of Talavera brought only barren renown; and contrast our feelings and hopes then, with our feelings, and our certainty (for hope has given place to certainty) at the present moment. Much British blood and much British treasure, indeed, have been the cost of the liberation of the peninsula; but how lowly are these esteemed by the man of benevolence, by the really wise man, who wishes to treasure up for himself and others a happiness which the world cannot touch, in comparison with the consciousness of having saved a fellow-creature from destruction! And cannot we, as a nation, enjoy the same satisfaction from what we have done in the peninsula? Cannot we reflect with pleasure on the idea, that by Britain has this portion of the continent been rescued from oppression, and restored to national independence? And as all the best energies of the mind, in individuals, are roused and perfected by the exertion and duties of active benevolence;

lence; so in this great work, which we have effected, our national energies must be rendered more powerful and useful both to ourselves and others; while it is to be hoped that we shall experience the gratitude of those whom we have delivered from oppression.

A retrospect of the events which have taken place in the peninsula since the commencement of the war, especially if they are viewed in connection with those which have occurred in the north of Europe during the last two years,

must convey to a candid and inquisitive mind ample means of political wisdom. How many predictions have been proved false, even during the shorter of these two periods! and by what simple but astonishing and unexpected means has the power of Bonaparte been annihilated! That power, which every where else was irresistible, was unequal to the subjugation of one of the most degraded and least warlike nations in Europe, and met its death-blow among the half-civilized tribes of Muscovy.

## CHAPTER XVII.

*Remarks on the Russian Campaign of 1812—unfounded Opinion that the Disasters of Bonaparte were owing either solely to the Opposition of the Russians, and the Rigour of the Climate, or solely to the Mistakes and Obstinacy of Bonaparte—both these Classes of Causes operated to his Discomfiture—they ought therefore to be considered conjointly—View of the first Class of Causes dependent on Russia: first, the Constitution of the Russian Army; the Cossacks—in the second place, the Character of the Russian Generals and Officers—Bonaparte, by making War on the Commerce of Russia, mad: War against their Interests—in the third place, the Plan of the Campaign adopted by the Russian Government—in the fourth place, the Character of the Russian Peasantry—their Conduct contrasted with that of the German Peasantry, in the former French Wars—in the fifth place, the Character of the Emperor Alexander—lastly, the Nature of the Country and Climate—all these Causes strengthened by the Obstinacy of Bonaparte.*

FROM the consideration of the glorious and decisive events which occurred in the peninsula during the year 1813, we turn our attention to the still more glorious operations of the allies in Germany. Before however we proceed to detail these, it may be proper, as it certainly will be interesting and instructive, to examine briefly and rapidly the causes which led to the discomfiture of Bonaparte in his Russian campaign of 1812. It scarcely ever has fallen to the lot of the historian or annalist to narrate such disasters: and when we consider that these disasters befel

a man who, from a low station in society, had raised himself to the very summit of power, to an extent of dominion and influence never before witnessed in Europe; that this man, for the purpose of a mad, bloody and desperate ambition, had trampled on all the laws and usages of justice and civilised society; and that he considered himself, and called upon the world to acknowledge and fear him, as absolutely beyond the reach of fate, as something more than mortal: when we moreover reflect on the peculiar interest which this country felt in all that befel him, since against this coun-

try was his most implacable and deadly hatred directed; and from that hatred, as we have observed on a former occasion, his ruin indirectly originated: when we take all these things into our account, we must acknowledge that we cannot examine too closely, or scrutinize too minutely, the causes of his failure in the Russian campaign.

It appears to us that these causes may be classed under two general heads: in the first place, those which proceeded from the nature of the country which he invaded, and the characteristic qualities of its inhabitants; and in the second place, those which originated from the peculiar character of the invader. Unless we take into our account the operation of both these classes of causes; and view them, not only as operating distinctly and separately, but also as acting together, and towards the accomplishment of the same effect, we cannot satisfactorily and philosophically explain the real cause of Bonaparte's disasters. We are well aware that many persons are disposed to attribute these disasters solely and exclusively to the policy of the allies, and to overlook, or consider as of no account or influence, the personal character of Bonaparte: but this view is extremely partial; and if examined closely, it will be found neither supported by facts, nor capable of explaining what has occurred. Others, on the contrary, ascribe all the disasters of Bonaparte to the madness of his ambition and obstinacy; and overlook the circumstances which at first produced, in the Russian campaign, this mad obstinacy, and afterwards overwhelmed him in ruin. We must, therefore, separate these two classes of causes, not for the purpose of ascribing to either of them the whole of the disasters which befel

Bonaparte, but for the purpose of tracing their respective operation distinctly; and afterwards their conjoint operation.

In the first place, the constitution of the Russian army, and the character of the Russian soldiers, contributed in no small degree to the fate of Bonaparte. The Russians, no doubt, when compared with most of the other nations of Europe, are barbarians; their notions and feelings are those of a half-civilised race: but to this fact, added to other peculiarities of their character, their fitness for opposing the French may be ascribed. They are, from their infancy, most devoutly attached to their emperor, and to their nobility. Philosophers may ridicule the idea, or disbelieve the assertion, that the common people of Russia are attached to those who act towards them, in too many instances, as tyrants. But history is conversant with facts, not with theories and speculations; and the fact is, that the Russian common people, even before they enter the army, are most devoutly attached to their emperor and nobility. This attachment becomes still more strong and influencing when they enter the army:—they then regard themselves, in a more special manner, as entirely at the service of their sovereign; and look upon it as the highest honour which can befall them, to suffer any privation or misery, or even death itself, at his command, and for his sake. Military discipline, with the troops of most other nations, is a habit acquired late in life—irksome, and abhorrent to former habits, and broken through whenever it can be done with safety. But it is far otherwise with the Russian soldier: he knows no habits, he has no feeling or sentiment, incompatible with the strictest military discipline: on  
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the contrary, all his other habits, feelings, and sentiments work to the accomplishment of the same end: all serve and contribute to render him an excellent soldier, so far as strictness of discipline is concerned. Knowing no disgrace so great as disobedience to the orders of his officers, and especially to the commands or even wishes of his sovereign, he never stirs from his post till he is expressly directed so to do: the idea of flight never enters his mind. But his steadiness is not merely passive; endowed with great bodily strength, and with a robustness of constitution superior to every fatigue or privation, he wears out his more skilful and experienced opponent, by whom he may be out-manœuvred or slain, but cannot be forced to fly.

Hence Bonaparte never met with more obstinate resistance than he did from the Russians at the battle of Eylau: his troops were weary with slaughter, but still they could not defeat the Russians; and had the French emperor been a man who could be taught mortifying or disagreeable truths by experience, after his first campaign against the Russians, on the borders of their own country, he never would have attempted to conquer them, in the very heart of their vast empire, and in the midst of a Russian winter.

It might be supposed, that, as the Russian soldiers are so stubborn in their military steadiness and discipline, they would be destitute of that activity and enthusiasm which are absolutely essential to the success of offensive warfare. But this is far from being the case: the very weaknesses of their character; their absolute and blind devotion to their emperor; the hold that their priests have over their

feelings and their consciences, contribute to infuse into them a large portion of enthusiasm. And this enthusiasm was heightened, or rather maddened into hatred, when they met the French as the invaders of the soil of their beloved country; as the destroyers of their holy cities; as the sacrilegious overthrowers of the objects of their worship.

Hitherto we have considered the Russian armies as composed solely of one class of men; but in contemplating them as having contributed to the defeat and overthrow of Bonaparte, we must not forget the Cossacks, who formed a singular and separate portion of that army. When we reflect on what the French emperor had achieved at the head of his troops; on the character and fame of those troops; soldiers who had scattered, like the dust before them, the warriors of Prussia and Austria, at the battles of Jena and Ulm; we are astonished that they, as well as their emperor, should have trembled at the approach or the very name of a Cossack. But for the species of warfare for which they were called from the banks of the Don and the Wolga, no troops could have been so well qualified: constantly on horseback; extremely rapid in their movements; superior to fatigue, or the influence of climate or hunger, they hang on the skirts of a retreating army: it is absolutely impossible to guard against their attacks, for it is impossible to conjecture on which side they will be made. Even in the stillness and repose of the night, they are active and hostile. Against such soldiers as the French while marching in a compact body, in a country possessed of good roads, they would have been utterly impotent; but against the French

divested of their confidence in their leader, worn down with fatigue, cold and hunger, wandering they scarcely knew whither, in the midst of the rigours of a Russian winter, with scarcely bodily strength sufficient to fire a musket or wield a sabre, the Cossacks were almost omnipotent.

In the second place, the character of the Russian generals contributed not a little to the defeat of Bonaparte: his avowed object, in his invasion of Russia, was to compel the emperor Alexander to adhere to the continental system, or, in other words, to forbid all trade between Russia and England: but this would have been the ruin of the Russian nobility, whose incomes were almost exclusively derived from this commerce. Bonaparte therefore was making war upon them; and consequently they must have regarded his invasion as peculiarly directed against them. This feeling would not only contribute to render them faithful and steady to the cause of their emperor and country, but would also stimulate them to put forth all their activity and talents in the contest. But independently of the influence of the consideration that the war was directed against their property, the Russian nobility partake with the common people in that physical attachment to the soil and institutions of their country which excites their hatred most strongly against all invaders. Hence they were above the influence of Bonaparte's promises and bribes: this was most clearly and strongly exemplified in the conduct of the Russian nobility who resided at Moscow. Most of those had chosen this city as the place of their abode, in consequence of their disaffection to the conduct and measures of the Russian go-

vernment: and Bonaparte, ignorant of their real character, thought that when he reached Moscow these noblemen would readily join his standard. But though they disliked the government, they disliked those who invaded their country still more, and Bonaparte was completely disappointed in his expectation.

In the third place, the plan of the campaign, which the Russian government laid down, and according to which they acted in the most steady and consistent manner, contributed very essentially to the overthrow of Bonaparte's hopes and projects. Their plan was, on every occasion where they could oppose Bonaparte with advantage, there to oppose him; but never in such a manner as might bring on a general action, or an action decisive against themselves. Thus, the further he advanced the weaker he became; and after every engagement, though apparently he succeeded in driving back the enemy, and actually advanced further into their country, the real state of his affairs was rendered worse: he was led further from his resources; deeper into the heart of a country utterly incapable of supporting a large army, and more completely surrounded by the Russians. We shall be better able to appreciate the merit of the Russians in thus adhering to their plan of retreating, when we call to mind the observations which have been just offered on their character; on their almost sacred devotion to their country, and especially to those cities which, by their retreat, they suffered to fall into the power of the invaders. But it is sufficiently evident, if they had not adhered to this system of retreat; if, on the contrary, they had hazarded a general and decisive

sive action with the French, they must have suffered the same fate as the Austrians and Prussians, and added another to the long list of Bonaparte's triumphs.

In the fourth place, the character of the Russian peasantry must be taken into our consideration and account, in investigating the causes (so far as they depended upon Russia) which contributed to the defeat of Bonaparte. This character we have partly sketched in our observations on the Russian soldiery. From attachment to their soil, from devotion to their sovereign, from the influence which their ignorance and superstition gave the priests over their feelings and conduct, Bonaparte found it absolutely impossible to seduce them from their allegiance. Unlike the peasantry of too many of the countries which he had invaded and conquered, they absolutely refused to hold any communication with the enemy: within a very few days after the French emperor gained possession of Berlin or Vienna, those cities appeared as if they had not passed into the power of a new master, and that master the enemy and overthrower of the ancient government. Their streets were equally thronged; trade was carried on with even more briskness than before; and on the countenances of very few of the inhabitants could any trace be detected of sorrow, or indignation at the fate of their country. How great and how glorious a contrast at Moscow! Notwithstanding Bonaparte assured the people that if they would return they should be unmolested and secure; notwithstanding they must have known, that by bringing in their different commodities they would have obtained a very exorbitant price for them; no Russians

except those of the most profligate character made their appearance; and Moscow, while held by the enemy, was regarded as a polluted city, into which they would have shuddered to have entered. Similar were the feelings and conduct of the peasantry in the country towns and villages through which the invading army passed: instead of hailing them as deliverers, or at least being indifferent to their approach, and to their change of masters, and carrying on their usual occupations, like the misguided inhabitants of Germany, they fled at the approach of the enemy; not reluctantly and partially, as if they merely did it because they were commanded so to do,—but with such zeal as if they had been actually going to take possession of their abodes instead of quitting them. They even lent a cheerful hand to the destruction of the habitations of their forefathers, esteeming their destruction a much less evil than the occupation of them by the French. We do not pretend to hold forth this conduct, these sacrifices on the part of the Russian peasantry, as proceeding from that union of intelligence and disinterested patriotism which alone could entitle them to the highest praise: our principal object is, without appreciating the degree of merit, to point out this conduct of theirs, as one of the causes which contributed to the discomfiture of Bonaparte.

In the fifth place, the character of the emperor himself must not be overlooked in tracing and investigating these causes: we are well aware that Alexander is not a man of great talents, or of a very firm and determined mind; and that by his want of talents, and by his unsteadiness, Bonaparte was after the treaty of Tilsit enabled



to make him his dupe and tool.— But Alexander, all agree, is extremely anxious to promote the good of his subjects. And this anxiety, joined to the conviction that their well-being would be destroyed, if he any longer gave himself up to the plans and wishes of Bonaparte, infused into his character a firmness and steadiness which it did not naturally possess. This disposition, such of his nobility as were more particularly about him, and in his confidence, did all in their power to confirm. We have already mentioned in our former volume, that at one period of the campaign he was inclined to yield: but even this arose from his anxiety for the good of his subjects; he could not bear to learn the misery they were suffering; and his knowledge of the immense power of Bonaparte led him to apprehend that their misery would not ward off their subjugation. But when he found that the invaders were discomfited, and discomfited too to such an extent that, if their discomfiture were properly followed up, it was certain they could never again assail Russia, and probably that they might be incapacitated from doing any further mischief to Europe—then the zeal and firmness of the emperor Alexander became most conspicuous, and most beneficial to the interests of his own country, and of Europe at large. The events of the German campaign of 1813 will sufficiently prove this.

The last cause connected with Russia, that contributed to the overthrow of Bonaparte, which we shall mention, must be sought for in the nature of the country and climate. The other countries of Europe which Bonaparte had overrun and conquered lay comparatively near France:—Russia was at an im-

mense distance: they contained within themselves the means of subsistence and equipment for a large army:—the greater part of Russia is desert, or poorly cultivated; and the roads are such, even in the most favourable season of the year, that the transport of provisions and stores must be very slow, difficult, and precarious. But it was the winter of Russia which most decidedly contributed to the ruin of the French army; a winter of such length and severity, as to render the country scarcely habitable for those who are prepared and accustomed to it. To an army, therefore, destitute almost of clothes and food, exposed constantly to a most intense frost, marching in a route undistinguishable and almost impassable from the depth of the snow; attacked on all sides by troops inured to the climate, and acquainted with the country—such a winter could not but prove fatal.

But the question naturally arises, From what cause did it happen that an army was left in the midst of winter, in such a country, and under such circumstances? And this naturally leads us to the consideration of the second class of causes which contributed to Bonaparte's discomfiture,—which, as we have already observed, must be sought for in his own peculiar character. As, however, in a former chapter we have adverted to those features in his political and moral character which have worked out his overthrow, we shall not dwell upon them here at any great length.

The most predominant and influential is certainly his obstinacy. Accustomed to see all his plans succeed—all his predictions, however extravagant, verified almost to the very letter—he could ill brook disappointment: he could not even suffer

suffer himself to admit that he had acted an imprudent and rash part, and preferred perseverance in error to the acknowledgement and rectification of it. Perhaps the first decided symptom of this obstinacy was visible in his attempts to subjugate Spain: in this case, his failing increased in energy in proportion as his schemes became desperate. In his invasion of Russia, the same obstinacy is visible, though at first he seemed to embark in the contest with reluctance, and certainly not without having made very great preparations:—after, however, he had embarked in it, he gave full play to this failing, and suffered it to hurry him on to his ruin. It seems, at first sight, a very probable conjecture, that he pushed forward into Russia notwithstanding the losses he sustained, and afterwards continued in Moscow till winter had rendered his retreat almost impossible, under the hope that the emperor Alexander might have been induced to make peace. This, doubtless, influenced his conduct; but whoever has studied the character of obstinate people, must be convinced that at last, when their obstinacy has got to its greatest height, they persevere in the course which must lead to their ruin, without any even the most absurd and groundless hope of extricating themselves. The impulse, in this state of the mental disorder, (for so it may be denominated and classed,) is blind, and almost mechanical. So it probably was with Bonaparte, when he determined to remain so long at Moscow.

But his obstinacy operated in giving rise to his invasion of Russia, as well as in influencing his

conduct during that invasion; for, as we have remarked in a preceding chapter, he was prompted to this invasion by his hatred of England, and his anxiety to establish the continental system. Had he not been most obstinately blind, he must have perceived that the continental system could not be carried into general or permanent effect; and that, even if it could, it must have involved the ruin of Europe, and of France along with Europe, as well as the ruin of Great Britain.

We have thus endeavoured very briefly, and with some unavoidable repetitions, to trace the causes of Bonaparte's discomfiture in the Russian campaign of 1812; and we believe that our mode of classing these causes under two distinct heads—one class originating with Russia, and the other with Bonaparte himself—will, on examination, be found to be satisfactory as well as just. The subject, however, cannot well be exhausted, as it is fruitful of reflections and of salutary teaching, to the statesman, the moralist, and the philosopher.

Nor is the German campaign, the events of which we are about to detail, less wonderful or instructive, or less consoling to the friends of the independence and happiness of Europe. Its events, indeed, have been so numerous and rapid, they touch upon the welfare of such a very large portion of the civilized world, and must affect so permanently the interests of generations yet unborn, that it is scarcely possible to view them with that steady attention which is necessary for their methodical and luminous narration.

## CHAPTER XIX.

*Bonaparte in Paris at the Beginning of 1813—Meeting of the Legislative Body—his Speech to them—introduces it by adverting to the Retreat of the British in Spain after the Battle of Salamanca—the Colouring he gives to his Disasters in the Russian Campaign— inveighs against England—the whole Complexion of the Speech warlike—Exposé of the French Empire in 1813—Population—Agriculture—Marine—Commerce—Remarks on it—Great Efforts of Bonaparte to begin the Campaign of 1813—collects a large Force on the Banks of the Elbe—The Empress appointed Regent—He leaves Paris for the Army—Preparations and Movements of the Russians—Proclamation of the Emperor Alexander on entering Prussia—The King of Prussia joins him—Saxony entered by the Allies—Proclamation to the Saxons—State of Saxony, and its Monarch—The Crown Prince of Sweden—Remarks on the Treaty between him and Britain—Denmark attempts to make Peace—Louis XVIIIth's Address to the People of France.*

**I**N how different a situation were the affairs of Bonaparte at the commencement of the year 1812 from what they were at the commencement of the year 1813! At the former period every thing was prosperous, except perhaps the war in the peninsula; and that, it was generally imagined, he might at any time turn in his favour, by sending a larger army there. Russia, indeed, seemed to be uneasy and dissatisfied under the operation of those hard terms to which she had submitted at the peace of Tilsit: but it was scarcely to be expected that she would hazard another war; or, if she did, that she would be successful in it. Bonaparte, however, in order to keep her in due submission to his will, or to punish her if she should prove restless and refractory, had been long employed in assembling a large force, which he gradually, either under various pretexts, or without assigning any pretext, brought up near the Russian frontiers; while the subserviency of Prussia to his will, his absolute command of her fortresses which are

situated near Russia, and his alliance and family connexion with Austria, seemed to promise him the easy conquest of Russia whenever he should think it proper to attack her.

At length, after all his preparations were made; after he had assembled a greater army than even he at any former period had brought together, and had called to himself all his most able and experienced generals;—he declared war against Russia, crossed the Niemen, advanced into the very heart of her territories, and gained possession of her ancient capital. These circumstances had all the appearance of victory and success; and it is probable the people of France, who never minutely or suspiciously scrutinize what seems to contribute to their national glory, conceived that their emperor had now completed the conquest of the continent of Europe. Even when he at last retreated from Moscow, his bulletins assured his subjects that it was only for the purpose of proceeding to Smolensko, which would be not a retrograde movement, since it would

in fact place him nearer Petersburg than he was when at Moscow; and since the latter had been the scene of his triumph, and was now no longer fit for his army, he was going to take possession of the other capital of the Russian empire.

After the bulletin was received in Paris which announced the retreat of the French army from Moscow, their intelligence in that city from Russia was very meagre and imperfect, till the celebrated 29th bulletin reached them: and what a contrast was that bulletin to all which had ever proceeded from their emperor! He, who had always detailed victories the most splendid, who had in no ambiguous language held himself out as superior to all the casualties of war, now was obliged to confess that his army was broken in spirits, weakened in numbers, and that it was returning towards France defeated and harassed by the Tartars of Asia. It is scarcely possible to conceive what must have been the feelings and sentiments of the Parisians, when, immediately after the receipt of this fatal bulletin, their emperor made his appearance in his good city of Paris; and it is still more difficult to imagine what must have been the feelings and sentiments of Bonaparte on this occasion. With respect to the Parisians, whatever they felt or thought, they were obliged in a great measure to conceal, as the system of police was, if possible, enforced with more than usual rigour and vigilance, in consequence of the disastrous and disgraceful return of the emperor.—Of the nature and poignancy of his feelings we may perhaps form some faint and imperfect idea, when we reflect on his natural disposition and his acquired habits. By nature gloomy, irascible, and ambitious; by habit and success wound up to

the belief that he was something more than mortal, that he was destined to exhibit to the world the hitherto-chimerical character of a universal conqueror;—the madness of his rage and disappointment must have been extreme, at the total failure of that scheme of ambition which was to have crowned his hopes, and on which he had fixed his most sanguine expectations.

Thus changed in power, in feelings, and in prospects, the Parisians saw their emperor at the beginning of the year 1813; and they, as well as Europe in general, were extremely anxious for the meeting of the legislative body, in order that they might be able to develop his future plans, and perceive in what manner he would gloss over his disasters and defeats. On the 14th of February he met the legislative body, and delivered to them his formal address; in the style, manner, and topics of which there was no proof of overthrown hopes or disappointed ambition. He began by adverting to the war in the peninsula, and poured out his indignation, according to custom, against this nation: the English had taken advantage of the Russian war to make great efforts in the peninsula; but their hopes were deceived; after suffering great losses, they had been compelled to evacuate the Spanish territory.

Having thus adverted to a topic where he could with some semblance of justice claim success, he turns abruptly to the Russian campaign: according to him, the Russian armies could not stand before the French armies: Moscow fell into his power. What then, it might be asked, prevented him from reaping the full fruits of all his victories? The Tartars, according to him, destroyed and laid waste the country

which they were called on to defend: gratifying their ancient hatred of the Muscovites, they burnt 50 towns and 4000 villages: still, however, he contends, success remained with him: even the conflagration of Moscow changed in no respect the prosperous state of his affairs. "But the excessive and premature rigour of the winter brought down a heavy calamity upon my army. In a few nights I saw every thing change: I experienced great losses. They would have broken my heart, if in these great circumstances I could have been accessible to any other sentiments than those of the interest, the glory, and the future prosperity of my people!" Perhaps no part of any speech which Bonaparte ever delivered, unfolds more clearly his character than this does which we have just quoted: in it there is a mixture of affected sensibility, which, when we reflect on the character of the man from whom it proceeds, is truly disgusting: and yet what shall we think of the character of the people to whom these sentiments were addressed, and on whom he expected they would make a favourable impression!

From this topic he again reverts to England: her image, indeed, seems to haunt his imagination: the joy of England was excessive when she learnt his misfortunes: already she began to partition the finest provinces of the French empire, and to offer them as the reward of treason. But against her Bonaparte brings a still more grievous charge; a charge singular, indeed, when we reflect that it proceeded from one who was the child and champion of Jacobinism: "The agents of England propagate among all our neighbours the spirit of revolt against sovereigns. England wishes to see the whole continent become

a prey to civil war and all the furies of anarchy; but Providence designed herself to be the first victim of anarchy and civil war." The disturbed state of Bonaparte's mind is visible through every part of this speech; and his anxiety to convince the French nation that he is desirous of peace, is clearly seen struggling with his determination not to sacrifice any thing for the purpose of procuring peace! "The French dynasty reigns, and will reign in Spain. I am satisfied with all my allies: I will abandon none of them: I will maintain the integrity of their states: the Russians shall return into their frightful climate. I desire peace; it is necessary to the world: four times since the rupture which followed the treaty of Amiens I have proposed it in a solemn manner. I will never make any but an honourable peace, and one conformable to the interests and grandeur of my empire. My policy is not mysterious: I have stated all the sacrifices I could make."

These sentiments must have been sufficient to prove to the people of France, that peace was far from them; but the next topic in the speech still more completely banished the expectation of such an event: in it he dwells with great bitterness on the maritime war, and he styles it: as long as it lasts, his subjects must be prepared to make great sacrifices; and a peace, which permitted England to retain her maritime superiority, or which sanctioned her maritime claims, would be a bad peace; and which would make them lose every thing, even hope: by it all would be compromised, even the prosperity of their descendants. The allusion to a maritime peace naturally introduced the war between America and Britain; America had been compelled

to have recourse to arms in order to make the sovereignty of her flag respected; and in the contest in which she was engaged the wishes of all the world accompanied her; if she be successful, she will have credit from all nations: "posterity will say that the old world had lost its rights, and that the new one reconquered them."

The concluding paragraph of the speech acknowledged that great resources would be wanted to meet the expenses which circumstances demanded; but, by means of the different measures which the minister of finance would propose, no new burdens would be laid on the nation.

It is abundantly evident, from the analysis and extracts which we have given, that the tone of this speech was decidedly warlike: but many persons were still disposed to doubt whether the situation and resources of France would enable Bonaparte to carry his hostile measures and plans into execution; at least into such speedy, regular, and complete execution as would replace him in that commanding station of military strength in which he stood before he entered Russia. The exposé of the situation of the French empire, and the report of the minister of finance, were therefore looked forward to with very considerable curiosity and interest, as likely to develop the means which were still at his command for prosecuting the war.

There is always so much finesse, and so strong a desire to produce effect, in the French official papers, whether of a civil, political, or military description, that their truth and accuracy cannot be safely depended upon; and under the circumstances in which Bonaparte was at this time placed, it was to be ex-

pected that more than usual care would be taken to impose on the French people, and if possible on the nations of Europe, by an overcharged picture of the prosperity, strength, and resources of the French empire. We must therefore make allowances for such exaggeration in examining the details given in the exposé for this year; and yet, after all due allowance, it will be found that, under the pressure of the war, France, though she had robbed most of the nations on the continent, in order to save herself as much as possible from that pressure, had suffered from it considerably more than Great Britain.

As it was of the utmost importance to represent the French empire as still able to keep on foot immense armies, notwithstanding the immense drains which had been made on her, and especially that produced by the acknowledged fatality of the Russian campaign, the first article in the exposé related to the population of the empire. In 1789, at the commencement of the revolution, the population of Old France was estimated at between 25 and 26 millions: the population in 1813 was rated so high as 42 millions 700,000 souls; of which 28,700,000 belonged to the departments of Old France. If these estimates were correct, it would make an augmentation of 2,500,000, or one-tenth, within 24 years. Yet how trifling is that augmentation compared with that which took place in Great Britain in less than one half the time, viz. between 1801 and 1811! The agricultural produce of France (of course including the annexed departments) is estimated at 5,031,000,000 livres. It is impossible to compare this estimate with the estimate of the agricultural produce of Great Britain; since the

the relative prices of the different articles comprehended under the head 'agricultural produce,' in the two countries, must be first accurately known. Indeed this branch of political arithmetic has always appeared to us even more vague and unsatisfactory than the other branches of this science, if it deserve that appellation; for it is evident that the mere rise of price, or, what is the same thing, the depreciation in the value of money, will apparently increase the value of all articles, while the actual amount of those articles remains precisely the same as before. It is probable, however, that the actual amount or real value of agricultural produce in France is greater than it is in Britain, as many of the articles comprehended under this head in France are in themselves much more valuable than those which are denominated agricultural produce in this country.

A still more favourable, but we suspect a very overcharged estimate is given of the value of the manufactures in France: those of silk, wool, metal, glass, porcelain, &c. are stated at 1,300,000,000 livres. It is added, that under the head *new industry* a most important revolution is preparing, which must change all the commercial relations existing since the discovery of the Indies; these are the manufactures to supply the place of sugar, indigo, and cochineal. Perhaps no passage in this elaborate exposé more plainly discovers than this does the ignorance or the deceit of the French government: they must have known that all the substitutes for colonial sugar, indigo, and cochineal, had either proved of little use, or had been obtained in small quantities, and at an enormous price; and that, whenever an opportunity offered,

colonial produce would be preferred to those substitutes; and yet they hold out the idea, that France could not only be rendered independent of other nations, by the manufacture of these articles, but would even be enriched by them.

The exportations of France are estimated at 383,000,000: the importations, not including 93,000,000 of specie, at 257,000,000; leaving a favourable balance of 126,000,000; whereas the most favourable balance under the ancient government was only 75,000,000. By this commerce it was added that France was enabled to have 900,000 men constantly under arms; to maintain 100,000 sailors; to keep 100 ships of the line, and as many frigates, complete or building; and to expend every year from 120 to 150 millions in public works. Certainly in no other country but France, and we could hope not generally even there, could such gross misrepresentations be believed by the people. The question naturally occurs, With what countries is this commerce carried on? Not with the continental states of Europe, for they were nearly reduced to ruin by the spoiliations of the French; not with America, for America, though she did contrive to elude our cruisers sometimes, could not possibly carry on a commerce with France to one tenth of the amount represented. Besides, it might be asked, where were the 100 sail of the line? If they existed, and there were 100,000 sailors to man them, how came it to pass that France had not a single fleet at sea? But it is unnecessary to press this statement more closely; it will not bear the slightest examination. The other articles in the exposé, which relate to the public works, the interior administration, and the marine,

do not seem to require any particular notice; they are all drawn up in the same manner, and for the same purpose.

What effect this exposé produced in France we are not able to ascertain; for such were the restrictions on the press, that the public feelings and sentiments were never permitted to transpire through the means of it, except when they were flattering or favourable to the plans and views of Bonaparte. Unless, however, we suppose that the French people are constituted differently from mankind in general, unless we can suppose that all the natural feelings and attachments of the heart are unknown to them, we must believe that the almost universal mourning occasioned by the Russian campaign must have greatly diminished the popularity and influence of Bonaparte. Still, however, his obstinacy clung to him; and shortly after his return to Paris a new conscription was ordered. It may at first sight appear strange, that he could levy this conscription; but the organization for that purpose was so perfect, and his agents so numerous and formidable through every part of the country, that the conscription met with much less opposition than might have been expected. The *gens d'armes* were the persons employed on this occasion: these he never called upon to go on foreign service; and in return for this exemption, and other privileges conferred upon them, they were uncommonly active and rigorous in enforcing the conscription. The number of men to be raised was 300,000; but it was soon found that, notwithstanding the flattering picture of the population of France drawn in the exposé, this number could not be obtained unless boys and old men were taken; and the

proportion of these, compared with those in the prime of life, was very great. The conscripts were marched off, as fast as they were raised, to join what was still called the grand army: but of what number of men that army was composed, or even where it was stationed, the French people could not possibly learn from their own newspapers; and all other sources of information were debarred them.

But though Bonaparte found much less difficulty than was anticipated in raising men, the state of the French finances was not such, even by the representation of his own minister of finance, as to promise him abundant and regular means of supporting his army: he was now, indeed, placed in a novel situation. In all his former wars he had supported his troops by the contributions which he raised on the conquered countries: to use his own words, he made war support war: but all these sources were now dried up; and it was necessary to look to France itself for the means of carrying on hostilities in Germany. Had the state of France, indeed, been such as was represented in the exposé, there might not have been much difficulty in raising a portion of the necessary supplies; though, from the low state of confidence and credit in that country, the actual resources could not be available to their utmost extent. But when the representations given in the exposé were put to the test, it was found that they were very erroneous; and only a government as completely despotic and disregarding of private property as that of Bonaparte could have raised the money that he actually did.

By means of this despotism, aided by uncommon exertion and activity,



activity, he succeeded, by the beginning of April, in collecting a large numerical force on the banks of the Elbe; though that force, as we have already remarked, was of a very different description from the veteran army which he had lost in Russia. His cavalry and artillery were particularly inferior; and it was on these two branches, especially the artillery, that the French used to depend for their victories: it is even said that, in consequence of his having lost upwards of 1000 pieces of cannon in Russia, he was under the necessity of supplying his army in a great measure with cannon from the ships at Antwerp, which were of course of a description by no means suited for military purposes.

Before Bonaparte left Paris, to take the command of his army, he judged it expedient to settle the form of a provisional government during his absence: he had so narrowly escaped destruction in his Russian campaign, at a time when he had taken no measures respecting the government of France while the king of Rome was a minor, that he resolved to guard against all accidents for the future. Accordingly his empress was regularly declared regent during his absence; and the king of Rome was nominated, in a more solemn manner than heretofore, his successor. It is probable that the appointment of the empress as regent had other objects in view: Bonaparte knew well the temper and disposition of the Parisians; he knew that the best mode of drawing off their thoughts and speculations from the disasters that had occurred, or might occur, was by keeping up the splendour, bustle and pageantry of a court; and this could be done with the best effect by investing his empress with

the name and dignity of regent. Having thus taken what he conceived to be all due precautions, and sent on before him immense bodies of troops, he closed the session of the legislative body in a speech full of his usual confidence and haughtiness, in which he led them and the French nation to expect, that on the banks of the Elbe he should regain all those laurels which he had lost amidst the snows of Russia.

Having thus detailed the preparations which Bonaparte made for the commencement of a German campaign, it will be now proper to advert to the condition and preparations of those powers which were to oppose him. The emperor Alexander, fully sensible of the importance of pushing forward with his army while the enemy were in a state of confusion and weakness, lost no time in advancing into the north of Germany. As soon as he crossed his own boundaries into Prussia, he ordered a declaration to be issued, explanatory of his motives and views:—the Russian army came not as the foes, but as the friends, of the Prussians: they came to assist them in their efforts to free themselves from the tyranny of France; to raise Prussia to the rank and importance among the nations of Europe which she held previous to her subjugation by Bonaparte. Already had some of her generals emancipated themselves, and the army which he commanded, from the degradation of a foreign yoke; and, instead of fighting under the command of the enemy of Germany, had joined the standard of Russia. The emperor Alexander felt no hostility against the king of Prussia; he knew well the embarrassing and compulsory situation in which he had been placed.

placed; he could make due allowance for that situation; and he had good reason to hope that, as soon as circumstances would permit him, he would extricate himself from it. In this hope he was not disappointed: the French at first, when they perceived that they would be under the necessity of quitting Berlin, seemed to have had a plan of carrying off this monarch with them; but not being able, or not deeming it politic, to carry it into execution, he, as soon as he was his own master, joined the emperor of Russia.

It is impossible to describe the joy and congratulations of the inhabitants of Berlin when the Russian troops entered that city: Prussia indeed had been more degraded, and had perhaps suffered more by the tyranny of Bonaparte than any other part of Germany: and in no other part was there such deadly hatred of the French; it pervaded all ranks and classes of the people; and they prepared to display and exercise that hatred in its full vengeance as soon as they were freed from the French. Prussia indeed was almost exhausted; and had not the mass of the people taken a deep interest in the contest, it might have been impossible to have rendered her an effectual ally of Russia: but with the popular feelings and sentiments which pervaded every bosom, Prussia was destined to act a conspicuous and most honourable part in avenging her own wrongs and those of Germany. Her armies were put on the best footing: Blucher, who had immortalized himself by his conduct after the battle of Jena, had a leading and extensive command. Indeed it seems to have been the wise policy of the continental sovereigns, in the arduous

and awful contest in which they were engaged, to select those generals against whom Bonaparte had displayed the greatest rancour: they thus secured themselves from treachery, while they called forth all the talents of their commanders. Besides the regular army of Prussia, the landwehr or militia were called out: nothing more was necessary to form them than permission from their sovereign; they were all so anxious to co-operate in the deliverance and defence of their country.

In the mean time the Russian army continued to advance; and, having liberated great part of Prussia, directed their efforts towards the liberation of Saxony. To the inhabitants of this fairest portion of Germany count Wittgenstein, who commanded the Russian army, addressed a most noble and inspiring proclamation: he entered their country, not as an enemy, but as a friend: he came in the name of his emperor to release all Germany from their shameful yoke. They had been forsaken by their king, who still continued attached to the French, and who had commanded them to remain quiet: but did they not perceive that their king was in fact a prisoner? that he durst not declare his real sentiments? could they suppose that a German king, who had been long compelled to sacrifice Saxon blood to French ambition, would order them to remain quiet at a period when inactivity was a crime—a crime against themselves, against the human race? They ought not to look to his proclamations at present; but to his former conduct and character before he became the prisoner of the French. Judging from that conduct and character, they must be convinced that he was desirous of the independence

pendence and prosperity of Saxony: but could Saxony be prosperous or independent, while her soil was polluted by the presence of a Frenchman? Now was the time of delivery from their accursed yoke. Could they forget their Saxon ancestors, who had combated with so much glory to themselves an ambitious emperor of the Franks, who was called Charlemagne? But they had been oppressed by a modern Charlemagne; by one who had all the ambition, and much more cruelty than the former Charlemagne. Did they recollect what was the condition of their country before the French entered it? how peaceful, how flourishing, how happy! Did they witness in what a state it was now? did they feel no desire to contribute to its restoration to its former state? Was every spark of liberty and patriotism extinguished in their bosoms? He trusted, not: but if they remained inactive, they were no longer, in his estimation, Germans: he would not treat them as such. "Whoever is not for liberty, is against her. Therefore choose! accept either my fraternal offer, or meet my sword. Join me to restore your king, and you shall have a free king, and be called free Saxons. Up! up! and arm yourselves; were it even only with sickles and scythes and cudgels: drive the stranger from your soil. You shall always find me and my Russians with the valiant Prussians wherever danger is most prominent. Already has the vengeance of God manifested itself on the insolent. Believe me, we shall conquer! The long forbearance of God is exhausted. We shall conquer! I speak not this out of idle boasting, but in reliance on God

and you, and in the just and sacred cause!!"

This proclamation, though it undoubtedly made a deep impression on the Saxons, did not at the time produce the consequences which were expected from it: the circumstances of their sovereign being still with the French, and of a large portion of the country being occupied by them, naturally prevented many who were well disposed towards the allies from joining them: but all must have felt the justice of the observations which the proclamation contained: and when the opportunity did occur, it will be seen that the Saxons proved themselves worthy of the name of Germans and of their ancestors.

In our last volume we remarked on the suspicious conduct of the crown prince of Sweden: so suspicious indeed had it been, that many could not give credit either to his professed enmity to Bonaparte or his attachment to the cause of the allies: from certain official papers, however, which the Swedish court published in the beginning of this year, respecting their relations with the government of France, it was evident that the crown prince had committed himself so far with Bonaparte as to have exposed himself to the indignation of the tyrant. The hope again excited by these papers, that the military talents and the army of Bernadotte would at length be brought into action in favour of the allies, was considerably strengthened by treaties which were concluded between the court of Sweden and the courts of Russia and Great Britain. By these treaties, the army under the command of the crown prince was immediately to be employed in the common

common cause: and in return for this accession of force, Great Britain, besides granting a subsidy to Sweden, agreed to give up to her the island of Guadalupe, and to guaranty the kingdom of Norway when it should be conquered from the Danes. This treaty with Great Britain gave rise to much discussion, both in parliament and out of it: with regard to the cession of Guadalupe, it was urged, that it was against the law and usages of nations, to give away any conquest before it was confirmed to the conqueror by a definitive treaty of peace. In reply to this, it was successfully shown by an appeal to the clear and decided authority of the most esteemed writers on the law of nations, that whatever was conquered belonged from the very moment of conquest to the nation who acquired it by force of arms; and that that nation had an undoubted right to dispose of the conquest in any manner she might deem proper: if she chose to give it away for an equivalent, or as free gift to another nation, the latter might accept, liable however to the risk of its being taken from her by that nation to which it had previously belonged. This however was entirely an affair between the nation who disposed of the conquest and the nation who accepted it; and neither the law of nations, nor any claim of the nation from whom it had been wrested, could justly interfere.

The guarantee, on the part of Great Britain, of the kingdom of Norway involved a question of much more difficulty: there could be no doubt, as Denmark still adhered to the cause of Bonaparte, and consequently was the enemy both of Sweden and this country, that either of them had a most complete and

unequivocal right to conquer any part of the Danish possessions: but the policy of the conquest was a different consideration. The allied powers professed to be making war against Bonaparte, in defence of the rights and happiness of mankind; by no means with views of ambition, or for the purposes of conquest or aggrandizement. It was therefore highly desirable and proper that they should most scrupulously guard against every thing like the appearance of selfish or ambitious views. The emperor Alexander, after having freed his own dominions from the presence of the French, lent the aid of his powerful and victorious armies to liberate Germany: might it not then have been expected, that the crown prince would gratuitously join the common cause, at least till he had regained Pomerania? or was it necessary to bribe him in order to gain his co-operation? He himself seemed so sensible of the construction which would naturally be put upon his conduct, that he declared his object in wishing to gain Norway, was not the extension of the Swedish territory, or the gratification of his ambition, but solely the security of Sweden itself; for he contended, as Norway adjoined Sweden, the king of Denmark might take advantage of this circumstance, and, while he was employed in the cause of Europe, invade Sweden. This plea, though futile in the extreme, was admitted by many who laid claim to the title of politicians: but most assuredly they did not weigh it well. Norway at this time was struggling with famine and most extreme misery: she had an army indeed; but it was so ill provided, and so destitute of provisions, that it could not act on the offensive. Nor was there

there any possibility that Norway could be a formidable neighbour to Sweden while Britain was so powerful at sea; for this country had, and could as long as she pleased, cut off all communication between Norway and the other parts of the Danish dominions, and consequently keep the Norwegians in such a state of weakness and misery as to render them quite impotent against Sweden.

It must be acknowledged however, that when the crown prince found that Denmark was averse to cede Norway to him, he declared he would be satisfied with the bishopric of Drontheim, on the ground that, from this part of Norway, Sweden was most accessible and vulnerable: but Denmark absolutely refused to give up even this; justly conceiving that, if Sweden was most accessible and vulnerable from the bishopric of Drontheim, if that were ceded to Sweden the whole of Norway would be placed at the mercy of the crown prince. At length Bernadotte consented to wave his pretensions to any part of Norway till the grand object of the allies were accomplished, and to co-operate with all his means and talents towards the liberation of Germany. In these remarks which we have offered on his conduct at the beginning of 1813, we have no intention or wish to call in question the sincerity of his hatred to Bonaparte, or of his devotion to the cause which he at length espoused; but we must think that he would have shown himself a more disinterested friend of that cause if he had embarked in it sooner, and without bargaining so skilfully and keenly for his co-operation.

The situation and the prospects of Denmark, when the affairs of

Bonaparte began to assume an unfavourable appearance, were very critical and perplexing: our attack on Copenhagen in the year 1807 still rankled in the heart of the Danish sovereign; and it is highly probable that in this feeling a large portion of his subjects sympathized with him: indeed we cannot otherwise account for the extreme bitterness with which they carried on the war against this country. But on the other hand, the misery which they had suffered in consequence of that war; the crimes of Bonaparte; the subserviency to his power, by which they were degraded; and the conviction that, when they had served his purpose, and when he had leisure to turn his arms against Denmark, it would be changed into a department of the great empire,—must have weighed with the thinking part of the Danish nation, and must sometimes have alarmed the apprehension of the Danish monarch. When therefore the Russian campaign had proved so fatal to Bonaparte, a favourable opportunity seemed to present itself for throwing off his alliance: besides the Danish court might reasonably be afraid, that, as they were no longer protected by the French, they would be attacked by their allies, unless they made peace with them. It is much to the honour both of Denmark and of Britain that the former made the proposal of joining the allies to the latter: count Bernstorff, the Danish minister, came to London for that purpose; but, after continuing there for some time, he returned without being able to accomplish the object of his mission. The grounds of the difference between the two courts are not exactly known, though it is generally supposed that the treaty which we had previously

viously concluded with Sweden, by which we had guarantied Norway to that power, operated principally against the success of count Bernstorff.

Thus we perceive, that, at the commencement of 1813, Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Sweden, were decidedly against France. Great Britain indeed could lend little military aid in Germany; but she was fighting the cause of Germany in Spain; and, as usual, she was liberal in her pecuniary assistance. The emperor Alexander put forth all his might; all the resources of his extensive but unwieldy empire were cheerfully devoted by him to the cause in which he was embarked. Prussia, greatly exhausted by the exactions and contributions of France, could not bring into the field very numerous armies: but her soldiers were animated by the best spirit; her generals were experienced, and not only incorruptible, but animated by a deep hatred against Bonaparte; and her peasantry were eager to rise in defence of their sovereign and their country. The army which the crown prince had landed in Pomerania was composed of most excellent troops; brought into a high state of discipline under his own immediate inspection, and feeling towards him the most profound respect, and the most implicit confidence.

Notwithstanding the reverses which Bonaparte had sustained, and the strength of the powers which were now united against him, yet it was natural to feel apprehension respecting the issue of the approaching campaign. The eyes and hopes of Europe were therefore directed towards the emperor of Austria: should he take an active part against his son-in-law, the success  
1813.

of the allies would be certain: should he be neutral, his very neutrality, by showing that he no longer was afraid of Bonaparte,—that at length he durst refuse that assistance, which doubtless would be demanded,—must prove advantageous to the allies: of his decided and zealous hostility to them they could entertain no fears; since, in the Russian campaign, at that period of it when the event was doubtful, the Austrian auxiliary army had very faintly or reluctantly co-operated with the French. The hopes of the allies, with respect to Austria, were raised by an event which occurred early in the year: for the auxiliary army of that power, which had been censured by Bonaparte for not keeping open his line of communication when he was compelled to retreat, entered into a convention with the Russians, and agreed to remain neutral.

It was for a long time doubtful, whether Bonaparte, in the German campaign which he was about to commence, would have the assistance of Murat and his Neapolitan troops; as it was well known, that when Bonaparte committed the command of the remnant of his army to him, on his deserting it at Smorgonie, Murat almost immediately after the departure of his master also quitted Russia, and set off for Italy; indignant at the obstinacy which had sacrificed so many men, and put the sovereignty of both into such imminent jeopardy. Murat however, probably persuaded that his own power and that of Bonaparte must stand and fall together, at length consented to resume the command of the cavalry in the German campaign.

Such were the forces on each side: but, on the side of Bonaparte,

all the troops belonging to the kings of Saxony and Wurtemberg, and to the princes of the confederation of the Rhine, in short, all the German troops, were no longer held to him by those ties which formerly united them; nor could he, after the defection of D'York, place much dependence upon them. While on the side of the allies one spirit, and that spirit of the most binding and animating nature, lived in them all: sovereigns and soldiers equally partook of it: both had felt the tyranny of Bonaparte, and both were anxious to shake it off.

The allies were so true to the principles on which they declared they were determined to carry on the war, that they made not the least effort to shake the power of Bonaparte in France, by encouraging the partisans of the Bourbons there: their object really was to

free themselves from French tyranny: they had no wish to interfere with the internal concerns of France. But the princes of the house of Bourbon thought the reverses of Bonaparte presented an opportunity which they ought not to neglect, of appealing to the French nation; and accordingly an address to the people of France was issued in the name of Louis XVIII. It was a cold and lifeless performance, which did not seem to come from the heart; and which certainly was not calculated to warm the hearts of those to whom it was addressed. It even stooped to flatter the senate of Bonaparte. It appeared from the answer given by ministers in parliament to some questions put to them respecting it, that they had neither authorised nor advised its publication.

## CHAPTER XX.

*The Russians spread themselves over the north-west of Germany—enter Hamburgh—Joy of the Inhabitants at their Liberation—their Joy of short Continuance—the French advance against it—distressed State of this City—Great Britain lends no Assistance—the Crown Prince refuses to send Swedish Troops to defend it—the Danes at first defend it, and afterwards suffer it to be taken by the French—Position of the grand Allied Armies—and of the French Armies—Bonaparte's Object in the Campaign—is at first successful—the Allies retire from the Saale, and concentrate their Forces on the Elster—they determine to attack the French—Movements for that Purpose—Battle of Lutzen—the Allies remain Masters of the Field, but afterwards retreat—the French advance to Dresden—prepare to attack the Allies at Bautzen—dreadful Battle there—the Allies again retreat—the French occupy great Part of Silesia—Armistice concluded.*

**H**AVING thus detailed the means with which each party prepared himself for entering into the mighty contest which was about to take place, we shall, before we proceed to the narrative of

of the contest itself, briefly relate the events which occurred in those parts of Germany over which the light troops of Russia, and especially the Cossacks, spread themselves: and under this head, the transactions at Hamburg have a strong claim on our notice and interest.

As the Russians naturally expected to be joined by the people of Germany, as soon as they were freed from the dread and the presence of the French, they conceived it to be their policy to spread themselves as much as possible: accordingly, early in 1813, their light troops pushed down the banks of the Elbe towards Hamburg. The liberation of this city was desirable on many accounts: it had suffered more perhaps than any other city in Germany by the oppression and pillage of the enemy: if it were freed from them, commerce might again be carried on with Great Britain; and the Germans, seeing trade and industry revive, would be the more willing to rise against the French, and to unite with those to whom they were indebted for those blessings. For a considerable length of time before the Russians actually arrived, the inhabitants of Hamburg were tantalised with the hope of their near approach: at length they entered the city; and never was joy superior to the joy of the Hamburgers on this occasion. They saw their deliverers: they again breathed the air of freedom; the period of their oppression and depredation they trusted was at an end. But their joy and tranquillity and liberty were to be but of short duration. The Russians had run over more country than they could keep possession of: the French, having rallied and collected their scattered forces, advanced

against Hamburg; and this devoted city could expect no mercy from them if it again fell into their possession. They had been plundered before: their youths had been dragged away by the conscription; but this would be mercy compared to what they must suffer if the French again entered their city. They therefore prepared every means of defence: the youths pressed forward to enrol themselves: the utmost alacrity and zeal prevailed: but unfortunately discipline and skill were wanting; and the enemy were greatly superior in numbers.

Under these critical circumstances, the people of Hamburg looked for assistance to Great Britain: a few gun-boats sent up the Elbe might have protected the city—but they came not: Britain, to whom the possession of Hamburg by the French was highly detrimental, did not stir in her defence. The enemy came nearer; they gained possession of the suburbs: the armed inhabitants of Hamburg fought with remarkable bravery,—but their bravery was in vain. They then applied to the crown prince of Sweden: he had a large force in the north of Germany, which hitherto had been inactive, and part of this, it was supposed, he might have spared for the protection of the city. But he refused to divide his troops:—Hamburg, he said, would follow the general fate of the war. If Bonaparte were decidedly beaten, it would become permanently free; but to beat him decidedly, it was necessary not to draw off any part of the allied army for minor objects. The inhabitants of Hamburg now gave themselves up for lost: they prepared themselves for the immediate capture of their city; when



the Danes from Altona most unexpectedly offered their assistance. The motive and object of the Danish government in thus opposing Bonaparte are not known: that they were sincere at the time there cannot be any doubt, for they proved their sincerity by the firm resistance which they made to the French troops. At last, probably after they found that the mission of their ambassador to the court of St. James was likely to be fruitless, they withdrew their protection from Hamburg; but not until they had stipulated with Davoust, who commanded the French army, that the citizens should not be plundered quite so much as he otherwise would have plundered them.

Many other places in the north-west of Germany, of which the Russians had obtained temporary possession, soon fell again into the power of the enemy: indeed this part of the plan of the campaign seems to have been arranged with little skill, policy, or foresight, by the Russians, as it would have been much more wise in them to have secured what they wrested from the French, rather than to have exposed the inhabitants to the sharpened fury and revenge of the enemy.

We have already mentioned that Bonaparte left Paris, early in the month of April, to take the command of the army: the principal body of his old troops, the remnant of those who had escaped out of Russia, were under Beauharnois in the neighbourhood of Magdeburgh; but as soon as Bonaparte assumed the command of the new levies, this general began to move towards the upper part of the Saale, with a view to form a junction with him; while he, on his part, *debouched* from the Thuringian moun-

tains. At this period the main armies of the Russians and the Prussians were concentrating in the neighbourhood of Leipsic:—Wittgenstein's head quarters being twenty miles to the north, and Blucher's thirty miles to the south of that city, while D'York was in advance of Wittgenstein. The two main armies of the French evidently intended to form a junction near Jena.

The left, under the command of Ney, about the middle of April was in front of Erfurt; while the corps of Bertrand, which formed the extremity of the right wing, had at the same date reached Cobourg: in the rear of Ney, at Gotha, Marmont was posted, and Berthier behind him. On the 19th of that month there was a sharp affair between a body of Prussians and the advance of Ney's corps under the command of Souham: the contest took place near Weimar: the Prussians behaved nobly: they drove the enemy thrice through that town; but at length were obliged to yield to superior numbers, and retreated behind Jena. Towards the end of April, the advanced posts of the adverse armies were on the opposite banks of the Saale, and it was evident that a general engagement would soon take place.

So far Bonaparte had been successful in carrying his plan of the campaign into execution; for his plan evidently was, to concentrate his forces on the right bank of that river, near the extensive plain of Lutzen. His army, superior in numbers to the army of the allies, he hoped would on this plain fight to great advantage. It seems to have been the intention of the allies, by the early junction of Blucher and Wittgenstein, to have com-

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pelled Beauharnois to have retreated; but their junction having been delayed, the French general was enabled to move up the Saale, while Ney descended its left bank, and Bertrand its right. During the movements necessary for this purpose, the French, though they ultimately effected their object, encountered a formidable opposition; for Ladrison and Macdonald endeavoured for three days successively to force a passage at three points, and it was only at the third attempt that they succeeded. In consequence of these movements on the part of the enemy, it was judged prudent for the allies to retire from the Saale, and concentrate their forces on the Elster. On the morning of the 1st of May the emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia arrived at Bornä with the reserve; and the last division of general Tormasoff's corps having crossed the Elbe a few days before, and moved forward by forced marches towards the Elster, the whole allied army was by the afternoon of the 1st of May collected in the neighbourhood of Bornä on the plains of Lutzen. The soil in this part of Germany is dry and light, the country uncovered and open; but there is considerable variety of hill and dale, with many hollow ways and mill-streams, the former not discernible till nearly approached. In the course of the 1st of May count Wittgenstein reconnoitred the country, and the situation and movements of the enemy: the great masses of the French were between Lutzen and Weissenfels; but there were several indications that they intended to move in the direction of Leipzig. In consequence of these movements and indications on the part of the enemy,

count Wittgenstein gave orders for several columns of the allied army to cross the Elster, and proceed down the course of a rivulet which falls into the Saale. He thus hoped to turn the right of the French between Lutzen and Weissenfels, while their attention was directed to his left between Weissenfels and Leipzig.

The French occupied a strong position: behind them was rising ground, and a string of villages; in front there was a hollow way and a stream of considerable depth: here they awaited the attack of the allies. The natural strength of their position was much increased by an immense quantity of ordnance which was distributed throughout the line and in the villages; besides batteries in the open country supported by masses of infantry in solid squares.

As it was of the utmost consequence to force the enemy from the line of villages which he occupied, the plan of the allies at the commencement of the engagement was to attack Grosgorchen, the principal of them, with artillery and infantry; and, while this attack was going on, to pierce the enemy's line to the right of the villages with a strong column of cavalry, in order if possible to cut off the troops in the villages from support. For this latter enterprise the cavalry of the Prussian reserve were selected: they advanced with great steadiness and gallantry; but when they reached the hollow way, the showers of grape-shot and musketry to which they were exposed, rendered it impossible for them to proceed. Here the conflict was most desperate and sanguinary: the Prussians, having partially succeeded in breaking into the squares of the enemy, committed great carnage: but as

it was evident that Bonaparte was resolved to preserve the line of the villages at any expense of men, the Prussians were at last drawn off.

Hitherto the allies had been the assailants; but towards the evening, Bonaparte, having called in that division of his army which was near Leipsic, and collected all his reserves, made a most furious attack from his left on the right of the allies, while at the same time he supported and covered this attack by the fire of several batteries advancing. The allies seem not to have expected, or been prepared for, this movement; and therefore found it necessary to change the front of the nearest brigades on the right, and to order up the whole cavalry from the left to the right, to turn this attack: but before the cavalry could arrive, night put an end to the combat; the allies remaining in possession of the disputed villages, and of the line on which the enemy had stood.

The subsequent operations are not very clearly detailed in the official accounts which the allies published respecting the battle of Lutzen. Orders, it is said, were given to renew the attack on the morning of the 2d of May: "but the enemy did not wait for it; and it was judged expedient, with reference to the general posture of the cavalry, not to pursue." In fact, the allies the next day commenced their retreat; and in consequence of this retreat, Bonaparte claimed the victory in the battle of Lutzen.

But that it was by no means such a victory as he had been accustomed to, or had reason to boast of, was sufficiently evident even from his own account, and from the extreme pains which were taken in France to represent it as such.

Cardinal Maury issued orders for

Te Deum on the occasion, in language that would have disgraced the meanest sycophant of the most corrupt and despotic Asiatic court: according to him, the genius of the emperor was again triumphant: in his last address to the legislative body, when he informed them that he was going to put himself at the head of his troops, he had foretold what had happened: after the prodigies which he had performed, the rank to which he had raised France, it was scarcely possible to regard him as mortal. Such was the language of cardinal Maury!

When once the allies had determined to retreat (from whatever cause or with whatever object they came to this determination), it was of the utmost consequence that Bonaparte, superior as he was in numbers, should not throw himself first upon the Elbe, or get into the rear of the allies, so as to endanger their communication: they therefore continued their retreat in the line of the river Mulda: but its banks not affording any tenable position, they afterwards retired through Dresden, in order to occupy a defensive position behind the Elbe. They were thus consequently obliged to give up Dresden to the enemy: but if all circumstances are taken into consideration, their retrograde movement must be deemed prudent and skilful. The consequences of avoiding a decisive action with Bonaparte, of drawing him on by degrees from his resources, and at the same time weakening him by attacks, or by acting on the defensive in favourable positions, had already been proved in the Russian campaign. Bonaparte, on the contrary, was anxious to bring the campaign in Germany to a speedy issue: he

must

must have known that a suspicion had gone abroad, and had found its way even into the minds of his own subjects, that he was no longer the child of fortune; and this suspicion he could drive out only by a victory as splendid and decisive as those of Jena or Austerlitz. The result of the battle of Lutzen, it is true, he had represented in this light; but he could not hope that he would long succeed in concealing its real character from the French nation. After the victories of Jena and Austerlitz there was little or no opposition: all was triumph on his part: all was submission on the part of his opponents. If therefore, as he knew must be the case, the allies still fought after the battle of Lutzen,—if his own progress was slow and difficult,—his claim to victory in that battle would be denied.

But though Bonaparte was not decidedly victorious, yet the retreat of the allies, especially the circumstance of their yielding up Dresden without opposition to the French, rather injured their cause in Germany. The Saxons, whom they had invited to take up arms against the tyranny of France, perceiving how little able they were to protect them, began to incline towards Bonaparte; while the king of Saxony more than ever yielded himself up to his plans and wishes.

While the French head-quarters continued at Dresden, their army received considerable reinforcements, so as to form a mass little short of 200,000 men. They were divided into three armies: the principal, consisting of the 4th, 6th, 11th, and 12th corps, and the young and old guards, were collected opposite the position which the allies had taken up at Bautzen,

about thirty miles from Dresden: this army consisted of about 100,000 men, under the personal command of Bonaparte. The second army, which was about 50,000 strong, commanded by Ney and Lauriston, moved at the same time from Torgau on the right of the allies. The third army, which was composed of the troops under Victor, Sebastiani, and Regnier, and amounted to between 40,000 and 50,000, were marching from Magdeburgh, in the direction of Berlin.

About this time, that is, the middle of May, count Bubna arrived at Dresden with a letter from the emperor of Austria to Bonaparte: from what occurred afterwards, there can be no doubt that he brought proposals for an armistice, with a view to a general pacification: and it is worthy of remark, that the same French papers which announced the arrival of the imperial ambassador, give an account of the departure of Beauharnois for the north of Italy; which circumstance seems to prove, that even at this time Bonaparte anticipated the hostility of Austria, and had resolved to assemble an army on her southern frontier. At the same time that the count de Bubna was sent to Dresden, count Stadion was dispatched to the head-quarters of the allies. The emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia, it is said, agreed to the proposal of the emperor of Austria for an immediate suspension of hostilities; while Bonaparte eluded it, by saying that he would accede to it as soon as a congress was formed. The emperor of Austria, in order that his mediation might be the more efficient, gave orders to place his army on the full war establishment; and, what was certainly no favourable indication to Bonaparte, in-

trusted the command of the Bohemian army (which was nearest the scene of military operations) to prince Schwartzburg, at whose conduct in the Russian campaign Bonaparte had expressed strong dissatisfaction.

Hostilities, in the mean time, went on: the allies, as we have already mentioned, retreated from the line of the Elbe to Bautzen, where their whole front was covered for several miles by the river Spree: their first line rested its left on the heights which overhang this river; while its centre was placed behind Bautzen, and its right at the village of Niemschutz: this position was naturally very strong and advantageous; but they moreover took those precautions which marked their skill and judgement. Another line was formed and strengthened by field works, at some distance in their rear, near the village of Hochkirchen. Here they coolly and confidently waited the attack of the enemy.

Bonaparte had joined his principal army before Bautzen on the morning of the 19th of May, and spent the whole of that day in reconnoitring the strength and position of the allies: his force in this place consisted of the 4th, 6th, 11th and 12th corps, amounting in all to about 80,000 men; besides 12,000 of his guards, 14,000 cavalry, and a very numerous and powerful artillery. The right wing was formed of the 12th corps, under the command of Oudinot: the 11th, under Macdonald, formed the centre; and the 6th, under Marmont, formed the left: Mortier had the command of the guards, which were stationed in reserve: the cavalry were commanded by general Latour Maubourg. Bertrand was posted beyond Marmont,

on the left, for the purpose of threatening the right of the allies, and also that, if it were necessary, he might detach a division to communicate with the other great army which Bonaparte had ordered to move up from a village about 30 miles to the north of Bautzen. This army consisted of about 60,000 men, composing the 3d, 5th and 7th corps, under the command of Ney, Lauriston and Regnier. Bonaparte meant, by means of this army, to turn the right of the allies, while he himself attacked them in front. In this part of his plan, however, he completely failed.

Such were the arrangements and strength of each party before the battle of Bautzen. On the 19th Bertrand detached a division, which was intercepted, and beaten with considerable loss: at the same time Ney, Lauriston and Regnier, moving forward to join Bertrand, were opposed with very inferior numbers by D'York and Barclay de Tolly; and after three hours very hard fighting they were only able to gain possession of a small village, at too great a distance from the proposed scene of action to enable them effectually to follow out the original plan.

These were only preliminary movements: on the 20th the grand attack began. The first object of the French was to force the passage of the Spree, which was effected (with dreadful loss from the fire of the artillery of the allies) by the corps under Oudinot, Macdonald and Marmont: the contest lasted seven hours, and the French at length accomplished their object only by the very great superiority of their numbers. As soon as the enemy had gained the opposite banks of the river, the allies retired to their second position:—this was

so strong, and the day already so far spent, that the French did not attempt to force it. The result of this day's engagement was, that the enemy occupied the village of Bautzen; but they took no artillery, no trophy of any kind, and scarcely any prisoners.

Bonaparte the next day made another attempt to turn the right of the allies; but in consequence of the failure which Bertrand's corps had experienced on the 19th, he was still further from his object than before. This general had, indeed, passed one of the branches of the Spree; but he could not form a junction with Ney, in consequence of the allies retaining possession of the heights on his right, between that general and himself.

On the 21st the battle was most obstinate and bloody: the left of the allies was attacked by Oudinot and Macdonald, but notwithstanding their superiority they made scarcely any impression upon it: at the same time Ney, Lauriston and Regnier made an attack on their right: Ney advanced fighting along the banks of the Spree, as far as the village of Prielnitz, of which he gained possession; but he was soon afterwards driven from it with very considerable loss. As the occupation of this village was of the utmost consequence to his future operations, and indeed to his success, Bonaparte ordered the whole of the reserve to be brought up, under the command of Soult. The allies, in consequence of this movement, were obliged to turn their force from attacking Ney to defend themselves against Soult; and Ney, taking advantage of this circumstance, advanced again in front, and thus the whole French force was at last brought into action together. The allies, however,

still continued to maintain their ground; nor did they begin to retreat, even according to the French account, till four hours after the reserve under Soult was brought up. Their retreat appears to have been conducted in a very orderly manner; and an attempt made by the cavalry of the enemy to cut off, if possible, some part of the artillery and baggage, was completely unsuccessful. The loss of the French, in this obstinate battle, was very severe: indeed, like the battle of Lutzen, though Bonaparte gained ground by it, he gained it at such an expense of men, and with such a conviction of the bravery and skill of the allies, that he must have been very unwilling to have obtained many such victories. But the most alarming circumstance which occurred during the battle of Bautzen was the desertion of a whole battalion of Wurtemburghers, as well as a body of Saxon troops, — a circumstance which decidedly proves that the victory of the French was not so great as Bonaparte represented it, while it must have convinced him, how little dependence he could place on the German troops.

The allies continued their retreat for several days successively: on the 24th of May their head quarters were within eighteen leagues of Berlin.

We have mentioned, both in the account of the battle of Lutzen and of Bautzen, the great superiority of the French: this seems a surprising and unaccountable circumstance. According to the statement given in our gazette, the army of the allies, in the latter battle, did not amount to 60,000 men, while the force of Bonaparte is calculated at 120,000. With this very great disproportion, the allies stood no chance

chante with their opponent, unless they persevered in their plan of retreating; only offering resistance where their inferiority was compensated by the strength of the position which they were enabled to occupy.

While one part of the French army advanced towards Berlin, another took the route into Silesia. On the 24th, Ney, Lauriston and Regnier forced the passage of the Neiss, and on the 25th, that of the Queiss: after the passage of the latter river, three divisions of Macdonald's corps attacked the allies, in the hope of intercepting their retreat; but they failed in their purpose. The allies, after this, seem to have deviated from the direct line towards the Oder, and to have moved upon Schweidnitz: this change in the direction of their retreat probably was occasioned by their desire to occupy the strong places of Silesia, and by their hope that Bonaparte would not dare to follow them so far into that country. In this, however, they were mistaken; for he pushed one division so rapidly after them, as within ten days after the battle of Bautzen to have advanced 100 miles into Silesia.

The emperor of Austria, in the mean time, was exerting himself to bring about an armistice; and from the frequent mention which was made of it in the French papers, it was evident that Bonaparte was anxious that it should take place. At length on the 4th of June it was concluded; it was to continue, on all points, till the 20th of July: the line of demarcation for the allied army extended from the frontiers of Bohemia to the Oder, through Bettlern and Althorf: the line of the French army extended from Bohemia to Lahn, and thence

along the course of the river Katzbach to the Oder: the space between the respective lines of demarcation, including the city of Breslau, was declared neutral. By this agreement, nearly the whole of Prussia was left in the occupation of the allies; the whole of Saxony and the Rhenish confederacy that of the French: the fortress of Dantzic, Zamose, Mödlin, Stettin, and Custrin, in which were French garrisons, and which were besieged by the allies, were to be victualled every five days. As the actual state of Hamburg, at the period of the conclusion of the armistice, was not accurately known to either party, it was agreed that if it was only besieged, it should be treated like other besieged towns; and in this part of Germany the Elbe was to be the line of demarcation between the belligerent armies. Hostilities were not to recommence till six days after the denunciation of the armistice at the respective head quarters.

It is difficult to determine on which side the advantage of the armistice lay: both were probably desirous of it; and as the emperor of Austria pressed it with great earnestness, each party readily agreed to it, in the hope of gaining his assistance, or avoiding his hostility. It was, however, extremely unpopular throughout Germany, and especially in the Prussian states; so much so, indeed, that the king of Prussia deemed it necessary to issue a proclamation, which he declared that the armistice was not sought for by the allied powers;—that Bonaparte had requested it;—and that the allied powers would make use of it only to reinforce their armies, and attack the enemy of Germany, at its expiration, with more vigour. Bonaparte

aparte, on his part, complained that the armistice was not faithfully kept by the allies; this complaint arose from a circumstance which figured fatally for his future success; for the landwehr of Prussia, and even all the inhabitants who could procure any kind of arms, notwithstanding the suspension of hostilities, were continually attacking and harassing the French, and in many cases captured their supplies of stores and provisions, and rendered precarious and difficult their communication with France.

It was soon evident that, from whatever motive the belligerent powers agreed to the armistice, they had no expectation it would lead to peace; each party exerting itself to the utmost to recruit and reinforce their army. The comparatively small numbers of the allies in the battle of Bautzen have been already noticed: during the suspension of hostilities, the emperor Alexander ordered fresh troops to be brought across the isthms, so that in a short time the reinforcements that joined the allied army from Russia alone,

amounted to 75,000 men. The emperor also directed his attention very closely and successfully to re-organise his army; while the king of Prussia contributed as much to the common cause as the exhausted state of his country and of his finances would allow. Bonaparte was equally active: opposite to the main army of the allies, he had collected nearly 130,000 men; this probably out-numbered their force; but in other parts of Germany the belligerent powers were more equally poised. Oudinot was kept in check by Von Bulow: the crown prince of Sweden hitherto had done little or nothing; but by the position which he occupied in Pomerania, and by the communication which he kept up with the armies in Mecklenburgh, under the command of Tettenborn and Walmoden, he was able to keep in check, if not actively to oppose, the troops under Davoust and Dumonceau, and the Danes. Such were the force and position of the respective parties at the conclusion of the armistice.



## CHAPTER XXI.

*Prolongation of the Armistice—Proclamation of the King of Prussia on the Subject—Congress proposed to be held at Prague—Terms of Peace proposed by the Emperor of Austria—rejected by Bonaparte—the Austrian Declaration of War—long concealed from the French Nation—Correspondence between the French and Austrian Ministers—Remarks on its Facts established by it—first, that Austria reluctantly engaged in the War against Russia—secondly, that she rejoiced at the Disasters of that War—and lastly, that the French Minister was the Dupe of the Austrian—Immense Force assembled against Bonaparte—Means by which they endeavoured to shake his Power—Address of the Crown Prince—Moreau joins the Allies—the Battle of Dresden—Death of Moreau.*

THE armistice, according to the first agreement among the belligerent powers, was to have expired on the 20th of July; but it was afterwards prolonged to the 20th of August: still, notwithstanding this prolongation, there was little prospect of the adjustment of their differences. The allies having opposed Bonaparte with at least less disastrous results than in any previous campaign, except that in Russia, were naturally full of hope that they should ultimately rescue a great part of Germany from his yoke. They probably knew also the sentiments and feelings of Austria; and the opinions and wishes of their own subjects were decidedly averse to any peace with the French, till they were driven out of that part of Germany which they occupied. But it was on the intentions of Austria that the allied powers endeavoured to fix the hopes of their subjects; and in an official paper published at Berlin after the proclamation of the king of Prussia, to which we have already alluded, these intentions were explicitly stated to be favourable, in the first instance, to the peace and repose of the conti-

nent, if it could be secured on a honourable and permanent basis; or, otherwise, to the support of the allies.

In this official paper the congress to be held at Prague was first mentioned; and this also was ascribed to the suggestion or mediation of Austria: the views of the imperial Austrian court, according to the paper, ever since the alliance between Russia and Prussia, had been directed to restore the balance of power, and the pacification of Europe. This the emperor had declared to be his wish; and in order to act in the character of a mediator, he had not only recalled his auxiliary forces from the French army, but assembled a respectable number of troops in Bohemia. Having thus placed himself in a situation to be respected by both the belligerent parties, the emperor of Austria proposed a congress at Prague: to this proposal the French emperor agreed; and the king of Prussia and the emperor of Russia having likewise signified their consent, the armistice was prolonged for the purpose of affording sufficient time for the meeting of the ambassadors of the respective powers.

powers, and the full discussion of the important business that would come before them. After stating that the ambassadors were actually set off for Prague, the official paper concludes with observing that "the allied powers remain, in this instance, true to their purpose of losing no opportunity of procuring to Europe a just, lasting and secure peace, for the restoration of which they will labour with indefatigable perseverance; and use, for that purpose, all the means that Providence has put into their hands."

This congress was noticed in the French official papers in language which did not augur well for Bonaparte's wish for peace: for, while he announced the assembling of the congress, and stated that ambassadors from the different powers at war would compose it, he inveighed in his usual bitter and intemperate strain against England, and expressly designated the Spaniards by the name of insurgents. It is not, perhaps, always either politic or just to decide on an adversary's views and wishes by his language; but if this rule may be safely admitted in any case, it certainly may be admitted in the case of Bonaparte; and had his mind and ambition been subdued to a real desire for peace, he would have altered the tone of his language accordingly.

Before the end of July most of the members of the congress were assembled at Prague: Bonaparte sent the count de Narbonne and Caulincourt; the emperor of Russia his privy counsellor D'Ansett; the king of Prussia baron Humboldt; and the emperor of Austria count Metternich. It is likewise said that an accredited person from England was also there; but no notice of such a person was ever

given in any except the French official papers. Of the proceedings at this congress we are ignorant: little indeed seems to have been done; and the emperor of Austria soon found that neither of the belligerent parties were disposed to terminate hostilities on such conditions as the other would accede to. He himself, as well as the emperor of Russia, and the king of Prussia, was naturally and laudably desirous of rescuing Germany from the yoke of Bonaparte, or at least of restoring to its independence that part of Germany which constituted the territories of the king of Prussia: they also wished to guard themselves, as much as possible, against the future aggressions of Bonaparte: for this purpose, it is said that the emperor of Austria proposed the following terms to Bonaparte:

1st. That the duchy of Warsaw should be abolished.

2nd. That the Prussian fortresses should be given up to their legitimate sovereign.

3rd. That Dantzic should be evacuated by the French troops.

4th. That Austria should be put in possession of the Illyrian provinces.

5th. That Hamburg and Lubeck should be restored to their independence; and

6th. That the confederacy of the Rhine should be dissolved.

These terms were positively rejected by Bonaparte; and Austria immediately declared war against France.

The state paper which Austria issued on this occasion was remarkably long and elaborate, and drawn up with great care and ability: it went back to the different wars in which Austria and France had been engaged, and dwelt more particularly

ticularly on those which had occurred since Bonaparte obtained the supreme power. On every occasion the emperor of Austria had been anxious to remain at peace: he had even made sacrifices, which no consideration but his hope of preserving the tranquillity of his own country, and of Europe, could have drawn from him: nothing, however, which he could do, or sacrifice, or abstain from doing; not even a ready and full compliance with the demands, and an accordance with the views, of Bonaparte, were of any avail. The lamentable conviction was impressed on his mind, that the object of the French emperor extended to the subjugation of Europe; and that, for the attainment of that object, the dignity and honour of sovereigns and the tranquillity and happiness of their subjects must be considered as of no moment. Still the emperor of Austria persevered in his attempts to remain at peace; and he resolved to submit to that sacrifice,—which was the greatest he could make as a sovereign—and as a father, the sacrifice of his own daughter—and the junction of his troops with those of Bonaparte in his war against the emperor Alexander. How reluctantly he agreed to either of these measures, all who knew him must be convinced; and how deeply he repented having agreed to them, when he saw that even they were unavailing towards satisfying Bonaparte, or securing the peace of the continent, might easily be conceived. After the reverses of the Russian campaign, he hoped that Bonaparte would be disposed to peace: he had offered his mediation; he had proposed such terms as he thought fair and equitable for both parties; and which, if they had been acceded to, might

have given to Europe that repose which she so dreadfully needed after having been exhausted by such long and sanguinary wars. But his mediation was of no avail: his terms were rejected by the French emperor. No alternative therefore, now remained for him to adopt, but to unite his forces with those of the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia. Still, however, he as well as they were going to fight, not for the purpose of ambition or of conquest, but solely for the attainment of a just, honourable and lasting peace.—As soon as ever this could be brought about, they would most cheerfully lay down their arms till it was brought about, then would continue united in hostilities and exert themselves to the utmost. Compelled from such causes to go to war; going to war with such an object in view, the emperor of Austria confidently expected the approbation and the good wishes of Europe: his cause was just, and he doubted not it would prosper.

It would appear that Bonaparte did not expect that Austria would actually join the allies; and the fact was carefully kept out of the French official papers for a considerable length of time, till at last having occasion for a new conscription, the junction of Austria to the cause of the allies was stated as a reason for this demand of reinforcements. At the same time the correspondence between the Austrian and French ministers was laid before the legislative body: it is very long, and a great part of it very uninteresting; but some important facts may be collected from it.

In the first place, it is evident from this correspondence, as well as from the declaration of the emperor, that Austria very reluctantly

consented to enter at all into the war against Russia; and that she at last consented to send an auxiliary army, only in order to avert the displeasure of Bonaparte. This reluctance accounts for the circumstance of the command of this army having been given to prince Schwartzburg, and for the comparative inactivity with which its movements and operations were conducted. In fact, it merely appeared hostile; and perhaps, on the whole, it was of more disadvantage than service to Bonaparte; for, reckoning on its co-operation, he neglected, in a great measure, to send French troops to that part where it was stationed: and we now that, when he was compelled to retreat, he complained that the Austrian general had not kept open the communication.

In the second place, it appears from this correspondence that the Austrian court, when Bonaparte's reverses occurred in Russia, so far from offering or agreeing to assist him, could scarcely conceal their dissatisfaction. The Austrian minister, indeed, affects to condole with the French minister on the misfortune of his master; but his conduct is evidently feigned.

Lastly, throughout the whole of this correspondence the French minister appears to have been the dupe of the Austrian minister: we shall not here inquire whether he was justified in deceiving him; we merely state the fact. The former entertained no suspicion of the hostile intentions of the Austrian cabinet, till they were as clear as noon day; while he gave implicit credence to the pacific professions of the Austrian minister, even after those professions were belied by the conduct of the Austrian court.

We remarked, in our account of the

Russian campaign, that Bonaparte's generals seemed to have lost a portion of their military talents: the same fact will appear in the subsequent part of the German campaign; and this falling off seems not to have been confined to his generals; his statesmen also experienced it. It is a well ascertained fact, that lord Walpole was in the neighbourhood of Vienna for several weeks before Otto, the French ambassador there, knew the circumstance. On the other hand, the generals and the diplomatists of the allied powers displayed increased talent, activity, and zeal; so that it seemed as if the French public men had sunk into that state of mediocrity in which the public men of most of the old governments of Europe were at the commencement of the revolution; while the public men of the allies, excited by the same causes which had brought into action or generated talent at that period, assumed the original character of their opponents.

Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Sweden were now to try their strength against France; and had the result of this momentous contest been anticipated and predicted solely or principally from the issue of all the preceding coalitions against that power, it must have been looked forward to with gloom and apprehension by every friend to the independence and repose of Europe. But the cases were widely different: the former jealousies and selfishness of the allied sovereigns, which rendered impotent their coalition, were absorbed in the deep and awful conviction that now they were fighting for their own existence: besides, in the former contests, the people were averse or indifferent to the cause

of their sovereigns; now they were cordial and zealous in their co-operation. The allied powers also very wisely made use of other weapons besides those of war: the most eloquent and popular writers in Germany were employed to rouse the people; to hold out Bonaparte as no longer formidable; as having been conquered; but still as the implacable enemy of the happiness and peace of Germany; as the destroyer alike of the liberty of the sovereign and the peasant. These writers particularly dwelt on the contrast between Bonaparte before he crossed the Niemen and invaded Russia, and Bonaparte at the period when Austria joined the coalition against him. We shall give the following as one of the best and most striking: the details which it contains will, we trust, justify us for inserting it entire, notwithstanding its length.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF THE  
PHYSICAL, ECONOMICAL, AND  
MORAL FORCES OF NAPOLEON,  
IN THE YEARS 1812 and 1813.

JANUARY 1812.

1. Napoleon was in absolute possession of the French empire, the kingdom of Italy, Illyria, and the southern part of Spain.

2. He was undoubtedly master of the states of the confederation of the Rhine, of Prussia, of the kingdom of Naples, and the grand duchy of Warsaw; he had possession of the fortresses on the Oder, and a limited alliance with Denmark.

3. Austria dreaded his power; her military system was reduced; circumstances rendered her his ally; she consented to give him 30,000 men.

4. Russia kept her ports shut; she had 120,000 men upon her

frontier to defend her independence: but she was at war with England and the Porte, and soon after with Sweden.

5. This latter power was in a state of neutrality with France, and Napoleon offered her subsidies to induce her to declare herself for him.

6. Napoleon had an army of 500,000 veterans upon the Oder and the Vistula to attack Russia; this war drew more than 600 millions out of his treasury, and 2,000 pieces of artillery from his arsenals. The Poles supplied him with 80,000 men, and 100 millions. He brought into this war 70,000 cavalry.

7. Napoleon had in his own hands the monopoly of colonial products throughout almost all Europe. This monopoly brought him in 100 millions.

8. Napoleon drew contributions from Austria, from Prussia, and from Illyria. He had the revenue of all Italy, from the confederation of Germany, from Poland, and that of the French empire, which amounted to nearly 1000 millions. Notwithstanding those resources the deficiency for the year 1813 was doubled.

9. Notwithstanding the battle of Aspern and Eylau, Napoleon had preserved the reputation of being invincible; he enjoyed an opinion that nothing could resist him: it was sufficient for him to order, and every thing gave way to his will,—to order, and it was done,—to direct, and every thing bent to his wish,—to announce an event, and the prediction was fulfilled. Spain alone formed an exception; which however had not dissipated the belief.

AUGUST 1813.

1. Napoleon has lost a part of the

the 32d military division, a part of Illyria, all Spain, and the Dalmatian islands.

2. Prussia, Mecklenburgh, and the grand duchy of Warsaw are now no longer his dependencies; Prussia and Mecklenburgh are, on the contrary, in arms against him.

3. Austria has an army of upwards of 400,000 men; she is no longer allied to France, but has acceded to the new alliance against her.

4. Russia has beyond her frontiers 200,000 men; she occupies the grand duchy of Warsaw; her ports are open; she is united with England, Prussia, Sweden, and Spain; she is at peace with Turkey, which considerably increases her moral force, and it has been proved by facts that she cannot be conquered.

5. Sweden, having entered into the new war, furnishes more than 100,000 men, who are acting on the continent.

6. Those 500,000 veterans of Napoleon have disappeared; he has lost all his cavalry,—several marshals,—80 generals;—of this army only some thousands of officers remain to him. The cannon, arms, effects, the 600 millions are lost, together with Prussian and British contingents. He has only the latter 15,000 men, with the maledictions of the country.

7. That monopoly has almost entirely disappeared since the ports of Russia and Prussia have been open, since the war terminated between the Russians and Turks, and the English occupied the Dalmatian islands.

8. The Austrian, Polish, and Russian contributions have ceased, Illyria is exhausted; The war and my expenses have doubled.—What then will be the deficit for the year 1818? There no longer 1818,

exists a continental system against England; it is, in fact, destroyed.

9. The battles of Smolensk and Borodino, of Krasnoi, of Lutzen, and all the last campaign, prove that with inferior forces he can be resisted and beaten; and that, consequently, he must be beaten with equal forces, and destroyed with superior ones.

From this comparative statement it results that Napoleon's power and glory have sensibly declined since the year 1812. His army had then besides 110,000 auxiliaries,—viz. 50,000 Poles, 30,000 Prussians, and 30,000 Austrians; his enemy now has an auxiliary force of 330,000,—viz. 200,000 Austrians, 100,000 Prussians, and 30,000 Swedes. His revenues have decreased 100 millions; and the diminution will be still much greater, if we take into consideration what he drew by requisitions from Prussia and the countries of the confederation of the Rhine, and the war contributions of Prussia, Poland, and Austria.

There was no alliance against him, except that of England and Spain; no other power that could make war against him, none other than Russia which was able to resist him. A new alliance now subsists between four powers, which are in a condition to oppose him with 500,000 combatants:—whole nations will, should it be necessary, be under arms. Napoleon so fully feels the difficulty of resisting them, that he almost abandons the peninsula, which exposes the southern provinces of France to invasion. His army is no longer composed of veterans; his cavalry is no longer formidable, nor the most warlike in Europe. Four fifths of his army are composed of young men, im-

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perfectly disciplined, and torn from the arts and agriculture, which produces an enormous deficiency in the total revenues of his states.

The allies, or rather the slaves of Napoleon, especially Saxony and Bavaria, are no longer able to furnish the contingents he had imposed on them. Deprived of the greater part of his former resources, he no longer possesses either the means or the right of dictating the conditions of peace: he will not be able to procure new states; he can only obtain it by sacrificing a part of those he possesses, which will augment the relative power of his opponents.

If he continues the war, the chances are against him; the loss of several states, which he has already sustained, has not been counter-balanced by any new conquests. In losing 600,000 of his troops, he acquired new enemies, who will combat him with the same forces which have before supported his cause and his interests. Six millions of Prussians, nineteen millions of Austrians, and four millions of the duchy of Warsaw, in all twenty-nine millions of men, who were under his control or his allies, are now united against him. The deficit in his finances will augment without measure, and force him to aggravate the state of constraint and the sufferings of his subjects, which he can no longer relieve by his foreign receipts. All those considerations should have induced him to make peace; but it now remains for the allies to conclude it on such a basis as will render it solid and honourable.— They will augment their physical and moral force; draw closer their reciprocal ties; whilst he, directed by the same ambition, the same destructive objects, will be obliged

to pay, with his own finances, those who serve him; and maintain at home an army which will increase the malady which is undermining his gigantic empire, and which will crush him under its ruins.

We have already stated that Bonaparte preserved a profound silence as long as he possibly could respecting the Austrian declaration of war: he was equally silent respecting the crown prince of Sweden: but equally from this silence, and from his invectives against him when he could no longer pass him over unnoticed, it might be inferred that he dreaded his talents. Hitherto indeed the crown prince had done little or nothing for the common cause: while the Austrians and Prussians were combating Bonaparte at the battles of Lutzen and Bautzen, the Swedish army was stationed at a great distance from the scene of action, in Pomerania: even here, however, they were of some service, for they kept in check the army of Davoust. But as soon as it was determined to recommence hostilities, the crown prince prepared to take a more active part: and much was anticipated from his talents; from the excellent state of discipline into which he had brought the troops under his command; and from the confidence with which his junction would inspire the allies. According to the plan laid down by the allies, the protection of Berlin was assigned to him; and for that purpose, about the middle of August he removed his headquarters to Potsdam: at the same time he issued a most energetic and animating proclamation to the troops under his command. He told them that the extraordinary events of the last twelve years, of that period during which Bonaparte had ruled over

France,



France, had rendered it necessary for him to conduct them into Germany: had it not been for those events, Europe would still have remained as one great family, conjoined of their mutual dependence, and anxious for their mutual welfare. But those events had rendered it necessary for Sweden to cross the sea that divided her from Germany: the cause of Europe was entrusted to the protection of soldiers from the banks of the Wolga and the Don; from the shores of Britain, and the mountains of the North. At such a time, when the happiness of a large portion of the civilized world was at stake, rivalry, national prejudices, and antipathies ought to disappear before the grand object of the independence of nations. Why were they called to arms? Not to gratify ambition, or to achieve conquest; but for a more estimable, a nobler, object. The emperor Napoleon could not live in peace with Europe unless Europe was his slave; and to prevent this, to oppose the restless and unsatisfied desire of conquest which dwelt in his bosom, they were called to arms. Did they doubt that such was the character of Napoleon? Were they afraid to combat with him? He had proved that this was his character, and that he was not conquerable, by the 400,000 men whom he carried 700 miles from their country, and the greatest part of whom fell victims to his mad ambition. Had he been a man of common humanity, or even of common policy, after this signal disaster he would have been disposed for peace: but neither his misfortunes in Russia, nor the defeats which his armies experienced in Spain, effected any beneficial alteration in his character or views. Peace was offered to him; that

peace, which all other governments anxiously desired, and which was necessary for the establishment of his own power, and for the well-being of France; but he had indignantly rejected it.—“Soldiers! it is to arms then we must have recourse, to conquer repose and independence. The same sentiments which guided the French in 1792, and which prompted them to assemble, and to combat the armies which entered their territory, ought now to animate your valour against those who, after having invaded the land which gave you birth, still hold in chains your brethren, your wives, and your children. Soldiers! what a noble prospect is opened to you! The liberty of Europe; the re-establishment of its equilibrium; the end of that convulsive state which has had 20 years duration; finally, the peace of the world will be the result of your efforts. Render yourselves worthy, by your union, your discipline, and your courage, of the high destiny which awaits you!”

Besides the crown prince of Sweden, another Frenchman entered the lists against Bonaparte. General Moreau, after he was liberated by him, had gone over to the United States of America, where, in peace, quiet, and retirement, he spent some years of his life: but whether he grew weary of his condition there, or whether he considered himself called upon by the voice of patriotism and the duty he owed to his fellow-creatures, or whether both these motives acted upon him, is not certain; but it appears that the emperor Alexander, as soon as he found that war with Bonaparte was inevitable, sent over a confidential person to America, with whom general Moreau returned to Europe. He joined



allied army soon after the congress at Prague was dissolved.

On two accounts his presence with the allies was deemed of importance: in the first place, his military talents were undoubtedly of the first order; they had been proved such by his conduct in every campaign in which he had been engaged, and most conspicuously so by his celebrated retreat out of Germany. His military talents were indeed of a different class and description from those of Bonaparte; perhaps there was in him less quickness of conception and combination; but, on the other hand, he possessed a cool and comprehensive judgement, which penetrated the most obscure and difficult parts of the most intricate plan. On him and on the crown prince the allied powers depended for the arrangement of the campaign; and as they each had great military talents and experience, and besides were well acquainted with the favourite plans of Bonaparte, and with the principles on which he conducted his campaigns, it was hoped that they would be able to oppose him with success.

In the second place, some expectation seems to have been entertained that the presence of Moreau with the armies of the allies might induce the French troops to withdraw their allegiance from Bonaparte, or at least might render them discontented with the war in which they were engaged. Moreau had undoubtedly been a great favourite with the French soldiers: but those who indulged this expectation do not appear to have been aware, or recollected, that soldiers of all nations soon lose any attachment which they may have formed to a general; and that, even if it did continue to exist, it could operate

but feebly under the strict discipline of an army, and among men who have scarcely any opportunity either of knowing one another's sentiments, or of acting together.

It is foreign to our purpose to examine minutely or elaborately whether Moreau was justified in taking up arms against his country: we shall, however, offer one or two remarks on the subject. In the first place, those who contended that he was perfectly justified, grounded their argument on this consideration, that it was not against but for his country he was about to fight: but by thus arguing they admitted virtually, though not directly, that the person himself was the proper judge of what was for the benefit of his country: or, in other words, they admitted that in some cases it was lawful to oppose the regular authority; for it will avail them little to contend that Bonaparte was an usurper and a tyrant: still the question recurs, If it be lawful to oppose an usurper and a tyrant, who can be the judge, whether the sovereign deserves those appellations, but the person who is about to oppose him?

In the second place, those who exclaimed against the conduct of Moreau, for taking up arms against Bonaparte, and yet retained the doctrine, that resistance to tyrants was lawful, were equally inconsistent, unless they were prepared to assert that the rule of Bonaparte was beneficial to France. But perhaps, in no former wars was there observable such inconsistency of opinion as in the French revolutionary wars: very many who advocated the cause of the revolution at its commencement, because they conceived it to be advantageous necessary to France, very strongly and absurdly transferred their

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iration from it to the person who opposed the very principles on which it was brought about; while those who opposed it at first, and, in their mistaken and outrageous zeal against it, exclaimed against the doctrines of liberty, as soon as the people of the continent rose in arms against the tyranny of Bonaparte, became the warm and enthusiastic defenders of those doctrines.

On the 17th of August hostilities commenced: Bonaparte immediately, with a large force, made a rush against the city of Prague; but when he had advanced within twelve leagues of it he received information that the positions of some of his corps at Goldberg, &c. in Silesia were in imminent danger by the march of the Russians and Prussians from Breslau. He was there more obliged suddenly and rapidly to leave Bohemia; and on the 21st of August he succeeded in driving his opponents before the line of the Mohr. Scarcely however had he accomplished this, when his presence was absolutely necessary in another quarter: the allied powers had formed a bold and comprehensive plan, by which, if they had succeeded in it, they would at once have placed Bonaparte in a most desperate situation. The united army of the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, amounting to about 150,000 men, under the command of Wittgenstein, Kleist, and Schwartzberg, made a movement for the purpose of cutting him off from the line of the Elbe, by seizing Dresden. When Bonaparte received information of their design, he was 20 miles from that city: this distance he marched with a strong body of troops in four days, amidst torrents of rain, and in most tempestuous weather; and reached

Dresden a few hours before the allies appeared in sight of the place.

The allies entered Saxony from Bohemia by different routes, in order to act on the enemy's flank and rear; while the Prussian army under the command of Blücher was directed to move from Silesia, and to threaten Lusatia in front, but to avoid a general engagement, especially against superior numbers.—At first the French advanced to the frontiers of Saxony; but they were beaten back towards Dresden, although they endeavoured to defend every inch of ground. The period was now arrived when the plan of the allies was to be put into complete execution; the different columns of their armies were to *debouche* from the mountains and passes at such periods as would have placed the enemy in a most critical situation; but some of the troops pushed on with so great eagerness that the right corps was brought into action before the other divisions had gained their proper stations. To this corps were opposed 15,000 men under general St. Cyr, supported by 6,000 men under general Bonnet: a sharp action commenced, which lasted some hours; after which the allied force drove the enemy from all points, and took some prisoners. The French now returned into their entrenched works in the front of Dresden, which place the allied armies encircled. On the 27th the enemy withdrew from their entrenchments into the city and suburbs. By this time Bonaparte had arrived there.

The allies, having driven the French into the city and suburbs, resolved, if possible, to drive them thence also: this, however, they were sensible was an enterprise of considerable difficulty, as the na-

tural defences round the town had been much improved by the skill of the enemy; and the extreme importance of the position led them to expect a very obstinate defence. At four o'clock in the evening the troops moved to the assault, the Prussians forming the centre attack. The operations were begun by a tremendous cannonade: the batteries being placed in a circular form round the town, the effect is described as magnificent: the troops moved forward with the utmost steadiness, and in perfect order to the assault. Already they were close to the town on all sides: an advanced redoubt with eight guns was taken by the Austrians in the most gallant manner; the enemy flying in all directions to shelter themselves behind new defences. It was soon perceived that it would be impossible to effect practicable breaches in the thick wall of the town; so that the Austrians could not proceed beyond the out-works. Night was approaching: the loss of the allies was great: the French to the amount of 30,000 made a sortie in order to separate the allied troops, and to take one wing in flank and rear. Their design was seen through and prevented; but at the same time it was necessary to draw off the troops from the assault.

The French, having thus succeeded in repulsing the allies, came out to attack them on the morning of the 28th. They possessed great advantages in their position for attack: in their rear was Dresden lined with guns; their communications were not intersected: if they were unsuccessful, they could retire; if they made an impression, they could pursue it up; while the allies could not follow them under the guns of the place. The wea-

ther was very bad on the day of attack; it rained almost incessantly. Bonaparte took advantage of these circumstances, and brought out an immense number of pieces of artillery: the battle consisted on both sides chiefly in heavy cannonading, except where charges were made by the allied cavalry. The main bodies of infantry, in both armies, were never engaged. After several hours of cannonading, the French, perceiving that they could make no impression on the position of the allies, retired into Dresden. The allies, however, notwithstanding they had succeeded in repulsing the enemy, could not remain where they were, as they were exposed to the risk of having their rear occupied by the French, if Bonaparte thought proper to pass a considerable body of troops across the Elbe at Koningstein and Pirna. Orders were therefore given to retire; and the allied army took up a position in the valley of Toplitz in Bohemia.

The plan of the allies in their attack on Dresden was undoubtedly masterly; and though the official accounts of the action point out some of the causes of its failure, they do not satisfactorily explain it. The most disastrous event in the course of this battle was the mortal wound of general Mcreau towards the middle of the day, while he was in earnest conversation with the emperor of Russia, the movements and operations that were going forward, he had both his legs carried off by a cannon shot, the ball going through his horse. At first he gave a deep groan; but when the agony of pain was over, he spoke with the utmost tranquillity, and called for a segar. He was carried off the field, on a litter made of cossacks' pikes, to a cottage at a short distance: but

this was much exposed to the fire, he was removed further off to the emperor of Russia's head quarters, where one of his legs was amputated. When the surgeon informed him that he must deprive him of the other, he observed, without manifesting any pain or peevishness, but in the calmest manner, that had he known that before his other was cut off, he should have preferred dying. The litter on which they had hitherto conveyed him was covered with nothing but wet straw, and a cloak drenched through with rain, which continued in torrents the whole day: but they now put more cloaks over him, and laid him more comfortably in a good litter, in which he was carried to Dippolswalde. Long, however, before he arrived there, he was again drenched with rain: from this place he was taken to Laun, where every attention and care was bestowed upon him. For some time he seemed to be doing well, and hopes were entertained that he might survive his wounds, till a long conference took place between him and three or four of the allied generals, by which he was completely exhausted: soon after this he became extremely sick, and hourly grew worse. "Through the whole of his sufferings he bore his fate with heroism and grandeur of mind not to be surpassed, and appeared to those with whom he conversed, to endure but little pain, from his extreme composure and calmness." He died at six o'clock of the morning of the 3d of September.

Bonaparte represented the battle of Dresden as most decidedly favourable to him: according to his

account the Austrian division of the allied army was nearly annihilated: Te Deum was ordered to be sung at Paris; and the speedy and glorious termination of the war was predicted. In most of this there was his usual exaggeration and deceit; but he actually appears to have considered the loss and discomfiture of the allies as much more serious than it really was; and in order to intercept their retreat into Bohemia, he dispatched Vandamme with a force, which it would have been madness to have sent against them, had he not believed their army to have been not only much reduced in numbers, but retreating in great disorder. Vandamme himself was not only ignorant of the strength of those whom he was to intercept, but also of their movements. He had under his command two corps and a division, amounting in the whole to about 30,000 men; with this force he crossed the Elbe at Pirna, and had actually gained possession of the mountain passes, when the Russians under the command of count Osterman forced their way through them with the bayonet. The action continued till late in the evening of the 30th, and was renewed with great obstinacy on the 31st, till the French troops, being attacked on all sides, were compelled to retreat: throwing down their arms in every direction, and abandoning their cannon and standards, they sought shelter among the woods and mountains. Vandamme and six other generals were taken prisoners: besides 10,000 men, 60 pieces of artillery, and 6 standards.

## CHAPTER XXII.

*Position and Strength of the contending Armies—Campaign in Silesia—Battle of the Katzbach—French completely defeated—Blucher's Address to his Soldiers on their Victory—Battle between the Crown Prince and Oudinot—the latter completely defeated—Ney sent to take the Command—attacks the Prussians—the Crown Prince comes up to their Assistance—Ney defeated at the Battle of Jüterboch—Bonaparte's critical Situation—harassed by the regular Advance and Retreat of the Allies—his Communication with France intercepted—Brief Account of the War on the Side of Italy—and in Mecklenburgh—Bonaparte still obstinate in his clings, to Dresden—Remarks on his Conduct—Extraordinary Meeting of the French Senate—Fresh Conscriptions called for—Bonaparte at length leaves Dresden—The Allies completely between him and France—Retrospect of the Events in the Month of September.*

**I**N order that our readers may more clearly and thoroughly understand the operations subsequent to the battle of Dresden, it may be necessary to advert to the position and strength of the contending armies previous to that event. Of the French army, four corps were in Silesia; four, besides the guards, near Dresden; three, under the command of Oudinot, threatened Berlin from the south; while the same city was to be approached by a strong force under Davoust from the north. Probably the whole of these forces amounted to 300,000 men. Besides these, Bonaparte had armies of reserve in Franconia, Bavaria, and Italy: the last was under the command of Beauharnois, and had been assembled there in order to invade Austria in that direction.

The grand army of the Russians, Prussians and Austrians, which was united in Bohemia, amounted to about 280,000 men: the army in Silesia, under the command of Blucher, to 100,000; and the forces under the crown prince, consisting of Swedes, Russians, &c. to rather more than 100,000 men. Hence it

appears that the numerical superiority was on the side of the allies; but their superiority in other respects was much more striking and important. The greater part of the French soldiers were conscripts, not merely unused to war, but either very young or very old, and consequently unfit to endure the fatigues of the arduous campaign which had just commenced. The soldiers of the allies, on the contrary, were in a most admirable state of discipline; most of them in the vigour of life, and inured to fatigue and privation. Their confidence in their leaders, too, must have been much greater than that which the French soldiers possessed towards Bonaparte.

We have already adverted shortly to the operations in Silesia; but it will be now proper to consider them more minutely. The campaign opened there on the 18th of August, the allies moving on towards Dresden. They first came up with the 3d French corps under the command of marshal Ney, which was driven across the Bohemian frontier. Bonaparte, alarmed at the approach of the Silesian army, set out to re-

insult



inforce Ney on the 21st; and the French having then greatly the superiority, general Blucher deemed it prudent to retreat, and re-cross the Bohr: he took up a strong position behind the Katzbach. The plan of the allies being to distract and divide Bonaparte's forces, they fell further back on Janar; while the grand army from Bohemia, as we have seen, marched on Dresden, and drew off Bonaparte to that quarter. On the 25th and 26th the French advanced against general Blucher, with the hope of being able to carry Janar; but on the latter of those days the Prussian general attacked them. The battle was fought near the Katzbach, and from that it takes its name: in it Blucher and his brave Prussians proved their determination to avenge the disgrace which their country had so long suffered by having been under the tyranny of France. They fought with the most unparalleled bravery. The enemy could not stand before them: their enthusiasm was such, that, rushing forward, they actually drove the French into the Katzbach. At this period of the battle it was completely dark; the river was swollen with constant rains, and all the bridges were broken down. The condition of the enemy under these circumstances may easily be conceived: immense numbers of them were drowned; 18,000 prisoners, 103 pieces of cannon, 280 ammunition-waggons, the camp hospitals, &c. were taken: among the prisoners were one general of division, and two of brigade; among the trophies, two eagles. Blucher, after this glorious victory, pushed forward rapidly after the discomfited enemy, and on the 2d of September his head-quarters were within the Saxon boundary, near Goerlitz, in Upper Lusatia, having completely

delivered Prussian Silesia from the enemy.

On this occasion he addressed a most eloquent proclamation to his soldiers:—To their valour, to their efforts, and patience in enduring fatigues, the liberation of Silesia was owing: that beautiful province was delivered from the hands of a rapacious enemy; it was again placed under the mild rule of their sovereign. In the battle of Katzbach, that battle which had restored Silesia to tranquillity and independence, his soldiers had acted in a manner worthy of their character; satisfactorily to him; in a manner which must make the enemy afraid again to encounter them: with the rapidity of lightning they burst forth from behind their heights; they disdained firing on the French; with the bayonet only they advanced against them, and drove them down the steep banks of the Neisse and the Katzbach. Here, however, the exertions of his brave soldiers did not terminate: in pursuit of the enemy, they waded through rivers and swollen torrents; they spent whole nights in the mire; they struggled with cold, hunger, and privations of all sorts: yed did they not repine. "Thanks to you for such praise-worthy conduct: he only is a true soldier who unites these qualities in himself. You have seen the plains between the Katzbach and the Bohr; they bear testimony to the terror and consternation of your enemies. Let us send up our thanks to the Lord of Hosts, by whose aid you have defeated the enemy; and, assembled in divine service, prostrate ourselves before him for the glorious victory he has granted us. Let your devotions close with three huzzas; and, then, once more against the enemy!"

Let us now direct our attention  
to

to the operations of the crown prince; to whom, as has been already stated, was allotted the task of defending Berlin. On the 21st of August he learnt by his spies that Bonaparte was concentrating the corps of the dukes of Reggio, Belluno and Padua, and of generals Bertrand and Regnier, near Bayreuth; the whole force amounted to nearly 80,000 men. From this movement the crown prince suspected that their object was to march rapidly on Berlin; and he took his measures accordingly. The 3d Prussian corps, under the command of Bulow, was placed between Hernalsdorf and Klein Beren; the 4th Prussian corps was situated at Blankenfelde. The Swedish army was posted at Ruhlsdorf; and the Russian army was in its rear. The Cossacks and light infantry, under the command of general Czernicheff, who had distinguished himself by the extreme rapidity of his movements, were directed to hover round the rear of the enemy's columns.

The battle commenced, on the morning of the 22d, by the French attacking one of the advanced posts of the crown prince's army: as they were greatly superior in numbers, the Swedish troops retired; and the enemy advanced and occupied a large space covered by woods and flanked by marshes. In the morning of the 23d, Bertrand made a desperate attack on the 4th Prussian corps; but he was repulsed, and some prisoners were taken. The principal scene of contest, however, this day, was the village of Grosberen: against it the 7th French corps and a strong reserve proceeded; but here also the 4th Prussian corps were successful, and the village was retaken. By the occupation of this village, the enemy were at the distance of 1000

toises from the centre of the camp. The crown prince sent orders to general Bulow to attack it: in executing these orders, the Prussian forces proved that they were the worthy descendants of the soldiers of Frederic the Great: for some hours the cannonade was warm; but the Prussians advancing under protection of the artillery, charged the 7th French corps with the bayonet, and put them to the rout. Hitherto the engagement had been principally between the Prussians and the enemy; for, the other corps of the French remaining in the woods, there had been no occasion for the Swedes and Russians to move from their position in front of the camp. About this time, however, the village of Ruhlsdorf, which was situated in front of the camp, was threatened by the enemy; and the crown prince deemed it necessary to order some battalions of the Swedes, along with a few pieces of artillery, to reinforce the advanced posts, while the enemy were taken in flank with a battalion of flying artillery. These operations completely decided the fate of the battle: the crown prince was victorious; and, as the result of his victory, obtained possession of 26 pieces of cannon, 1500 prisoners, among whom were 40 officers, and a great quantity of baggage. The enemy retreated beyond Trebbin, whither they were closely pursued by the light Russian cavalry.

Bonaparte was extremely chagrined at the result of this engagement: besides the mortification of having his troops beaten by the crown prince of Sweden, the result of this battle disarranged all his plans, and exposed part of his army to the attack of the victorious troops; for, Berlin being now safe, the crown prince, if he were not kept in check, would advance to

co-operate with the allies in the vicinity of Dresden. It was therefore necessary to send another general to replace Oudinot, who had commanded the French forces in the battle with the crown prince; and Bonaparte selected Ney for that purpose. He had under him 70,000 men; and as the Prussian army, at this period, was at some distance from that of the crown prince, the French general hoped to surprise it before the latter could advance to its assistance. The Prussian army under Bulow was only 40,000 strong; yet they sustained, undaunted and unmoved, the attack of Ney's corps. General Bulow, before the enemy came up with him at Juterboch, had received information of their approach, and he accordingly announced the circumstance to the crown prince, who had just begun to move for the purpose of crossing the river Elbe and marching towards Leipsic. But as soon as he learnt that the Prussians were likely to be attacked, he changed his route, and arrived at Juterboch, by forced marches, just as the Prussian army, after having sustained the unequal combat for a long time, were nearly overpowered by the enemy. For a moment the Russians and Swedes halted, in order to form in the order of battle: as soon as this was accomplished, 70 battalions and 10,000 horse, supported by 150 pieces of artillery, advanced in columns of attack; 4000 Russian and Swedish cavalry having preceded them, at full speed, for the purpose of supporting some points against which the enemy principally directed his attacks. At the sight of this immense army coming up to the assistance of a foe against whom they had scarcely made any impression, the French first wavered, and then fled with

the utmost precipitation; the allied cavalry charged them, as they retreated, with great impetuosity, and threw them into the utmost disorder. The result of the battle of Juterboch was upwards of 5000 prisoners, three standards, 30 pieces of cannon, and 200 ammunition-waggon. On the field of battle 6000 of the French lay dead. The enemy, after their defeat, in vain endeavoured to rally, or even to effect their retreat in tolerable order: besides the prisoners taken in the battle, upwards of 2500 were taken, on the evening of the day on which it was fought, in a village on the road to Dresden: so that, before they completely effected their escape, it was calculated that they lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, from 16,000 to 18,000 men, more than 50 pieces of cannon, and 400 ammunition-waggon. The loss of the Prussians was severe, amounting in killed and wounded to upwards of 5000. The crown prince, in his official account of this battle, mentions, that general Regnier remained a long time exposed to the fire of the sharp-shooters in the situation of a man desirous of death. He, as well as most other of the French generals, must have been convinced, that the rank and fortune which they had acquired, as well as their military glory and conquests, were placed in the utmost jeopardy by the insane obstinacy of their emperor.

The situation of Bonaparte was now every day becoming more critical; and yet he did not seem to be sensible of his danger, but still continued at Dresden. The allies, having been defeated in their attempt to take this city, altered their plan; but it was still a plan of the most consummate skill, and it was carried into execution with the most creditable



creditable activity, decision, and promptitude. Their grand object was to gather all their forces in the route between Dresden and Leipsic; or, if this could not be effected, to unite before Leipsic, so as completely to cut off Bonaparte's retreat into France. But, in order to carry this plan into execution, it was necessary to distract the attention and the forces of their adversary: and this they accomplished most effectually; for by advancing from the valley of Toplitz, on the side of Bohemia, towards Dresden, and another time from the side of Silesia towards the same place, they obliged Bonaparte to weaken and harass his troops; and as soon as he came nearly up with them they retreated. While he was in pursuit of one branch of the allied army, another threatened Dresden; so that at last his troops were completely exhausted. In the mean time, the allies were receiving great reinforcements, especially from Russia; the emperor Alexander exerting himself to the utmost to bring the campaign to a successful termination. Besides large bodies of regular troops, the Cossacks were greatly reinforced; and in the situation of the French army they were of most essential service, intercepting the communication with France, and cutting off the supplies. At this time, and by their means, many letters from the French officers to their relations and friends in France were intercepted, in all of which a most deplorable picture was drawn of their distressed situation: most of them, indeed, represented their condition as equally dreadful with what it had been in the Russian campaign; nor did they hold out any prospect of extricating themselves from it.

Nor were the affairs of Bonaparte

more prosperous in Italy: Beauharnois had collected a large army, but it was dispirited: the people of the country where it was stationed manifested strong symptoms of dissatisfaction: and when the Austrian general Nugent advanced, he found himself compelled, after some ineffectual attempts to keep his ground, to retire from the head of the Adriatic towards Venice. Davoust, also, who had advanced from the vicinity of Hamburgh into Schwerin, probably for the purpose of co-operating with Oudinot, being held in check by count Walmoden, and having learnt the fate of Oudinot's army, deemed it expedient to commence his retreat.

These, however, which in ordinary times would have been considered as important events, in the present situation of the continent scarcely attracted the attention of the public; all thought and conjecture being absorbed on what was likely to happen in the vicinity of Dresden; for that city Bonaparte persisted in retaining, notwithstanding the allies were gradually drawing round him in immense force, and notwithstanding that his own armies were greatly weakened both in numerical and in physical force. On the side of Bohemia prince Schwartzemberg continued to advance; while Blücher, by pressing forward on the side of Silesia, about the 7th of September effected a junction with the grand army; by this junction a powerful force was thrown on the right of the French in Lusatia; while several other Austrian divisions, together with the Russians and Prussians under the command of Barclay de Tolly and Wittgenstein (in all about 80,000 men), having re-entered Saxony, moved on Pirna, within eight miles of Dresden. Thus threatened,

threatened, Bonaparte was again compelled to leave that city; but as soon as he approached the main Austrian army, it gradually retired, drawing him towards the mountains of Bohemia. Taught, however, by the fate of Vandamme, he did not cross the frontier to any great distance, urging, in his official bulletin, as an excuse for not following them, that he could not get his cannon down the declivities. On the 11th of September he again returned to Dresden. By these movements of the allies, not only did prince Schwartzemberg open a communication with general Blücher at Gobel, but the crown prince also communicated with the same general at Bautzen. At the former place prince Poniatowski was posted; but he was compelled to retire within 15 miles of Dresden, while Macdonald was forced to take up a position on the Spree, within 30 miles of the same city. Marmont also, who had occupied the left bank of the Elbe with the 6th corps, was recalled, and sent, together with the cavalry under Murat, to Grossen Hayn, about 20 miles to the north of Dresden, to check the Swedes, who were advancing in that direction. Marshal Ney, after his defeat by the crown prince at Jüterboch, took shelter under the cannon of Torgau. Such were the positions of the armies, and the state of affairs, about the middle of September, to the northward and eastward of Dresden. On the 14th the grand army of the allies again advanced from the valley of Toplitz in Bohemia, driving back the 1st, 2d, and 14th French corps, which, with the guards, were posted on the frontiers. Again was Bonaparte compelled to leave this city, in order to reinforce his advanced divisions, and to repair the blunders of

his generals: the 15th and 16th he spent in driving the allies back to Bohemia; or, to speak more correctly, the allies, having succeeded in drawing him out of the city and in harassing his troops, retired on those days into Bohemia.

Bonaparte could no longer conceal his critical situation from the people of France: he had, indeed, in his bulletin respecting the battle of Dresden, represented the allied army as utterly defeated on that occasion, exaggerating their loss as high as 60,000 men, and boasting that they would not be able to resume offensive operations:—it was with a very bad grace, therefore, that he acknowledged his inability either to advance, or even to make head against an enemy, who, if his former accounts were correct, were so much weakened and disorganized. But the truth must be told: there was no possibility of escaping out of his perilous situation, unless large reinforcements were sent to him: and, besides, the real state of the case could not be so alarming as that which the Parisians apprehended; for the intercourse with France was so precarious and dangerous, that information respecting the army was obtained only at considerable intervals, and of a very meagre and unsatisfactory description.

On the 4th of October an extraordinary meeting of the French senate was held, at which Cambacérès, after laying before them the long-delayed report concerning the war with Austria and Sweden, distinctly avowed that Bonaparte's means were not adequate to the emergency of his situation, and called on them for a fresh conscription. But it was too late to be of much service to Bonaparte: the allies, long before it could possibly be raised, had carried into full execution

cution their grand plan. By the 9th of October the head quarters of prince Schwartzberg were established near Leipsic; the prince royal of Sweden and general Blucher, having crossed the Elbe at different points, were in communication with the main army: thus a complete chain was drawn across this part of Saxony, while general Benningsen advanced towards Dresden on the great road from Toplitz. The Cossacks under Platoff were in advance at Lutzen. Thus the communication of Bonaparte with France was completely destroyed; while his army was in great distress, his magazines were nearly exhausted, and the country which he occupied was utterly destitute of the means of replenishing them.

At length, on the 7th of October, Bonaparte left Dresden, taking with him the royal family of Saxony. It is absolutely impossible to assign any rational motive for his very long continuance in that city; nor can his conduct be accounted for, unless we suppose that he was under the same infatuation which seized him during the Russian campaign, and led him to advance, at the approach of winter, into a hostile and barren country, and to continue at Moscow till retreat was almost impossible. For his conduct in the Russian campaign, however, something like a rational motive may be assigned: he had often, by rapid and daring advances into the heart of his enemy's territory, and especially by occupying their capital, forced them to make peace: he had once already intimidated or cajoled the emperor Alexander into a disgraceful treaty; and he might hope that he could again effect the same object. But what hope could he possibly have that, by his stay at Dresden, either the fortune of war

would become favourable, or peace would be obtained? To every man of common sense, to every man not blinded by passion and obstinacy, it must have been apparent, that by staying at Dresden his own forces would be gradually reduced in numbers and strength, while those of the enemy would be accumulating; and that they would be enabled to cut off his communication with France.

The positions of the two armies, soon after Bonaparte left Dresden, were as follows:—The line of the French fortresses on the Elbe, including Dresden, Torgau, Wittemberg, and Magdeburgh, extended about 120 miles, the course of that river being nearly north-west. Torgau is about 45 miles, and Wittemberg 70, from Dresden: 17 miles below Wittemberg, on the left, the Elbe receives the Mulda; and 18 miles further, the Saale: both these rivers in the higher part of their course flow nearly parallel with the Elbe; and Leipsic stands between them, being distant from the Saale 18 miles, from the Mulda 13, and from the Elbe 35. As therefore the united army of the crown prince and Blucher occupied a line along the left bank of the Saale, from its mouth nearly to opposite Leipsic, they cut off all communication between the force collected round Leipsic and the country westward of that line. At the same time, the communications of the enemy, on the same line further to the south, were cut off by the army which was marching from the neighbourhood of Dresden. On the 11th of October the advanced posts of these two armies were in communication, and they greatly outnumbered the army of Bonaparte.

Under these circumstances, the object of the allies was to force Bonaparte

to a battle;—his object, in them by drawing off their troops. This he attempted to accomplish: the Prussians had been left exposed on the march of the crown prince and his grand army of the allies; Bonaparte, taking advantage of the delay, sent a corps across the Elbe to Freyberg; but the allies, aware of his movement, had ordered General Blücher with 12,000 men to march and cover Berlin; so the French force, having failed in its object, were recalled.

As to the allies of Bonaparte, they were more faithful to him than might have been expected; but at this period the king of Saxony deserted him, and concluded a treaty of alliance and friendship with Austria, by which he was furnished with 35,000 Bavarian troops, which were to be placed under his command. But though Saxony reigns in alliance with Bonaparte, she remained in general faithless to him, yet their subjects were not without a better spirit: the Prussians were employed to keep the peace and to spread it, to which they were already adverted; and he proceeded to narrate the details of the battle of Leipzig, we shall extract from the printed statements which were thrown into the towns of Saxony in the possession of the Prussian garrisons, by means of the cannon-balls employed in the battle of the crown prince, as it is an animated and impartial account of military events during the month of September.

In the month of August the Prussian armies attempted to invade Mecklenburgh, Swedish Pomerania, the Middle Mark, Silesia, and Bohemia. In the month

of September, after vain efforts, repelled on all sides, they were driven across the Elbe near Hamburg, wedged into a corner of Lusatia, driven up to the right bank of the Elbe, expelled from Bohemia with considerable loss of men and cannon, and not only disturbed in their lines of communication between Dresden, Altenburg, Leipsic, and Erfurt, but those lines more than once broken and intercepted.

“Towards the end of the month the combined armies had passed the Elbe at all points. The victory of Götterbe (the 16th of September) opened to the corps of general Walmoden the Old Mark, Lüneburgh, and the route of Hanover and Bohemia; the victory of Dennewitz (the 6th of September) made the prince royal master of the duchies of Anhalt, and other provinces formerly Prussian, Hessian, and of Brunswick; opened to him the gates of Dessau, Halberstadt, Halle, Merseburg, Brunswick, Cassel; and, in fine, the victory of general Blücher at Bischofswerda (22d of Sept.) secured to him the passage of the Elbe at Elster, his march upon Leipsic, by turning Wittenberg, and his communication with the army of the north of Germany.

“The Russian and Prussian armies, immovable in the position which they had chosen in Bohemia, from Toplitz to the Elbe, awaited the enemy in the fatal valley of Culm, received him with courage, drove him back with intrepidity as often as he dared to descend from the mountains, wasted him with famine, demoralized him, and incessantly drove him back upon Dresden; which, from being a point whence he attacked, now became to him a point of retreat. In the mean while the Austrian army extended itself, on one side, as far as Freyberg,



Freyberg, Chemnitz, and Altenburg; and on the other, towards Thuringia and Bavaria; pushed forward strong detachments, and covered powerful diversions operated by partisans as brave as fortunate: Colomb at Frankfort, Thielman at Naumburg, Platoff at Altenburg, and Mensdorf at the gates of Leipsic.

"Where was Bonaparte during the whole of September? At Dresden and its vicinity; again at Dresden and its vicinity; perpetually at Dresden and its vicinity. He sent his sick and wounded to Leipsic and Erfurt; burnt (by accident as was pretended, but designedly as we know) his magazines at Dresden; kept the king of Saxony and his family at Dresden, to give himself the semblance of security; and made of Dresden his Paris, his Germany, his Europe. It was from Dresden that those bags of letters were dispatched, which, being intercepted and published, have communicated just ideas of the true situation of the French army, and of the dispositions of the troops.

"Besides, from the 23d of September the retreat of that army was begun; on the 28th, the emperor, the king of Saxony, the royal family, escorted by the guards, quitted Dresden, taking the only route which remained to them—that of Leipsic.

"The treaty of alliance concluded at Toplitz, between Austria, Russia, and Prussia—the negotiations opened with Bavaria—the unequi-

vocal movements of the grand combined army towards the Maine—the siege of Wittemberg resumed with vigour, in which were used the formidable Congreve rockets—the junction of the army of Blucher with the prince royal's—have proved to Napoleon the necessity of retreat more effectually than his ministers and generals had hitherto been able to do. The feeble attempt near Dessau necessarily failed. The prince royal and general Blucher passed the Elbe at the same time, in the early part of October, and are in line before Leipsic, ready to give battle and attack the enemy.

"Russia, Austria, and Prussia, have mutually guarantied their states on the footing of 1805; furnishing each other 60,000 auxiliary troops, and setting out with the unchangeable principle, of not permitting a single French bayonet to remain in Germany. Already the sceptre of the king of Westphalia is broken in pieces; the city of Cassel, through the instrumentality of general Tchernitcheff, has placed its keys in the hands of the prince royal. The old order of things succeeds to the most oppressive anarchy.

"The trenches are opened before Dantzic, Stettin, and Glogau. Their garrisons are destitute of necessaries; they have many sick. Magdeburg itself is ill provisioned. Napoleon is even placing the fortresses on the Rhine in a state of defence."

## CHAPTER XXIII.

*Leipsic—the French completely defeated—Defection of their  
during the Battle—Bonaparte's Account of the Battle—Retreat of  
to the Rhine—defeated again at Hanau—Bonaparte's Arrival  
—his Proceedings there—Consequences of the Battle of Leipsic—  
eration of the Rhine dissolved—Holland liberates herself, and in-  
ack the Prince of Orange—Exertions of the British Ministry at this  
—Parliament meets—Speech of the Prince Regent, and its Proceed-  
Movements of the Crown Prince—He liberates Hanover—marches  
Davoust—The Danes separate from the French—The Crown  
overruns Holstein and Sleswic—Peace with Denmark—Capitulation  
den—Declaration of the Allies on crossing the Rhine—Bonaparte's  
s to the Legislative Body—War in America.*

On the 13th of October the head  
quarters of Bonaparte were at  
the Mulda; to this place he  
moved from Leipsic, probably  
in hope of leading the allies  
to believe that he meant to threat-  
en them with his whole force;  
hoping that this manœuvre did  
not succeed, on the 14th he collect-  
ed his whole force in and round  
Ney, with the 4th, 6th,  
and 12th corps, under the respective  
command of Bertrand, Marmont,  
and Caulaincourt, occupied a line about  
five miles to the north of  
Leipsic which protected the roads  
to Magdeburgh and Dessau. Op-  
heim was posted the Sile-  
sian army, under general Blücher,  
had headquarters on the 14th  
on the road to Halle, about  
ten miles from Leipsic. On  
the 15th Blücher attacked the ene-  
my; the contest was most obsti-  
nate and sanguinary: it began at  
daybreak and continued till night  
fall. The combatants: the al-  
lies never completely succeeded  
in their object, compelling the  
French to pass the Partha, a river  
which protects Leipsic to the

northward and eastward. The  
loss of the allies was between  
6,000 and 7,000 men; that of the  
French about 12,000: one eagle  
and twenty-eight pieces of cannon  
were taken.

While this contest was going on  
to the north of Leipsic, a separate  
and still more furious conflict took  
place between the grand army of  
Bohemia, commanded by prince  
Schwarzenberg, which advanced  
towards Leipsic by the converging  
roads of Lützen, Zwenkau, Bornau,  
and Colditz—and that part of the  
French army which was command-  
ed by Bonaparte in person. The  
position of the centre of the allies  
was about six miles to the south of  
Leipsic: against it Bonaparte de-  
termined to make a furious attack,  
either in the hope of cutting his  
way through, or throwing the allies  
into confusion. Accordingly bring-  
ing up all his cavalry under Murat,  
he made a desperate push on the  
centre, and for a short time suc-  
ceeded in forcing it. The Austrian  
reserve was now brought up; and  
their cuirassiers having formed in  
columns, charged with the most

consummate skill and intrepidity, forcing every thing before them. The French cavalry were compelled to give way; and at the close of the day both armies remained on the ground on which the contest commenced.

On the 17th nothing was done. On the 18th the crown prince received a reinforcement from general Blücher of 30,000 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery; with which it was arranged that he should attack the enemy on the Partha river, six miles northward of Leipsic, on the road to Torgau; while general Blücher was to retain his position near Leipsic, and endeavour to gain possession of that place. As the allied generals were well aware of Bonaparte's usual plan of bringing the whole of his force to bear on one point, it was agreed that, if he should have recourse to this measure, the allies were reciprocally to support each other, and to concert further movements.

The first operation was undertaken by the crown prince: that part of the enemy's force which was opposed to him had taken up a strong position on the left bank of the Partha, with its right resting on the heights of Faucha, and its left towards Leipsic: it was therefore necessary to force their right, and gain possession of these heights: in order to effect this, the Russians and Prussians in the crown prince's army were ordered to advance against them; while the Swedes endeavoured to effect the passage of the river at Plosen. The river was crossed with little opposition; and general Winzingerode, who commanded the Russians, took about 3,000 prisoners and some pieces of cannon at Faucha.

Before the infantry of the crown prince's army had sufficient time

to make their flank movement, the French infantry abandoned the line of the river, and retired over the plain towards Leipsic, occupying the villages through which they passed, in order to protect their retreat.

Hitherto the allies had met with very little resistance: but general Langeron, with part of general Blücher's army, having attempted to carry one of the villages on the road to Leipsic, which the enemy had occupied in strength, was opposed with great obstinacy: however, he at length carried it, but was driven back. As the possession of this village was of the utmost importance for the further movements and operations of the allies, general Blücher sent the most positive orders that it should be reoccupied at the point of the bayonet; and this was accomplished before it grew dark. There was attached to the crown prince's army a rocket brigade, which was brought into action with such effect as to paralyse a solid square of infantry, which after one fire from Congreve's formidable weapons delivered themselves up as if panic-struck.

About this period of the battle twenty-two guns of Saxon artillery, two battalions of the same nation, and two Westphalian regiments of hussars, quitted the ranks of the enemy and joined the allies: the artillery were immediately turned against the French; and the crown prince headed the men in charge against their former oppressors.

The immediate result of the successes of the allies to the north of Leipsic was, that the communication was established between the grand attacks; and several officers from the Bohemian army took advantage of this circumstance to

inform



the crown prince of the ope-  
which had occurred to the  
that place. In this direc-  
d to the south-east and  
st of Leipsic, the resistance  
rench was much more de-  
and persevering than it  
ne north: but the plan and  
ents of the allies were laid  
th so much judgement and  
d executed in such a mas-  
nner, that the enemy were  
compelled to retreat. In  
e of this day, the French  
ast 50,000 men in killed,  
l, and prisoners, besides  
pieces of artillery.

ng now remained for Bo-  
to do, but either to throw  
into Leipsic and await the  
the assault of the allies, or  
by the line of the Upper  
He seems to have hesitated  
ng time on which plan to  
at length he chose the lat-  
ng Leipsic only two hours  
e allies entered it. Their  
s troops, after having slept  
eld of battle, attacked and  
Leipsic the next morning,  
hort resistance. The em-  
Russia, the king of Prus-  
d the crown prince of  
entered the town at dif-  
oints, at the head of their  
e troops, and met in the  
quare, where they were  
py the inhabitants with the  
art-felt joy. The king of  
and all his court were  
isoners.

account which Bonaparte  
proper to give to the  
nation of the battle of Leip-  
aimed the victory up to the  
when the troops of Sax-  
Westphalia left him; and  
his subsequent disasters  
to this circumstance; not  
g to the extreme improba-

bility of a story, which represented  
his allies as leaving a victorious  
and joining a beaten army. In his  
bulletin he also mentions a circum-  
stance, which, if true, must have  
been known, and would undoubt-  
edly have been stated in the official  
account of the allies: he says,  
that when he found it necessary to  
evacuate Leipsic, orders were given  
for the destruction of a bridge, af-  
ter his troops had crossed the river;  
but that the bridge was broken  
down long before they had all  
crossed it, and that this occasioned  
his loss to be much more severe  
than it would otherwise have been.  
In order to convince the people of  
Paris that he had been really vic-  
torious in the battle of Leipsic, he  
transmitted to them the standards  
and colours which he asserted were  
the proofs and fruits of his victory:  
but the period of delusion even with  
the Parisians was nearly gone by.

The retreat of Bonaparte from  
Leipsic with the wreck of his army,  
which might amount to 80,000  
men, was scarcely surpassed in dis-  
order and misery by his retreat  
from Moscow: as soon as his route  
was known, Blucher dispatched his  
light troops after him: the Cos-  
sacks even got before him, inter-  
cepted his supplies, and infused  
the greatest alarm into his dispiri-  
ted soldiers; while general Wrede,  
with the Bavarians and Austrians  
under his command, some time be-  
fore the battle of Leipsic, had been  
dispatched, in anticipation of its  
result, by a route which enabled  
them to come up with Bonaparte  
before he reached the Rhine. At  
Hanau a desperate conflict took  
place: the French fought obstinate-  
ly; but notwithstanding this, and  
their superiority, they were defeat-  
ed with the loss of about 10,000  
men. As soon as he reached the



Rhine, Bonaparte left his army and hastened to Paris, leaving direction that all the strong places on that river and on the frontiers should be garrisoned.

On his arrival at Paris the senate was immediately convened, when it was resolved to place 300,000 men at the disposal of the minister of war. This measure was declared to be necessary in consequence of the unparalleled treachery of his allies at the battle of Leipsic; and the people of France were reminded of the partition of Poland; and asked, what would be the situation of their country, should the enemy, who were on its frontiers, penetrate into her territory. After appealing to the honour of Frenchmen, Bonaparte declared, that surrounded as he was by the whole power of the nation, he would be as moderate as when he granted Austria the peace of Leoben and Campo Formio, in the hope of signing that of Europe. But though a tone of confidence was thus kept up, there were propositions laid before the senate which most unequivocally indicated the alarm and apprehension of Bonaparte; for although the period had arrived at which the powers of the deputies to the legislative body of the 4th series were to expire, it was proposed that these powers should be continued, and that the emperor should appoint to the presidentship of the legislative body, in place of choosing as heretofore from among five candidates presented to him by that body.—With respect to the mode of raising and arranging his conscripts, it was decreed that they should be taken from the classes of 1806, 1807, and the following years; while those of 1811, 1812, 1813, to and including those of 1814, were placed at the disposal of the minister of war.

By the second article of the same decree it was declared that 50,000 men should be immediately levied for actual service; and 50,000 more held in readiness, should the eastern provinces be invaded.

By another decree 38,425,343 francs 31 cents were placed at the disposal of the minister of war.

Had France not been exhausted had she, besides the requisite population to supply this new and great demand, still retained, either that enthusiasm with which she was maddened at the beginning of the revolution, or that stimulating and ambitious fondness for military glory and that firm belief that Bonaparte was destined to render her the mistress of Europe, with which she had been so fully possessed not two years before; he might have succeeded in raising a numerous and powerful army: but the campaigns of Russia and of Germany had stripped her almost entirely of her efficient military population; the fondness for glory had passed away, and not all the arts or misrepresentations of Bonaparte could restore it, or replace it with that enthusiasm which had distinguished Frenchmen when their country was invaded 20 years before.

In the mean time, the mighty edifice which Bonaparte had erected out of the ruins of the independence and liberties of the continent, and which had been cemented by the blood of hundreds of thousands, was falling to pieces: the victory of Leipsic, by freeing the minds of the princes of Germany from all apprehensions of his power, proved how eager they were to resume their legitimate character and authority. Wurtemburgh deserted him, and made her peace with the allies; and the confederation of the Rhine was dissolved; so that, to

own words, no sovereigns attached to him except of Denmark and the king. The attachment of the to him in the day of his and disasters is very extraordinary; and by no act was it indelibly marked than by the but impotent declaration against Austria, which the Denmark issued almost at moment when Bonaparte the extremest crisis of his the attachment of Murat more questionable character the battle of Leipsic, in remaining to assist Bonaparte's retreat, he hurried as possible back to his own, and, it is said, lost no attempting to negotiate allies.

gh the remains of the army were incessantly pursued the banks of the Rhine by troops of the allies; yet they, under the command of Schwartzemberg, was oblige to move more slowly, in consequence of the bad state of the and the artillery which they carried with them. But it was necessary that the troops of the should make their appearance in the countries, which had so long endured the miseries of French domination, to free them from their the defence of France and all the troops which still remained beyond the old frontiers; sentiments and feelings of the old countries, which had so long been kept down by their oppressors now unchecked, spontaneously burst forth in favour of their former governments.

and, which had so long suffered under French tyranny; from the peculiar nature of

the country, and the dispositions and habits of its people, had suffered more from the continental system than any other part of Europe, set the example of liberating itself from its oppressors. All at once, and, there is reason to believe, most unexpectedly both to the governments of Great Britain and France, on the 15th of November an insurrection broke out in Amsterdam, where the people rose in a body, proclaiming the house of Orange, with the old cry of *Orange boven*, and universally putting up the orange cockade. The example of the inhabitants of Amsterdam was immediately followed by those of the other towns in the provinces of Holland and Utrecht; the French authorities were dismissed; a provisional government formed, from which two deputies were sent to the prince of Orange in this country; and the following laconic and emphatic address to the Dutch was circulated:

#### ORANGE BOVEN!

Holland is free—the allies advance upon Utrecht—the English are invited—the French fly on all sides—the sea is open—trade revives—party spirit has ceased—what has been suffered is forgiven and forgotten—men of consequence and consideration are called to the government—the government invites the prince to the sovereignty—we join the allies, and force the enemy to sue for peace—the people are to have a day of rejoicing at the public expense, without being allowed to plunder or to commit any excess—every one renders thanks to God—old times are returned—

#### ORANGE BOVEN!

The prince of Orange lost no time in going over to Holland; and the ministry of Great Britain nobly

nobly seconded him in his purpose of completely liberating his country. The parliament had been summoned to meet at an earlier period than usual, partly in consequence of the very critical state in which the affairs of the continent were placed, and partly because the ministry were in need of money. During this short session there was more coincidence of opinion and feeling among all parties, (or, to speak more correctly, all appearance of party was lost,) than in any former parliament. Lord Grenville particularly distinguished himself by the frank and noble manner in which he gave his commendation to ministers for the line of conduct they had pursued, and especially for the pacific and moderate tone of the prince regent's speech at the opening of the session: and his lordship expressed his hope that every exertion would be made by Britain to restore Holland to her former rank and dignity among the nations of Europe. But Holland was sufficient for herself: she broke her own chains: what she had begun, however, Britain enabled her to go through with. A bill was passed to legalize the enlisting of the militia into the regiments of the line to any extent; and thus ministers were enabled to send a strong reinforcement under sir Thomas Graham to the assistance of the Dutch.

Nor was this the only measure by which ministers, during the short sitting of parliament, assisted the cause of the allies; for a bill was passed authorising the issue of paper money, which was to be guaranteed by Britain, in conjunction with Russia and Austria, and to be employed on the continent for supplying the wants of the armies.

Having thus shortly digressed to notice the transactions of the British parliament, we shall now revert to the movements and operations of the allies. While the grand army was directing its march towards the Rhine near Mentz, the crown prince with the army of the north moved towards Cassel: his object was to enter Holland in order to liberate the Dutch; but this route he was induced to alter for several reasons. Davoust was still in considerable force on the right bank of the Elbe, where the army under Walmoden was not sufficiently powerful to oppose him. Before, therefore, the northern army could act with perfect safety and with full effect in Holland, it was expedient and desirable that it should be entirely secure: besides, by marching against Davoust, there was a probability of rescuing Hamburg from his devastation, and of opening, through it, an immediate communication with England. The crown prince, in changing his plan of operation, had still another object in view, which was the liberation of his majesty's Hanoverian dominions. On the 1st of November the allied troops entered them:—"The enthusiasm, loyalty, and unbounded joy of the people are not to be described; and although ten years had separated this country from their legitimate sovereign, it is obvious (sir Charles Stewart remarks in his official dispatch) he lives in their hearts with the same deep-rooted affection as ever!" "It is a remarkable and gratifying anecdote (he adds), that during the elevation of new authority, and the destruction of every ancient memorial, the bust of our revered monarch (which, I believe, was present

of her majesty's to the profound students) has retained in this university, (Göttingen) and no sacrilegious hand offered to remove it!"

When as the crown prince had a provisional government over, he marched against the Danes, who appeared at first to await a general engagement at the Stecknitz; but the crown prince having separated from him, he entered into Hamburgh, which he fortified himself in provisioning

the city, with the determination of defending it to the last extremity.

On this the crown prince marched against Lubeck, which was defended by a Danish garrison. After a short resistance, the Danes, being well disposed towards the Swedes, the commandant capitulated. The crown prince entered Danish Holstein, and overran in a very short time an attempt was made by the Danish government to raise the province; but they had no arm against the allies, and usually fired against the Danes.

The Danish army, after having been out of Holstein, took position on the Eyder; but finding themselves unable to cope with their antagonists, the prince, who commanded them, offered an armistice: this, however, leading to the acceptance of a negotiation proposed by the crown prince, hostilities were suspended, and Gluckstadt was taken last, when the Swedish army reached Colding, the crown of Jutland, the Danish government made its peace with Sweden and Great Britain; conditions of which were, that should be given up to the allies in return for which Denmark

was to have Swedish Pomerania; that Stralsund should be a depôt for British goods; that Britain should restore to Denmark all that she had conquered from her, except Heligoland; that the Danes should join the allies with 10,000 men, on receiving a subsidy from this country of 400,000*l.*; that she should abolish the slave trade; and that Britain and Sweden should use their good offices to bring about a peace between Denmark and the rest of the allies.

After the battle of Leipsic, general St. Cyr with between 20,000 and 30,000 men threw himself into Dresden, where he was besieged by a division of the allied army. As soon as the French general found that there was no probability of his being reinforced or relieved, he proposed to capitulate, on condition that he and his troops should be sent back to France: to this condition the Russian general at first said he had no authority to accede; but St. Cyr pressing it at last obtained it. As soon, however, as the circumstance was known to prince Schwartzberg, he expressed his displeasure at the terms which were granted, and refused to sanction them; at the same time directing that St. Cyr and his troops should be replaced in Dresden, as nearly as possible with the same advantages that they possessed when they capitulated; or that, if he refused to return into Dresden, that he and his troops should be regarded as prisoners of war, and marched into Russia. St. Cyr absolutely refused to return into Dresden, and was therefore compelled to embrace the other alternative.

By the end of November nearly all the strong places between the Elbe and the Rhine were in the possession



possession of the allies; and such as were not, were closely invested. On the 2d of December the allies, having completed their arrangements and preparations, crossed the Rhine for the purpose of invading France: as, however, the strong fortresses near Mentz rendered the passage in this place rather difficult, they preferred passing through part of Switzerland. Bonaparte, aware of the defenceless state of his frontiers on the side of Switzerland, had employed his partisans there to declare the neutrality of this country. As, however, this neutrality was evidently meant to benefit one belligerent party at the expense of the other, and therefore could not justly be regarded as an impartial neutrality; and as, besides, it was well known that the majority of the Swiss were extremely desirous of freeing themselves from the French and of regaining their old form of government; the allies did not hesitate to march through Switzerland into France. But their conduct on this, as well as on other occasions, formed a marked and honourable contrast to that of the French under similar circumstances: they did indeed pass with their armies through Switzerland; but their troops were strictly enjoined, and were themselves strongly disposed, to consider and treat the Swiss as friends.

We have already mentioned the pacific and moderate tone of the prince regent's speech, at the opening of the session of parliament: the satisfaction to which this gave birth in the minds of all lovers of the tranquillity and repose of Europe, was considerably augmented by the declaration of the allies which they issued the day before they crossed the Rhine: it would

be difficult to point out any statement in this paper so distinguished for moderation, good sense, and sound policy, and which moreover expressed their views and sentiments in such perspicuous and satisfactory language. There is about it none of that obscurity or equivocation which seems to have been thought essential to state papers, especially when the professed object was to explain the designs of the party which issued them. On the contrary, this declaration leaves on the minds of all who peruse it, the conviction that the allies were perfectly sincere, that their object was what they declared it to be,—peace; and that they wished for such a peace as France might honourably accept of, and which, being fair and just for all parties, it might be hoped would be permanent. That these remarks are borne out by the declaration itself, will sufficiently appear by the perusal of it:

#### DECLARATION OF THE ALLIED POWERS.

The French government has ordered a new levy of 300,000 conscripts. The motives of the senatus consultum to that effect contain an appeal to the allied powers. They, therefore, find themselves called upon to promulgate anew in the face of the world, the views which guide them in the present war; the principles which form the basis of their conduct, their wishes and their determinations.

The allied powers do not make war upon France, but against the preponderance, haughtily announced,—against that preponderance which, to the misfortune of Europe and of France, the emperor Napoleon has too long exercised beyond the limits of his empire.

Victor

ry has conducted the allied  
to the banks of the Rhine.  
t use which their imperial  
al majesties have made of  
has been to offer peace to  
esty the emperor of the

An attitude strengthened  
cession of all the sovereigns  
ces of Germany has had no  
e on the conditions of that  
These conditions are found,  
the independence of the  
empire, as well as on the  
lence of the other states of

The views of the powers  
in their object, generous  
eral in their application,  
ecurity to all, honourable

allied sovereigns desire that  
may be great, powerful,  
ppy; because the French  
in a state of greatness and  
, is one of the foundations  
ocial edifice of Europe. —  
ish that France may be  
that French commerce may  
that the arts (those blessings  
) may again flourish, be-  
reat people can only betran-  
oportation as it is happy. The  
wers confirm to the French  
n extent of territory which  
under her kings never knew;  
a valiant nation does not  
a. its rank, by having in its  
erperienced reverses in an ob-  
and sanguinary contest, in  
has fought with its accus-  
ravery.

he allied powers also wish  
ree, tranquil, and happy,  
yes. They desire a state of  
hich, by a wise partition of  
, by a just equilibrium,  
nceforward preserve their  
from the numberless cala-  
which have overwhelmed  
for the last twenty years.  
allied powers will not lay  
13.

down their arms until they have  
attained this great and beneficial  
result, this noble object of their ef-  
forts. They will not lay down  
their arms, until the political state  
of Europe be re-established anew,  
—until immoveable principles have  
resumed their rights over vain pre-  
tensions,—until the sanctity of trea-  
ties shall have at last secured a real  
peace to Europe.

Frankfort, Dec. 1, 1813.

Perhaps no circumstance more  
clearly points out the wisdom and  
policy which dictated this paper,  
than the offence which it gave to  
Bonaparte personally; for to the  
French nation it must have been  
very acceptable and satisfactory:  
but he actually complained that it  
appealed from the sovereign to the  
people; and by the tone of his ob-  
jections let out his dissatisfaction  
that it was so moderate. Indeed,  
having discovered by this time that  
the conscription would not supply  
him with any force at all compe-  
tent to check the progress of the  
allies, his only hope rested on his  
being able to excite the people to  
rise *en masse*: but this, wearied  
out with war, and oppressed with  
calamities of which they regarded  
him as the author, they were by no  
means disposed to, especially when  
they perceived that the object of  
the allies was their own security,  
and not the conquest of France.  
Bonaparte therefore was much per-  
plexed; and in the midst of the  
difficulties with which he was sur-  
rounded he evinced neither talents  
nor firmness; all that energy of  
mind, and promptitude and deci-  
sion of conduct, for which he had  
been celebrated, and by means of  
which he had mainly risen to his  
high rank, seemed to have forsaken  
him. At one time he represented

the object of the allies to be the devastation of France; they were come to avenge themselves for that disgrace and discomfiture which they had suffered from the victorious legions of France. But could Frenchmen quietly submit to the degradation of their native soil by the presence of the savages of Asia? had they forgotten, and if they remembered, were they not eager to emulate the glorious defence which they had made against their invaders at the beginning of the revolution? He declared he wished for peace; but in order to obtain a secure and honourable peace, they must be prepared for war.—At another time he assured them that he had accepted the basis of the terms proposed by the allies; by those allies whom at other times he had held out as actuated by the most revengeful and ambitious motives.

But the interest of France and of Europe was principally directed to the speech which he was to address to the legislative body. Their meeting had been put off till the 19th of November; on that day he addressed them: after again claiming victories, which the defection of his allies had converted into defeat, and dwelling on the great schemes for the prosperity and happiness of the world which he had conceived and wished to have executed,—he declared that, as a monarch and a father, he felt that peace added to the security of thrones, and to that of families; that negotiations had been entered into with the allied powers; and that he had adhered to the preliminary basis which they had presented. He had hoped that before the opening of the session the congress of Manheim would have been assembled: but new delays, which were not to be ascribed

to France, had deferred the moment which the wishes of the world eagerly called for. After again declaring his desire for peace, and averting to the levies and taxes which it was necessary to raise, he concluded with an invective against England: he trusted that generations to come would not have to say of them that they had sacrificed the best interests of their country, that they had acknowledged the laws which England had in vain sought, during four centuries, impose on France.

Such was the state of affairs in Europe at the close of the year 1813. The allies, by their proclamation, had abjured all desire to conquer France, or impose a government, or even dishonourable terms, on her. Bonaparte declared that he had accepted the basis proposed by the allies; yet they continued to advance into France. Bonaparte himself remained at Paris; nor did it appear that, either by means of his conscripts, or by the people rising *en masse*, he was in condition to oppose the invaders who pressed on him in all directions. Lord Wellington was to the south; prince Schwartzemberg on the side of Switzerland; Blücher had crossed near Cologne, and by the liberation of Holland the Netherlands were exposed.

In America the war was still carried on between the United States and Great Britain with obstinacy on the part of the former in proportion to the disgrace and disasters which their armies experienced. They seemed resolved to gain possession of the Canadas, whatever expense, or destruction of their troops. But though their armies were very far superior to the British and Canadian forces, the generals and officers were so totally destitute

of military talents and exerted during the campaign they were repeatedly driven back. At one time, they succeeded in the possession of several of the lakes in Upper Canada, and they advanced far into that country but they were not able to hold their ground. On the

lakes the combat was more equally poised; for though the British ministry must have been aware, that whoever was master of the lakes must ultimately be master at least of Upper Canada, yet they employed on them a naval force under the command of sir James Yeo, barely sufficient to keep at bay the naval force of the Americans.



Month	Stock	red.	cons.	cont.	Navy.	Ann.	5 p. cl.	1 p. cl.	Bonds.	Stock.	Ann.	Ann.	Bills.	Bills.	Stock.	Ann.	Ann.	Om.
Jan.	{ 254 220 }	60 59	60 59	77 75	90 89	15 13	89 89	58 58	1 dis. 9 dis.	63 63	63 63	4	3 pr. 10 pr.	14 pr. 5 pr.	163 164	163 164	94 pr	
Feb.	{ 232 219 }	59 58	59 58	76 75	89 88	15 14	88 88	57 57	5 dis. 9 dis.	63 62	58 58	4	4 pr. 3 pr.	10 pr. 5 pr.	163 160	163 160	74 pr 61 pr.	
March	{ 218 219 }	59 59	59 58	79 78	89 88	15		58 56	2 dis. 7 dis.	62 61	59 58	4	4 pr. 3 pr.	6 pr. 5 pr.	161 161	161 161	78 pr 63 pr.	
April	{ 217 216 }	59 58	60 58	79 78	89 87	15		57 57	1 dis. 9 dis.	62 62	58 58	4		5 pr.	164 164	164		
May	{ 217 214 }	58 57	59 58	73 71	84 87	14	86 86	56 55	1 dis. 3 dis.		59 58	4 4		10 pr. 5 pr.	169 168	169		
June	{ 215 211 }	57 55	58 53	71 70	83	14	85	55	3 dis. 8 dis.	62	57 55	4		5 pr. par.	169 169	169	5 pr 34 pr.	
July	{ 219 214 }	57 56	56 56	72 71	86 85	14			par. 3 dis.	60	56 55	4 4		5 pr. 3 dis.	168 167	168	58 pr 44 pr.	
Aug.	{ 220 218 }	58 57	57 57	72 71	87 87	14	88	56 56	par. 3 dis.	61	57 57	4 4		3 pr. 1 pr.	169 168	169	74 pr 6 pr.	
Sept.	{ 217 217 }	57 57	58 57	72 72	88 87	14		57 57	par. 3 dis.	61 60	58 57			4 pr. 1 pr.	173 162	173	74 pr 68 pr.	
Oct.	{ 219 216 }	57 56	59 58	72 71	88 88	14	85	57	par. 2 dis.	61	58 57			5 pr. 3 dis.	172 172	172	84 pr 68 pr.	
Nov.	{ 228 219 }	60 56	62 58	76 71	93 89	15	89 86	56	par. 3 dis.	64 62	58			6 pr. 5 pr.	182 171	182	124 pr 6 pr	10 pr 46 pr.
Dec.	{ 244 226 }	65 60	61	80 72	92 92	16		59	par. 3 dis.		61 60	4 3		6 pr. 5 pr.			104 pr 114 pr	174 84

**PRINCIPAL  
OCCURRENCES**

**In the Year 1813.**

**(A)**



# PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1813.

## DECEMBER.

*Dec. 31, 1812.*

about the time that the men were about to leave in the king's dock-yard rich, the steam engine that erected for bending timber-building ships with, burst deadful explosion, driving ing before it; seven or were killed on the spot, great number had their ken, and were otherwise ended. The buildings ad- ere also very much da-

this lawless banditti, was stabbed in several places, afterwards knocked down, and left for dead. Several of the depredators who committed the outrage at Watnak have been taken, and committed to the county jail. A large meeting of the magistrates has taken place, and the strongest measures have been resorted to, to provide against a repetition of these disorders. The watch and ward bill is to be put in force immediately. The military have been again called upon, the same as on former occasions.

## LICENSES.

IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

s than eight violent out- e been committed at Bee- y Radford, Watnak, Ar- Mansfield, and in some n the south side of the e objects of these attacks the destruction of frames; lace the outrages have n execution by numbers ed men, armed with pis- vords, using personal vio- he individuals of their re- atening their lives if they ir lips; and after placing r these unfortunate peo- estroyed their frames, and ed undiscovered. In the Mansfield, a poor woman, g a frame demanded by

On Thursday, Dec. 31, the lords of trade came to the determination of putting a stop to the intercourse with France by licenses. An immense number, it appears, has lately been issued by Bonaparte, under the expectation that they would be met by corresponding licenses from the board of trade here, and the cessation of this indulgence will render his grants useless as waste paper. The impediment now given is, in course, not to be understood as applicable to the licenses already issued from our board, for the fulfilment of which the faith of the government being pledged, the concession made under them cannot be withdrawn.

## JANUARY.

## DARING ROBBERY.

3. Mr. Daniel Bradley, of Che-  
vahill, was at nine o'clock in the  
morning overtaken on the road  
near Stourbridge by two men, who  
knocked him down, tied his hands  
behind him, bound his neckcloth  
round his eyes, stripped him of his  
shoes, robbed him of his watch and  
35*l*. and threw him among some  
furzes, where he lay helpless nearly  
an hour. The robbers have hitherto  
eluded discovery.

## SPECIAL COMMISSION.

4. The special commission was  
opened at York.—J. Swallow, J.  
Batten, J. Fisher, and J. Lumb,  
were tried for burglary and felony  
in the house of S. Moxon at Whit-  
ley Upper, and found guilty.—On  
the 6th, G. Mellor, of Longroyd  
Bridge, cloth-dresser, with W.  
Thorpe and S. Smith, of Hudders-  
field, were indicted for the murder  
of Mr. W. Horsfall, 28th of April  
last. Benjamin Walker, an accom-  
plice, deposed, that Mellor and  
Smith worked with him at Woad's;  
that, in a conversation about Cart-  
wright's mill, Mellor said there was  
no way to break the shears but to  
shoot the master. The three pri-  
soners and himself then agreed  
upon the diabolical act, procured  
pistols, and hid themselves in the  
plantation, with an understanding  
that, if Mellor and Thorpe, who were  
to fire first, missed, the others were  
then to take aim. The prisoners  
attempted to prove an *alibi*; but  
were found guilty, and hanged on  
the 8th.—On the 8th, J. Eadon was  
tried for administering an unlawful  
oath to R. Howell, at Barnsley, in  
May last. The oath enjoined him  
not to reveal any secrets of any  
brother or brothers, and that if any

traitors were amongst them, they  
were to be punished with death.  
Guilty.—J. Baines the elder, aged  
66; C. Milnes, 22; J. Baines the  
younger, 34; W. Blakeborough,  
22; G. Duckworth, 23; and Zeph-  
chary Baines, 15, all of Halifax,  
were tried for a similar offence,  
and were all found guilty, except  
Z. Baines, the boy. On the 9th,  
J. Haigh, of Dalton, aged 28;  
Deane, of Huddersfield, 30;  
Ogden, 26; J. Brook, 22;  
Brook, 32; J. Walker, of Longroyd  
Bridge, 31; and J. Hirst, of Liv-  
ersedge, 28, were convicted of at-  
tacking the mill of Mr. W. Cart-  
wright, at Rawfolds, on the 11th  
April. The prisoners were found  
guilty, excepting the two Brooks  
and Hirst.—After the trial of some  
other prisoners, the trials closed,  
but D. Moorhouse and J. Smith,  
being arraigned, Mr. Parke, leading  
counsel for the crown, said, that  
the ring-leaders of these deluded  
men were already executed, and  
several others were under conviction  
of capital felonies, he trusted the  
prisoners would see the errors of  
their ways, and that the punish-  
ment inflicted, and about to be in-  
flicted on those convicted, would  
have the effect of restoring  
peace and tranquillity to the coun-  
try. The prisoners were then dismissed,  
and, along with these against whom  
indictments were preferred, were  
mitted to bail.—Fifteen received  
sentence of death, six to be trans-  
ported for seven years, and 32 were  
discharged.

## MINERALOGY.

Mr. Bakewell, who has been  
engaged in a mineralogical exami-  
nation of the inexhaustible mine-  
wealth of Charnwood Forest,  
Leicestershire, for the earl  
Moira, has lately discovered am-



ite rocks of that district a of sienite, of singular surpassing that from Egypt continent of Europe. Like ones of this species, it con- principally of hornblende and the latter is of a pale red the former is crystalline, beautiful green resembling ite. It exists in large and might be applied to of ornamental or sepul- chitecture and sculpture.— this kind of stone that the monuments of antiquity instructed.

#### BANKRUPTCIES.

bankruptcies gazetted du- year 1812 are as follow: ry 129, February 171, 62, April 157, May 155, 5; July 113, August 113, er 68, October 139, No- 249, December 208.—To-

#### THE NAVY.

first and great object of te is indisputably the clip- our naval supplies: his n Russia had this princi- view, and his intrigues merica are directed to the d. It will not, therefore, resting to our readers to nted with a cursory glance emands which this "main d pillar of the state" makes ur resources. Assuming tons as the amount of ton- be kept in commission, average duration of a ship at the moderate period of ears and a half, there would ired an annual supply of to preserve the navy present effective state, of ons: and as a load and a mber is employed for every annual demand will be loads. The building of a

seventy-four gun ship consumes about 2000 oak trees, or 8000 loads of timber—so that 43,000 loads will build 8 sail of the line and 16 frigates. Allowing one-fourth part more for casualties, the annual consumption will be about 60,000 loads, or 40,000 full grown trees, of which 35 will stand upon an acre of ground. The quantity of timber, therefore, necessary for the construction of a 74-gun ship will occupy 57 acres of land, and the annual demand will be the produce of 1140 acres. Allowing only 90 years for the oak to arrive at perfection, there ought to be now standing 102,000 acres of oak plan- tations, and an annual felling and planting in perpetual rotation of 1140 acres to meet the consumption of the navy alone. Large as this may seem, it is little more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres for each county of England and Wales; which is not equal to the belt which surrounds the park and pleasure grounds of many estates.

#### GALLANT ACTION.

6. Lieutenants Moffatt and Dawes of the Bulwark were a few days since despatched by admiral Burnham to cut a vessel out of the Rochfort roads, close to the French squadron. They had hardly made themselves masters of her, when they were attacked by all the boats of the French line of battle ships, who commenced a spirited fire of great guns and musketry. Lieu- tenant Moffatt, undismayed by the numbers, endeavoured to bring the foremost boat to close action, but all the French boats kept aloof. At that instant the British, being joined by the boats of two other vessels, became the assailants, and cannonaded the enemy till they took shelter under the guns of their men of war.

## THE AMERICAN FRIGATES.

The following comparative estimate of the force of the American vessels is taken from a letter signed "A Naval Officer," in The Morning Chronicle.

Name,	Rate.	Length on Gun-deck.		Breadth for Tonnage.		Tons.
		Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	
President, . . .	44	180	0	45	10	1630
Constitution, . .						
United States, . .						
Acasta, . . .	40	154	0	40	5	1127
Arethusa, . . .	38	141	0½	29	0½	948
Tigre, . . . . .	50	151	0	41	0	1114
Africa, . . . . .	64	160	10	44	9	1415
Average of 12, . .	64	159	6	44	5	1383
Dragon, . . . . .	74	178	0	48	0	1793
Average of 12, . .	74	171	3	47	7	1628
Atlas, . . . . .	98	177	6	50	2	1950
Average of 12, . .	98	177	6	50	3	1938
Britannia, . . . .	110	178	0	52	0½	2091

By this table it will be seen that these American frigates are longer even than an English first-rate; that they are longer and of nearly equal tonnage with our modern large seventy-fours, and of greater tonnage than our old seventy-fours; that they are longer, broader, and of greater tonnage than any of our sixty-fours; and that they exceed in tonnage our fifties in the proportion of nearly three to two, and our thirty-eights in the proportion of seven to four. Is not the term frigate most violently perverted, when applied to such vessels? As well might we call the Ville de Paris a fifty; or the Caledonia a sixty-four; or as well might we call the one a jolly-boat, and the other a yawl.

These frigates carry long-twenty-four pounders on the main deck, when even the largest first-rates in our service carry on the main deck only long eighteens. Their quarter deck and fore-castle guns are forty-four pound carronades; and no vessel of any description in our navy carries on either of these decks

a heavier gun than a thirty-two. Now, the vast superiority a ship derives from heavy metal was pretty well illustrated by sir Trollope's action last war, in which that celebrated officer was able to beat off a French squadron, in consequence of his ship (the Gladius) carrying carronades.

To all these advantages must add the consideration of the number of their crews. The complement of an English seventy-four is five hundred men, but seldom more than three hundred are there on board, even on the homeward stations, more than from four hundred and sixty to four hundred and eighty; and of these, generally about thirty are foreigners, and the rest are boys.

The United States, in the recent engagement, had a complement of four hundred and seventy-eight men; that is, twelve less than the nominal complement of our seventy-fours; and at least equal to the number that any seventy-four actually has on board. But a consideration of by far greater consequence than the number of men

quality. From the extent of the British navy, it is not practicable to man our fleets with men. About six-sevenths of a ship's company are landed thus, in a seventy-four, seldom more than seventy men that can be put upon the deck or rated Able. Now the men, having but few nations, are able to man their ships only entirely with sailors, picked, choice sailors, who have been but too successful in getting some of our ablest men to become their petty officers.

## DREADFUL FIRES.

On Wednesday night, about half past twelve, (or rather early morning,) a most disastrous scene presented itself to the eyes of Aldgate, by the discovery of a most alarming fire. There was no certainty as to the cause of this catastrophe; but from the extent the flames had ravaged, it was discovered, there was but little doubt of its coming from some part of the shop. The accidental circumstance of a singular nature led to the discovery. The young man who was going up for Mr. Coats, who went out to spend the evening (half past twelve) among some friends, and in the interim he sat in his chair, from which he was awoke almost instantly. He immediately discovered his situation, and the first thing he took was to alarm the man: he next proceeded to his master's bed-room door, and called to him. The unfortunate servant was by this apprized of his situation, and had been alarmed through the perseverance of the butcher boys, who flung

sheep- and calves feet at her window. There was still a young man asleep in his bed, in an adjoining apartment, whom she apprized. Their situation was by this time become most desperate. Mr. Evans with much difficulty made good his retreat, by jumping into a back court adjoining the premises, out of the kitchen window on a first floor, together with the young man who first discovered the fire. The other young man, with the poor servant, were now the only inhabitants of this fiery scene; they were situated in a third story, surrounded by flames. No hopes of retreat, the only refuge left was jumping out of a window a height of about twenty feet, on some leads, a space of about a foot and a half, adjoining which was a sky-light belonging to Mr. Smith. The young man, urging the woman to follow his example, first made good his landing; he again waved his hand to her to follow, but to no effect. Her shrieks were distressing, and her heart now began to fail her. She shook her head, and before his sight disappeared, and was seen no more. This forlorn young man had still to make good his way from this perilous situation, which he effected by jumping through the sky-light into the adjoining premises, which he accomplished in a most wonderful manner, and with very trifling injury except that of fatigue and fright. It was half past eleven when Mr. Evans retired to bed, which was immediately after the departure of a Mr. Langdon, a friend of his, who had supped there that night, at which time every thing appeared to be quite safe, and no smell of fire was discovered at that time by any person in the house.



Another alarming fire broke out the same night, about twelve o'clock, in the premises of a biscuit baker, at King Edward's stairs, Wapping, which for some time burned very rapidly, and threatened destruction to the row of houses on that side. Notwithstanding the extreme activity displayed by the fire-men in attempting to subdue the devouring element, the premises were levelled to the ground in about an hour. The inhabitants had scarcely time to escape with their lives.

#### SHOCKING MURDER.

12. The following are the particulars of a late murder committed at North Shields:—The wife of John Thoburne, in the employ of Mr. Crawford, miller, having died on the Friday, was buried on the Saturday, when a report was prevalent that she had been murdered. Her body was in consequence taken up on the Monday, and a warrant granted for the apprehension of the husband, who had absconded; but his sister, who had resided in the house, and a young man her sweetheart, were secured. Thoburne was, however, apprehended at South Shields on the Monday night, and the parties, with a number of witnesses, were examined by the magistrates on Tuesday. It appeared that a fortnight before the time of the wife's death, her husband had come into the house and struck her, and in the scuffle a looking-glass was broken. The sister, who had been out, on her return perceiving the broken glass, charged the wife with having done it—went to a public-house where Thoburne was, and urged him to go home and correct her; which he did; and the blows

which she received must have been dreadful, as both, her arms, and from her shoulder to her knee on one side, were shockingly mangled, and one part below her arm seemed to be in a state of mortification: the surgeons were also of opinion that she had received little or no sustenance during that fortnight.—The jury again met on Wednesday morning, and found a verdict of Wilful murder against the husband and his sister. When the body was interred, Thoburne had, in registering his wife's death, mentioned an earlier day, as was proved by the church books. She was the daughter of a very respectable farmer, was at times a little deranged, but quite inoffensive, and had brought him a genteel fortune.

#### PRESENCE OF MIND.

Lately, a poor woman, of St. Giles, near Chichester, having occasion to quit her cottage (which was a lonely one) for some errands, left her three children at home; but during her absence one of them, a boy about four years of age, took the red hot poker from the fire, and applied it to a part of the habitation, which soon kindled into a flame, and burnt so rapidly, that the little incendiary and one of his sisters, apprized of their danger, quitted it: but, extraordinary to relate, the girl, more than six years of age, had not long remained a spectator of the conflagration, before she collected the helpless infant who had left asleep in the cradle, and with a most wonderful presence of mind and resolution, returned to the devouring element, and rescued the little innocent from certain death, as the cottage was shortly after totally consumed.

GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

*Foreign-office, Jan. 17.*

atches of which the following copies and an extract, have received by viscount Castle- from lord Cathcart, K. T.

*St. Petersburg, Dec. 12.*

My lord,  
I avail myself of a Swedish copy to forward translations of bulletins, viz. one from major-general Kutusoff, aid-de-camp general of 2d Dec. and one from count Wittgenstein of 4th Dec. Your lordship will perceive from their reports, that the passage of the Berezyna has cost the French 20,000 men, killed, wounded, drowned, and prisoners, and that the remains of Bonaparte's army, with which he is still endeavouring to proceed towards Veleika, while general Wittgenstein's corps is moving to the right, and with every expectation of getting before it. The Russian army upon the left is engaged upon Molodetchno; and the Russian army, under count Torshin, is moving in a parallel position to that of the Moldavian army at no great distance from it; count Platoff, with a strong detachment of Cossacks, light cavalry and light artillery, with the army under general Ermaloff, is stood to be in front of the army, in the very line they are engaged. The French force, as reported by the admiral, is evidently over-rated. The last place occupied by count Wittgenstein (Nehmina) is one or two stages from Wilna. The Russian militia levies continue to come forward with unabated zeal; and the army of 50,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, from some of the northern provinces, is reported

ready for service and assembled. The French march at night, and halt during the day, in hollow squares: surrounded as they are by Cossacks, their supplies must be very precarious, and numbers are said to be found dead of cold and famine on every ground their army quits. The field marshal is with the Moldavian army. Marshal Macdonald is reported, by the commandant at Riga, to occupy an arc, cutting off the angle formed by the Dwina with the Baltic; his right at Fredericksham, his left at Tukuma, and his centre at Eskay. He menaces Riga, but probably with the intention to prevent interruption to the supplies he wishes to send to meet the French army. I have, &c.

CATHCART.

Aid-de-camp gen. Gobetnitschoff  
Kutusoff's report to his imperial majesty, dated Berezyna, Dec. 2.

By my last report, I had the satisfaction to acquaint your imperial majesty of my arrival, together with my corps, at Babinowitseby. I there received the first intelligence which reached me of count Wittgenstein's corps, who was establishing the communication between himself and our grand army. In the mean time, I not only did not cease to act on the enemy's flank during his retreat, but obliged his advanced guard to keep on a regular defensive from Orsha to Boryssoff. On account of the continued attacks on my detachments, the enemy every where met the Cossacks on his road; and the corps under my command took, in the different skirmishes I had with him, three generals, 73 staff and other officers, and 5929 privates. At least as many more have been killed. Not far from Boryssoff I united myself to the corps under count

count Wittgenstein, in conformity to whose orders I am directed to protect his right flank; and in order that there may be no obstacle in the passage of the Berezyna, and to get the start of the enemy on the road to Wileyka, I wheeled my corps to the right towards Berezyna, from whence I am in hopes to be the better enabled to cut him off. Arrived at Lepel, I was there informed by the inhabitants, that a considerable corps of the enemy, under gen. Wrede, was at Doktschitze. I immediately ordered there a strong advanced guard, under the command of lieutenant-col. Tetsenborn, who has reported to me, that no sooner had he been perceived by the enemy, than they retreated by the Wileyka road, probably in the intention of uniting with their main body. I am now going in pursuit of the enemy, and shall continue to remain under the command of count Wittgenstein, conformably to the orders I received to that effect from the commander in chief.

Report from the general of cavalry, count Wittgenstein, to his imperial majesty, dated (en bivouac) near Kamen, Dec. 4.

Immediately after Napoleon had effected his passage over the Berezyna, near Stoudenzie, I sent off the aid-de-camp-gen. Kutusoff, who had just arrived with the whole of his corps of light cavalry, to Lepel, in order that, after having crossed the river, he might be enabled to act on the enemy's flank, and at the same time keep observing the remains of the Bavarians, under gen. Wrede, and who were at Doktschitze. Arrived at Lepel, he learned that these Bavarians had already quitted the place, and were marching by Dolginoff and Wi-

leyka, and endeavouring to unite themselves with the main body of the army at Smorgonie. In consequence of this information, he sent after them a detachment under lieutenant-col. Tetsenborn. The latter reports to me, on the 2d inst. that having overtaken their rear-guard at Dolginoff, it had been beaten, and 26 officers and 1000 privates had been taken prisoners; and that in consequence of the occupation of Dolginoff by our troops, the intended junction of this corps had been entirely prevented. Admiral Tschitschagoff being in pursuit of the enemy, by the road to Molodetschno, and in order that our troops should not press one another on the same road, and by that means retard our movements, I am taking the direction of Kostenewitsch, Narotsch, and Nestawischky; thus acting on the flank of the enemy, and endeavouring, particularly with my Cossacks, even to cut him off entirely. At Nomentshin I shall be enabled to act in concert with admiral Tschitschagoff; and at the same time to keep in check Macdonald's army. The enemy's loss, during the three days I have pursued him, and from difficulties I opposed to him in crossing the Berezyna, must be above 20,000 men; as I have already sent off as prisoners 13,000, and his loss in killed, wounded, and drowned, must amount to more than 7,000. Independently of the 12 pieces of cannon taken from the enemy, and of which I have already most humbly made my report, he has lost three others, besides one eagle, which I have hereby the honour to lay at the feet of your imperial majesty.

St. Petersburg, Dec. 17.

- My lord,—In my dispatch of the 12th inst. your lordship would find  
bulle-

containing reports of marshal Kutusoff of the 2d of December, and of count Wittgenstein of the 4th of Dec. These described Bonaparte, with divisions of his army, as marching from Zembine upon Wilna, to Vileika; the admiral and count Wittgenstein moving from the same point of Wilna, through Molodetschno, the village of Narotsch and Nement. In this part of the pursuit, the Russian corps have stuck very close to the enemy; but the light cavalry which got before him were not of sufficient force to stop him. His course was altered in consequence of some of the flank attack, and he arrived at Molodetschno head of Vileika; and having some time by destroying the village he continued his march towards Smorgonie to Wilna, where he appears to have arrived on the 10th of December. The advanced guards of the several Russian columns arrived in the immediate neighbourhood of Wilna at the same time, and the French army was compelled to begin its retreat from that town, without a halt. It is said that the aid-de-camp of marshal Napoleon was sent to order the rear-guard to defend itself before Wilna, if possible; but instead of sending a rear-guard this officer ordered the Russian advanced guard, to make him prisoner, having him killed, demolished, or sent to the whole of the French rear-guard. Thanksgiving and Te Deum were sung in part of the church service on Monday, (being the festival of St. Nicholas,) for the defeat of the French army, the capture of 150 pieces of ordnance, and several general officers, together with the occupation of Wilna. I have the

honour to inclose three reports, being the journal of military operations from the 20th to the 26th of November old style. Marshal prince Kutusoff's report of the 25th of November from Badaschkewich, and his intermediate report of the occupation of Wilna, and continuation of the pursuit of the enemy. The further report is not yet arrived; but I understand the magazines of all sorts to have been well stored, the quantity of ordnance to have been considerable, and that among the prisoners (not less than 20,000, many of whom are sick or wounded,) there are several general officers, or officers of distinction, who were under cure, and could not be moved. Two general officers were taken in activity. The one I understand to be general Le Fevre, who was a prisoner of war in England on parole, the other an old Polish general. The apparent direction of the enemy's retreat is towards Kovno; perhaps a column may take the road of Olita. From the state of the weather, it is possible the Niemen may not be passable, in consequence of floating ice. The commanding officer at Riga reports on the 12th of December that marshal Macdonald has made no variation in his position. I am not sure that the number of pieces of ordnance, mentioned in the notification of the Emperor to foreign ministers, refers to what was taken at Wilna exclusively, or whether it does not include what has been taken since the last general statement that was published. CATHCART.

Report of field-marshal prince Kutusoff Smolensko to his imperial majesty, dated Radaschkewitsch, Dec. 7.

The French army having passed the



the Berezyna, that of admiral Tchitschagoff pursued it without intermission, and gained repeated advantages over the enemy, who retired by Pletschenitzza, Molodetschno, and Smorgonie to Wilna. Major-general Lanskey, who had been sent, on the 28th of Nov. by Fourieff to Pletschenitzza, after having gone twelve miles by cross-roads, on the morning of the 29th fell upon the advanced guard of the enemy at Pletschenitzza, while it was preparing quarters for the emperor Napoleon. The fruits of this unexpected attack were the capture of general Kaminsky, two colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, 24 officers of different ranks, and 217 soldiers. The advanced guard of admiral Tchitschagoff, in vigorously pursuing the enemy to Chotinisch, took from them five cannon, one colonel, six officers, and above 500 prisoners. Besides an inconsiderable loss of men on our side, major-general Grekoff was slightly wounded by a ball in the head. The enemy, still pursued by the advanced guard of admiral Tchitschagoff, was on the 3d of Dec. overtaken at Latigal, and vigorously attacked by major-general count Ozouzka, when two Saxon standards were taken (which I have now the honour to lay at your imperial majesty's feet, by the hands of the sub-lieutenant of the guards, Feutsch), and one cannon, and more than 1500 prisoners, among whom are several officers, and one general of whose name I have not yet been informed. The troops of general count Platoff took a very active part in this affair.—The advanced guard of admiral Tchitschagoff having approached Molodetschno on the 4th of December, found the bridge destroyed by the enemy; who, having quitted this

place about midnight, continued his march to Smorgonie. Major-general count Ozouzka continued his pursuit, took 500 prisoners, and six cannon; besides which, two cannon were found at Molodetschno.—By the report of admiral Tchitschagoff, of lieutenant-general Sacken's engagement with the corps of general Regnier, which forms the rear-guard of prince Schwartzenberg, the Austrian troops which were advancing on Slonim are again returned to Isbeline, to reinforce general Regnier. This movement induced lieutenant-general Sacken to retreat upon Scheremoff, in order to be always in the rear of the enemy in case this last should attempt to march towards Wilna. By this movement your imperial majesty will perceive, that the prince Schwartzenberg retires from rather than approaches towards Wilna. However, in order to be quite certain of the direction which he takes, I have ordered the corps of count Oscharoffsky to manœuvre on the side of Slonim.—I this instant received a report from count Platoff accompanied with a Polish standard which I have the honour to send with this report to your imperial majesty.

Reports of the commander-in-chief, field-marshal prince Kutusof, from Smolensko, to his imperial majesty, Dec. 14.

At the time of the capture of Wilna by our troops on the 10th of December, the enemy defiled through the streets, whilst count Platoff, in order to cut off his retreat by the road to Kowno, occupied it with all his Cossack regiments, as well as with those of the hussars of Olviopole, and the dragoons of Shitomir and Arsam.

Havi

ng let pass the first of the  
y's columns, count Platoff  
ed count Orloff Denisoff to  
k it with spirit, at the same  
he himself attacked, with im-  
sity the other columns; the  
ery under colonel prince Kou-  
neff kept up an incessant fire.  
t Platoff afterwards ordered  
Orloff Denisoff to pass in the  
of the enemy, to post detach-  
s on his flanks, and to prevent  
rriving at the mountains of  
ry. The large columns were  
letely routed by the well-  
ed fire of our artillery, and  
wards entirely destroyed. One  
ral, 30 officers, and more than  
soldiers were made prison-  
28 pieces of cannon were  
, and a number of waggons  
carriages. The loss on our  
was very inconsiderable: co-  
Flowaisky and lieutenant-  
nel Bibikoff were dangerously  
ded. After the capture of  
a, I employed every possible  
s to re-establish order, and to  
m myself of every thing: but  
shortness of the time does not  
it me to present to your impe-  
majesty, with this report, a de-  
l inventory of all we have  
d here, especially as the quan-  
of provisions of every sort, as  
as the number of prisoners, is  
eat, that it will take a consi-  
le time to make an exact ac-  
t. During my stay here, the  
of the staff, general Stawra-  
and major-general Besrodni,  
collected from the different  
azines of the town fourteen  
sand tschetwert of barley, five  
sand tschetwert of biscuit and  
, an immense number of uni-  
s, muskets, pouches, saddles,  
t coats, and other articles of  
ment. We have made pri-  
rs seven generals, viz. Vivier,

Goussé, Normand, Gouliot, Le  
Fevre, Fwanofsky, and Sajortschik;  
18 staff officers, 221 superior offi-  
cers, 9517 soldiers; and 5139 sick  
were found in the hospitals. A  
great number of prisoners continue  
to be made in the neighbourhood;  
and several magazines have been  
taken, which we have not had time  
to certify. As soon as the reports  
shall be drawn up, I shall have the  
happiness to submit them to your  
imperial majesty.

19. This gazette contains a pro-  
clamation by the prince regent in  
council, addressed to the Luddites,  
or those concerned with them, in  
the disturbed districts, inviting  
them to make a full confession of  
their offences, in having taken un-  
lawful oaths, stolen ammunition  
and fire-arms, &c. before a justice  
of the peace, or magistrate, before  
the 1st of March; when upon  
making such confession, and taking  
the oath of allegiance, they shall  
be pardoned; and no confession so  
made shall be given in evidence  
against the person making the  
same in any court, or in any case  
whatever.

#### Jan. 22. BRITISH NAVAL FORCE.

The following is a list of the  
British naval force at present in  
commission:—151 of the line; 23  
from 50 to 44 guns; 157 frigates;  
101 sloops; 8 bombs and fire-ships;  
197 brigs; 40 cutters; 63 schoo-  
ners, gun-vessels, &c.—Total, 740.—  
Ordinary and repairing for service;  
77 of the line; 10 from 50 to 44  
guns; 70 frigates; 37 sloops; 3  
bombs and fire-ships; 11 brigs; 1  
cutter; 2 schooners.—Total, 241.  
—Building; 29 of the line; 4 from  
50 to 44 guns; 15 frigates; 5  
sloops; 3 brigs—Total 56.—Grand  
totals: 257 of the line; 37 from  
50 to 44 guns; 242 frigates; 143  
sloops;

sloops; 11 bombs and fire-ships; 211 brigs; 41 cutters; 65 schooners, gun-vessels, &c.—In all, 1007.

**A PERSON SUSPECTED OF MURDER  
DISCOVERED.**

In consequence of the murder of Mr. B. Robins, near Stourbridge, on the 11th ult. and a number of daring depredations having been committed in that part of the country, the magistrates and wealthy inhabitants wrote up to the public office, Bow-street, and applied for two officers. Adkins and Taunton were dispatched, there with all speed. The officers, soon after their arrival, heard of a suspicious character, and they travelled upwards of 400 miles in pursuit of him, his person answering fully to the description given by Mr. Robins of his murderer. They learnt that his name was Wm. Howe, a journeyman carpenter, who resided at Humbersley, about six miles from Kidderminster. He had been discharged from his employment for some trifling offence, supposed to be a petty theft. He had left his home on the 17th of December, telling his wife he was going to Worcester to endeavour to get work, but was seen at Kidderminster on that day. On the evening of the 22d of December, about seven o'clock, he returned home, appearing very tired. The following morning he packed up his clothes in one box, and his carpenter's tools in another, and in one of them he put a pistol. He took them to the carrier, and they were conveyed to Worcester, where the officers discovered that his boxes had been taken to the London waggon-office, with the direction on them, "Wm. Wood, Castle and Falcon inn, Aldersgate-street, London." Howe claimed the boxes, conveyed them

to the Bull inn, Bishopsgate-street, and thence in a cooper's cart which happened to pass at the time. The officers made inquiries at a hundred coopers; but could not gain the least information: at length, as they were going along the Commercial road, following up their inquiries, they met a cooper's cart; they told the driver the object of their pursuit; he denied knowing any thing of the circumstance, but promised to use his utmost endeavours to find out the cart. The officers gave him their address. In the evening the man called on them, confessed that he had deceived them; and his reason for doing so was, that he had once got into great trouble with his master for carrying something in his cart, and he had threatened to turn him away if he did so again; but as this was to lead to the detection of a murderer, he would run the risk of it. He then told them that he had carried the boxes for a man answering the description of the one they wanted, to a house in a court in Bishopsgate-street. The officers there learnt that he had gained admission into the house of a poor widow woman. He agreed to pay her a shilling a week to let his boxes stay there, telling her that he worked in the country, and that he should occasionally call for his tools and clothes. The officers told the old woman what he was charged with, and agreed to reward her if she would keep the secret and let them stay in her house to wait for his calling; which she agreed to, and they staid there day and night till Thursday evening, when he called at the old woman's, and the officers took him into custody. He denied having been at Stourbridge, or that he had even heard of the robbery and murder.

de

Mr. Robins. In one of his officers found a bright which answers the description by Mr. Robins.

AMERICA; Jan. 26.

Report of the secretary of the states, that the revenue from duties on merchandize at twelve millions and of dollars; of which sum five millions and a half arise from the late importation Great Britain. The amount of custom-house during the year 1813 is estimated at eleven millions and a dollars. The sale of public estimated at about 500,000

probable receipts  
the treasury for  
are estimated,  
ive of loans,

12,000,000

es of a civil  
e, interest on  
c debt, reim-  
ment of stock,

10,000,000

y establishment  
establishment

17,000,000  
4,925,000

at altogether to

31,925,000

which the above  
ve millions be-  
deducted, a ba-  
e is left (to be  
ided for by  
) of . . .

19,925,000

s sum, one million is con-  
for, and there remains a  
e of one million and a half  
sury notes: an authority to  
new notes for two millions  
half more will reduce the  
p fifteen millions of dollars.—

These estimates do not embrace the expense incident to the proposed increase of the navy, nor any other expenditure not yet authorised by law.

FRANCE.

30. Decree or senatus consultum respecting the levy of troops, Jan. 11, 1812.

Art. I.—350,000 men are placed at the disposal of the minister at war, to wit:

1.—100,000 men, forming the 100 cohorts of the first ban of the national guards.

2.—100,000 men of the conscription of 1809, 1810, 1811, and 1812, taken from among those who have not been called to make a part of the active army.

3.—150,000 of the conscription of 1812.

II.—In the execution of the preceding article, the hundred cohorts of the first ban shall cease to form a part of the national guard, and shall form a part of the active army.

Such men as have married before the publication of this present senatus consultum cannot be designated to make a part of the levies taken on the conscriptions for the years 1809, 1810, 1811, and 1812.

The 150,000 men of the conscription of 1814, shall be levied in the course of the year, at such time as shall be designated by the minister at war.

31. A fire broke out at Sidney College, Cambridge. It was discovered about 11 o'clock at night; when, upon examination, it was found that two chambers in different parts of the building were on fire; but the flames were very soon extinguished. In consequence of the depositions of the watchman, a student who had that day taken his degree was detained in custody. He



He was afterwards tried and acquitted.

### FEBRUARY.

1. As Mr. Sack, a respectable farmer of Penshurst, was returning home, he was attacked within a quarter of a mile of his own house, and beaten in a most inhuman manner, and his jaw and right arm dreadfully fractured. He was found the next morning nearly lifeless, but survived till the 7th inst. though he was never able to speak, or give any intimation respecting the murderer. A boy however of nine years old, the son of the murderer, Henry Langridge, was in company with his father, and gave a very clear account how this atrocity happened: That Mr. Sack, having met his father with a bundle of sticks, demanded where he got them, when a scuffle ensued; and it is also said that some ill-will subsisted between them, in consequence of Mr. Sack's having a short time previously demanded his rent. The murderer, from remorse of conscience, has since drowned himself.

3. Messrs. John and Leigh Hunt, the printer and the editor of *The Examiner*, were on Wednesday brought into the court of king's bench, to receive judgement for the libel upon the prince regent, of which they were convicted last term. An affidavit made by the defendants was read—declaring that they were actuated by no personal malice whatever, nor any love or purpose of slander, and that they are conscious of no motives which were not honourable in writing and publishing the same, &c. The defendants having declined occupying the time of the court by counsel, Mr. justice Le Blanc passed sentence, which was,

that they do pay a fine of 500 each, and that they be severally imprisoned for two years; Mr. John Hunt in Cold Bath Fields prison, and Mr. Leigh Hunt in the new gaol in Horsemonger-lane, and that each give securities in 1000 for his good behaviour for five years.

*Windsor Castle, Feb. 6.*—In the early part of last month his majesty was under some degree of excitement, but he has since resumed his former tranquillity.

6. Between seven and eight o'clock, as Mr. Samuel Bayly, a cotton-merchant, was riding towards home, on the Rusholme road, he was suddenly entangled by a rope stretched across the road for the purpose of robbery. His mare was upon a sharp canter, and he was in a moment swept off his back, and instantly seized by four men, who told him if he made any resistance they would shoot him. They proceeded to rifle him of his property, and told him to proceed and make no alarm, or his life should pay for it. He endeavoured in vain to recover his mare, but she found her way home alone about six o'clock next morning.

A youth of the name of Benjamin Caldwell, of Frodsham, in the county of Cheshire, has made a wooden model of a clock, for showing the various situations of the sun and moon, the times of the lunations, the rising, southing, and setting of the moon and stars, the moon's age and phases, the sun and moon's place in the ecliptic every day in the year, and the course of the month, which will serve for four successive years, without altering each month as in common clocks; it also shows the days of the week, time of high water, and other phenomena. In the centre

dial-plate is turned round minute and hour hands, and is about four inches long, ends of which are fastened and pieces of metal, representing the sun and moon. The dial is carried round in 24 hours, and is fastened a circle with the sun's age upon it. The dial is carried round in 24h. 50½m. The dial projects a little beyond the dial-plate, showing her age upon the dial, to every half and quarter.

Under the dial-plate, passing through a somewhat circular hole of 4½ inches diameter, there is a plate, carried round in 23h. 56m. 17s. The middle of the plate represents the north pole, on it are marked the two equinoctial and ecliptic, the principal fixed stars, the day of the month &c. The edge of the dial-plate and the hole represents the ecliptic, the sun revolves round in the dial and centre plate in 24h. 56m. The sun will advance one degree every day in the dial, so that in 365 days and 5 hours it will have gone through 360 degrees. The centre of the dial is round in the same time as the sun, so that the stars seem to go round, by the apparent motion of the earth, and may be seen at any time what stars are rising, what stars are culminating, and which are setting; when any star appears to come under the horizon, it is then the four hands show the time of the sun's wire put perpendicular to the pole represents the meridian, when the moon or any star is on the meridian, the four hands show the time of the sun's wire southing or coming under the meridian: when any star is on the edge of the horizon, the four hands will show the time of its rising and the degree which the

sun or moon's wire cuts in the ecliptic, appears to come from or go under the horizon: the four hands will show the time of their rising and setting. In the arch are exhibited the four seasons of the year, the days of the week, time of high water, and the moon's place.

*Lisbon, Jan. 18.*

9. His excellency the marshal general the marquiss of Torres Vedras (lord Wellington), after having passed through the triumphal arches erected in the towns along the Tagus, where, for thirty leagues, the inhabitants strove to outdo each other in testimonies of enthusiasm, arrived on the 16th in the Commercial Square of Lisbon. Guns were fired, and the troops drawn out in two lines. His excellency was mounted on horseback, and the crowds of spectators were immense. A general illumination was repeated for three successive nights. On Sunday morning his excellency, in the Portuguese uniform, went to pay his compliments to the lords regents of the kingdom, and at four on the same afternoon he returned to the palace of government to partake of a sumptuous entertainment, at which the secular and ecclesiastical authorities were present. At about half past seven his excellency repaired to the theatre of San Carlos, which was richly adorned with emblematical figures. The scene was opened with an anthem in praise of the prince regent, whose portrait on being suddenly displayed was greeted with thunders of applause. A piece was then performed entitled *O Nome* (The name) composed in honour of lord Wellington. The interlocutors were Glory, Posterity, Camoens, and the Great Constable. Many verses

(B)

from

from Camoens were introduced; and every line that could be applied to his excellency was enthusiastically applauded. On the conclusion of the piece, flowers and verses in honour of the hero were thrown from various parts of the house.

10. State of captures made by the Russians up to the 26th of December:—Up to the 20th of December were taken 33 generals, 900 officers, 143,000 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and 745 pieces of cannon.—From the 20th to the 25th of December, 1 general, 156 officers, 9754 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and 168 pieces of cannon.—Besides these were taken at Wilna, 7 generals, 242 officers, 14,756 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and 217 pieces of cannon.—Total 41 generals, 1298 officers, 167,510 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and 1131 pieces of cannon.

#### AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.

11. The cartel Catherine Ray, captain Hicks, arrived on Tuesday the 9th inst. The following is the information brought by her to the 17th ult.

The votes for president and vice-president of the United States were on the 2d December,

*President.*

Madison 128 Clinton 89

*Vice President.*

Gerry 131 Ingersoll 86

The re-election of Mr. Madison is therefore certain. Some changes in the cabinet have taken place: general Armstrong has, on the resignation of Dr. Eustis, been appointed secretary at war. Capt. W. Jones succeeds the hon. Paul Hamilton as secretary of the navy. It is supposed that Mr. Monroe will have the chief command of

the army, and that he will be succeeded as secretary of state by Gallatin, whose place as controller of the treasury is to be supplied by Mr. Rush.

A bill has passed, authorizing the secretary of the treasury to recover the fines, forfeitures and penalties incurred under the non-intercourse acts, in all cases of *bond fide* American property shipped between the 23d of June and the 15th of Sept. 1812. All prosecutions instituted for the recovery of such fines, &c. are to be discontinued on the regular duties being paid. Property introduced through British provinces is not included in this act, but such only as was introduced before the declaration of war was known, and shipped direct from Great Britain and Ireland.

A bill to authorize the building of four seventy-four and five frigates has passed. The Pennsylvanian legislature have voted the building of a frigate for the use of the republic by a majority of 70 to 20.

The Constellation, 36 guns, at sea, under the command of captain Stewart. The Adams, 32 guns, is in preparation, and will be commanded by captain Morris, who was captain Hull's lieutenant in the action with La Guerre. The Macedonian is preparing to sail from New York: captain Decatur has advised that the new frigates should be constructed on the model of the Macedonian.

At New York a public dinner was given to the seamen captured the Macedonian; and on the evening they were invited to the theatre, where a spectacle was prepared in honour of the victory, and the pit was given up for their accommodation.

*commissioners for the affairs of*  
*Feb. 11.*—Dispatch from  
 Gillespie, commander of the  
 in Java, to the honourable  
 Raffles, lieutenant-governor  
 of that Island, dated Djojo-  
 June 25.

Dear sir,—Without entering  
 into any of the political points  
 which you did me the honour  
 to allude to with me previous to the  
 outbreak of hostilities against the  
 Sultan of Djojocarta, I shall pro-  
 ceed to report to you the various  
 circumstances of our small force, and  
 the measures adopted, under my  
 command, for bringing this insolent  
 sultan to a recognition of the  
 authority of the British government  
 upon the afternoon of the 18th  
 of June you did me the honour to  
 inform me, that the sultan of  
 Djojocarta had refused his acquies-  
 cence to those terms which in your  
 letter you had been pleased to  
 propose, and that, confident of the  
 strength of his fortified position, he  
 had determined to brave the conse-  
 quences of our power might inflict;  
 that he had assembled his  
 troops from all parts of the king-  
 dom, who were prepared and de-  
 termined on resistance. The troops  
 collected at this period of the  
 war, though few in numbers,  
 were formidable in gallantry: they  
 amounted altogether of about 600  
 men, a proportion of artillery,  
 and a number of his majesty's 22d  
 regt.—The remainder of our  
 troops, with our principal supply of  
 provisions, were coming forward  
 in obedience to the orders of lieutenant-col.  
 Gordon, and were expected to  
 arrive at the head-quarters during the  
 night of that night.—Hostilities  
 to some measure commenced  
 on the preceding evening! On  
 the arrival at Djojocarta, lieut-

colonel Watson reported, that a  
 considerable body of the sultan's  
 troops had left the Krattan, through  
 the east gate, and had proceeded  
 upon some offensive or predatory  
 excursion, which I thought it my  
 duty immediately to prevent. I  
 accordingly desired a detachment  
 of fifty dragoons to escort me on a  
 reconnoitring party, and I pro-  
 ceeded with my staff along the  
 east wall of the Krattan, and  
 pursued them on a road to the east-  
 ward, which the people of the  
 country reported they had taken:  
 after a very circuitous route, we  
 arrived again upon the environs of  
 the town, where we found large  
 bodies of the enemy collected, who  
 were well armed, and evidently  
 prepared for resistance. At this  
 period you had not communicated  
 to me any final determination with  
 respect to the sultan of Djojocarta,  
 and I was therefore withheld, by  
 sentiments of honour, from dis-  
 persing those people by force of  
 arms, which I had afterwards  
 reason to regret. Mr. Crawford,  
 the resident, who accompanied me  
 on the excursion, endeavoured, by  
 every possible means in his power,  
 to induce them to return. His  
 solicitations and threats were equal-  
 ly unavailing, and we were at  
 length so insulted by stones from  
 the houses, and one of our dragoons  
 was so severely wounded by a  
 spear in the side, that we were com-  
 pelled to act upon the defensive,  
 and in a short time they were dis-  
 persed. In this affair I regret to  
 say, that one serjeant and four  
 dragoons were wounded, the ser-  
 jeant and one of the privates  
 dangerously, and in another part  
 of the town a serjeant's patrol of  
 twenty-five dragoons was fiercely  
 attacked by a considerable number  
 of the sultan's troops, whom they cut



cut their way through, with the loss of one man killed and one wounded.—I shall now return to the afternoon of the 18th, when every thing was prepared for offensive operations, as well as our scanty supply of ammunition would admit. I am always an advocate for promptness and decision, and I am aware that any measure of a contrary nature would not only weaken the confidence of our troops, but increase the insolence of the enemy. I therefore directed major Butler to open a fire from our fort, which was immediately returned by the sultan, but with inconsiderable effect. Captain Teesdale of the royal navy was wounded; and a magazine in the battery having accidentally blown up, I lost the services of two active officers, captain Young and lieutenant Hunter, who were severely burnt by the explosion. Light parties were detached to scour the villages on the right and left, and a body of the sultan's troops kept major Dalton and part of his battalion on the alert during the night; they were attacked four successive times with great spirit, but they repulsed the enemy with steadiness and good conduct.—At about three o'clock P. M. I became exceedingly anxious for the arrival of lieutenant-col. MacLeod and his party. I had received no report whatever of his progress, and I was apprehensive that he had encountered some difficulty upon the road, which might retard the service. I therefore detached lieutenant Hale with 25 dragoons, to obtain some information respecting him, and I afterwards supported him with a further reinforcement of 40 men under the command of lieutenant Keir of the same regiment. The first detachment, under lieutenant Hale, was re-

peatedly attacked by large bodies of the sultan's infantry, in situations where cavalry were unable to act. The promptitude and celerity of this officer's advance excited the warmest approbation: he was severely wounded himself, and lost five of his dragoons in the conflict, but, notwithstanding his perilous and hampered situation, he executed his important trust by joining lieutenant-col. MacLeod. On the following forenoon the whole of this party arrived, consisting of a detachment of the royal artillery, the grenadiers of his majesty's 5th regiment, and the flank company and rifle company of his majesty's 78th. This reinforcement determined me upon my plan of operations.—The palace, or Krattan, the sultan is surrounded by regular works about three miles in circumference; at each corner there is a formidable bastion enfilading the curtain, and the principal entrance in front is strongly defended by cannon. The whole of the fortification is surrounded by a wet ditch and the gateways are all provided with draw-bridges, to prevent passage across. With all these obstacles to our success, I rely upon the gallantry of my troops and determined upon the assault on the morning of the 20th instant. In all the preparation necessary I experienced much assistance from lieutenant-col. Mackenzie of the engineers and major Thorne deputy-quarter-master-general, who procured every information that could possibly be obtained, and to whom I arranged the plan of attack.—The principal part of the force was divided into two columns, the leading one commanded by lieutenant-col. Watson, of his majesty's 14th foot, and the other by lieutenant-colonel MacLeod, of his majesty's

regiment. Lieut.-col. Dewar, 3d Bengal native infantry, headed a smaller party, and a detour towards the rear of Krattan. Major Grant conducted a central attack in front. An hour before day, the command of lieutenant Watson and lieut.-col. MacLeod moved forward to the east, under cover of the fire of our fort. They were, however, discovered by the enemy before scaling-ladders were planted. The alarm was instantly given along the works, which only increased the activity and emulation of the troops. Lieut.-col. Watson led in the most gallant style, and obtained possession of the camp. Part of major Dalzell's battalion crossed the ditch at the E. bastion, under captain Dalzell, and running along the beam, led lieut.-col. MacLeod with the second column, who blew up the prince's gate, and entered the city. The prince then became general. Lieut.-col. Dalton, with part of the 14th Bengal native infantry battalion, led in a gallant style to the south gate, and they admitted lieut.-col. Denning. He saved the life of the prince. The gallant 14th then proceeded to scour the ramparts, and the capture of the sultan rendered the victory complete. I have the honour to report to you, that this arduous conflict the young Semoud Denningrat led. Lieut.-col. Dewar had the good fortune to encounter him, and as he was known to be the most powerful chieftain in the army of the sultan, and his instigation in every hostile proceeding to the British government, I consider this event as of the greatest importance.—About the close of the assault, I was

myself severely wounded in the arm. Thus, with less than 1000 firelocks actually engaged, we have defeated upwards of 17,000 men, and afforded a lasting proof of our superiority and power. I shall refrain from entering into further particulars, as you were present upon the spot, and our cordial communications with each other have rendered them unnecessary.—I have the honour to solicit your particular attention to the valuable services of Mr. Crawford, resident. It is impossible I can convey to you how deeply I am impressed with a sense of his talents and exertions. From the period of my arrival until the conquest of the Krattan, he was uniformly active and assiduous, and his personal exposure in the assault of the works merits equally my thanks and commendation.—Mr. Robinson of the civil service and Mr. Hardie were also volunteers upon the occasion. I cannot speak too highly of their eagerness and zeal. Mr. Deans, assistant to the resident, was essentially useful in conducting lieut.-col. Dewar's party to the south gate.

R. R. GILLESPIE, col.

Return of killed and wounded.—  
Killed 23; wounded 76. Total, 96.

*Paris, Feb. 14.*

To-day, Monday, the 14th of February, his majesty the emperor and king departed at one o'clock from the palace of the Thuilleries in grand state to proceed to the palace of the legislative body. Salvoes of artillery announced the departure of his majesty from the Thuilleries, and his arrival at the legislative body.

[Here follows the route the procession took, and an account of the formalities observed by the president

dent, and legislative body on receiving Bonaparte.]

After the oath had been administered to the new members of the legislative body, the emperor delivered the following speech :

“ Gentlemen, deputies from the departments to the legislative body;

“ The war again lighted in the north of Europe offered a favourable opportunity to the projects of the English upon the peninsula. They have made great efforts. All their hopes have been deceived. Their army was wrecked before the citadel of Burgos, and obliged, after having suffered great losses, to evacuate the Spanish territory.—I myself entered Russia. The French arms were constantly victorious in the fields of Ostrowno, Polotsk, Mohilow, Smolensk, Moscow, Malairaslovitz. The Russian armies could not stand before our armies. Moscow fell into our power. Whilst the barriers of Russia were forced, and the impotency of her arms acknowledged, a swarm of Tartars turned their parricidal hands against the finest provinces of that vast empire which they had been called to defend. They in a few weeks, notwithstanding the tears and despair of the unfortunate Muscovites, burned more than 4000 of their finest villages, more than 50 of their finest towns; thus gratifying their ancient hatred under the pretext of retarding our march, by surrounding us with a desert.—We triumphed over all these obstacles. Even the fire of Moscow, by which in four days they annihilated the fruits of the labours and cares of four generations, changed in no respect the prosperous state of my affairs. But the excessive and premature rigour of the winter brought down a heavy calamity

upon my army. In a few nights I saw every thing change—I experienced great losses—they would have broken my heart, if under such circumstances I could have been accessible to any other sentiments than those of the interest, the glory, and the future prosperity of my people. On seeing the evils which pressed upon us, the joy of England was great—her hopes had no bounds—she offered our finest provinces as the reward of treason—she made, as the conditions of peace, the dismemberment of this vast empire;—it was under other terms, to proclaim perpetual war. The energy of my people under these great circumstances; their attachment to the integrity of the empire; the love which they have shown me, have dissipated all these chimæras, and brought back our enemies to a more just consideration of things. The misfortunes produced by the rigour of hoar frost have been made apparent in all their extent: so also have the grandeur and the solidity of this empire, founded upon the efforts and the love of fifty millions of citizens, and upon the territorial resources of one of the finest countries in the world.—It is with lively satisfaction that we have seen our people of the kingdom of Italy, those of ancient Holland and of the united departments rival with old France, and feel that there is for them no future hope but in the consolidation and the triumph of the Grand Empire.—The agents of England propagate among all our neighbours, the spirit of revolt against sovereigns—England wishes to see the whole continent become a prey to civil war, and all the furies of anarchy but providence has designed herself to be the first victim of anarchy.

and civil war.—I have with the pope a concordat, terminates all the differences unfortunately had arisen in the French dynasty and will reign, in Spain. I am allied with my allies. I will not lose none of them. I will preserve the integrity of their empire. The Russians shall return to their frightful climate. I desire; it is necessary to the peace. Four years after the rupture followed the treaty of 1801. I proposed it in a solemn manner. I will never make but a durable peace, and one conformable to the interests and grandeur of my empire. My policy is not treacherous; I have stated all the sacrifices I could make. So that this maritime war shall not hurt the people must hold themselves ready to make all kinds of sacrifices, because a bad peace would make us lose every thing.—I desire—and all would be conformable—even the prosperity of our descendants. America has had to make arms, to make the sovereignty of her flag respected.—The interests of the world accompany this glorious contest. If she will it by obliging the enemies of the continent to acknowledge the principle, that the flag is the property of the merchant and crew, neutrals ought not to be subjected to blockades upon paper, but conformable to the spirit of the treaty of Utrecht, they will have credit from all posterity will say, that the empire had lost its rights, and now one reconquered them. The minister of the interior will show you in the exposé of the state of the empire, the progress of agriculture, manufactures and of our interior commerce, as well as the still constant increase of our population. In no age have agriculture and manufactures been carried to a higher degree of prosperity in France. I want great resources to meet the expenses which circumstances demand; but, by means of the different measures which my minister of finances will propose to you, I shall not impose any new burthen on my people.”

After the speech, the sitting terminated, and his majesty retired amidst acclamations.

The prince archchancellor of the empire appeared in the senate to preside at the sitting, and caused the concordat signed at Fontainebleau the 25th of January, 1813, between his majesty the emperor and king and his holiness Pius VII. to be read.

#### CONCORDAT.

His majesty the emperor and king, and his holiness, being inclined to put a termination to the differences which have arisen between them, and to provide against the difficulties that have taken place in several affairs concerning the church, have agreed upon the following articles, which are to serve as the basis of a definitive arrangement:

Art. 1. His holiness shall exercise the pontificate in France, and in the kingdom of Italy, in the same manner and same forms as his predecessors.

2. The ambassadors, ministers, chargés d'affaires, of foreign powers, to the holy father, and the ambassadors, ministers, or chargés d'affaires, whom the pope may have with foreign powers, shall enjoy such immunities and privileges as are enjoyed by the diplomatic body.

3. The domains which were possessed



essed by the holy father, and that have not been alienated, shall be exempted from all kinds of imposts, and shall be administered by his agents or *chargés d'affaires*. Those which were alienated shall be replaced to the amount of 2,000,000 francs in revenue.

4. Within the space of six months following the notification of the usage of nomination by the emperor to the archbishoprics and bishoprics of the empire and kingdom of Italy, the pope shall give the canonical institutions in conformity with the concordat, and by virtue of this present indulto. The precluding information shall be given by the metropolitan. The six months being expired, without the pope having accorded to the institution, the metropolitan, or in default of him, where a metropolitan is in question, the oldest bishop of the province, shall proceed to the institution of the new bishop, so that a seat shall never be vacant longer than one year.

5. The pope shall nominate to the ten bishoprics either in France or in Italy, which shall finally be designated by mutual consent.

6. The six suburb bishoprics shall be re-established. They shall be at the nomination of the pope. The property actually existing shall be restored, and measures shall be taken for recovering what has been sold. At the death of the bishop of Anagni and of Rieti, their dioceses shall be re-united to the six bishoprics before mentioned, conformably with agreement which will take place between his majesty and the holy father.

7. With regard to the bishops of the Roman states, who are through circumstances absent from their dioceses, the holy father may exercise his right of giving bi-

shoprics, *in partibus*, in their favor. A pension shall be given to them equal to the revenue before enjoyed by them, and they may be replaced in the vacant seats, either in the empire, or in Italy.

8. His majesty and his holiness will at a proper time concert with each other on the reduction to be made, if it should take place, of the bishoprics of Tuscany, and of the country of Genoa, as likewise of the bishoprics to be established in Holland and in the Hanseatic departments.

9. The propaganda, the printing, and the archives, shall be established in the place of the late father's abode.

10. His majesty restores his good favour to those cardinals, bishops, priests, and lay-brethren who have incurred his displeasure in consequence of actual events.

11. The holy father agrees to the above dispositions, in consideration of the actual state of the church and in the confidence with which his majesty has inspired him, he will grant his powerful protection to the numerous wants with which religion suffers in the times we live in.

(Signed) NAPOLEON  
PIUS, P. M.

Fontainebleau, Jan. 25.

15. This evening, between eight and nine o'clock, a most daring attack was made upon two of his majesty's game-keepers, by poachers, who were discovered at a plantation of Windsor Great Park in the act of shooting the partridges. These men were all armed with fire-arms and bludgeons, some with long poles of a peculiar construction, with which they are accustomed to discharge the spring guns that are set in their warren. By this unequal force the keepers

verpowered, and one of  
as so dreadfully beaten,  
life was, for a time, in the  
danger from the severe  
received on his head with  
end of a gun, till it was  
d from the barrel, and the  
oken in pieces.

## SPAIN.

The cortes, fully concur-  
th the regency, passed a  
on the 6th ult. investing the  
of Wellington with ex-  
ary powers, as generalis-  
the Spanish land forces.  
on of the Spanish general  
appointed to attend marquis  
ton, and to them all the  
ications from the different  
are to be addressed; on the  
and, all orders relative to  
ies are to emanate from his  
, through the channel of  
nish staff near his person.

Castanos, who has had  
conferences with the mar-  
ellington, has arrived at  
to prepare the Spanish  
r active operations; and it  
stood that a great and de-  
d effort will be made in the  
of the approaching spring  
the peninsula from the enemy.  
cortes have agreed to fur-  
d Wellington with an army  
00 men for the next cam-  
and for these troops his  
is to have the appointment  
ers. A corps of reserve is  
be formed in Andalusia,  
ther in Galicia, in order to  
n the more prominent force  
dition of permanent effi-

Let but the troops be  
d for the destruction of the  
a enemy, and placed under  
management, and we shall  
ubt of the result.

abolition of the inquisition,

the suppression of the convents,  
and establishment of persons not  
noble by birth, in the departments  
formerly occupied by nobles alone,  
appears to have caused considerable  
discontent among the clergy and  
nobility of the ancient regime;  
some of whom, in conjunction with  
king Joseph's partisans, published  
libels upon the regency, and against  
British influence. Three or four  
of the leaders of this faction were  
arrested in Seville. The regency,  
it is reported, demanded of the  
cortes a temporary suspension of  
the habeas corpus, to make fur-  
ther arrests; which was refused by  
the cortes, who did not think the  
affair of sufficient importance to  
require so strong a measure. One  
of the libels was to the following  
effect:—"The streets of Seville  
present to the Spanish people, to  
that people ever pious and friendly  
to the monks, a spectacle which  
must excite the most painful senti-  
ments.—Priests, who never could  
have believed that the smallest  
opposition could be made to their  
assembling, present themselves;  
the intendant commands them in  
the name of the government, not  
to assemble, and prohibits their  
entrance into the monasteries; they  
entreat, they supplicate, but they  
are not heard; they are abandoned,  
they are repulsed; and in order to  
avoid dying with hunger, these  
wretches disperse themselves  
through the streets, and beg their  
bread from door to door, clad in  
those sacred habits which the  
people revere; they stop in the  
public places, at the doors of the  
churches, and there implore the  
pity of the populace. What have  
these ministers of God done? What  
crime have they committed? &c."

## GERMANY.

21. The German papers have  
lately

lately furnished an unequivocal acknowledgment of the distress and ruin to which two of the sovereigns of the Rhenish confederation are reduced. Saxony and Wittemberg have both made unexampled sacrifices to Bonaparte, and, as it would appear, with very little gratitude on his part. After having sent the flower of their youth to be slaughtered, they are directed to raise fresh contingents, and impoverish their subjects by the exactions necessary to equip them. As if this were not sufficient, there is an article in the Frankfort Gazette, evidently inserted by authority, and the design of which is to incite the vassal princes to make an offer of pecuniary support to their oppressor—or, in other words, to maintain their own contingents while they are fighting for the ambition of Bonaparte.

22. [The last gazette contains a proclamation by the honourable T. S. Raffles, lieutenant-governor of Java, dated Djojocarta, June 1812, notifying that the sultan Hamangkubwana the second is deposed from his throne and government, because he had violated his treaties, and proved unworthy the confidence of the British government. But a few months before he had usurped the government, he put to death the first minister, and afterwards caused the father of that minister, an inoffensive old man, to be assassinated. Shortly after this he caused seven of the principal chiefs of the country to be strangled: he likewise degraded and threatened the life of the hereditary prince, whose throne he usurped; and had intrigued with other chiefs, for the purpose of undermining the British power by which he had been protected. The Pangueran Adipati, the late de-

posed prince, is declared sultan the kingdom of Mataram.

#### SWEDEN AND DENMARK.

A very interesting report lately been published in Sweden dated Stockholm, January 7 1813, and addressed to the king of Sweden by M. D'Engeström, his minister for foreign affairs, the political relations between Sweden and France during the last two years. It appears from the document, that the demands made by Bonaparte on Sweden, about the close of 1811, and posterior to the occupation of Pomerania by the French troops, were: "That a new declaration of war should be made against England; that communication with English cruisers should be severely prohibited; that the shores of the Sound should be provided with batteries; that the English vessels fired upon with cannon, and the fleet equipped. That, besides, an army of from 30 to 40,000 men should be raised for the purpose of attacking Russia at the moment when hostilities should commence between the power and the French empire. That, to indemnify Sweden, Finland should be restored. Bonaparte also would engage to purchase colonial produce to the amount of twenty millions of francs, provided the payment should only be effected when the goods were landed at Dantzic or Lubec. Finally, he would permit Sweden to participate in all the rights and advantages enjoyed by the states of the confederation of the Rhine. It is well known, these offers were rejected. The report concludes with the following intimation: "Should your majesty, for the present safety and future security of Sweden, be compelled to p-

you

is in motion, it will not be  
 v to conquer provinces  
 the prosperity of the  
 an peninsula. Proud  
 ghts, united to their so-  
 e Swedes will march to  
 enemies. The recol-  
 their illustrious ancestors,  
 justice of their cause, will  
 air success." Such was  
 f insolence held by Al-  
 e French ambassador,  
 Sweden, while making  
 nds, that, when the latter  
 t required to know what  
 ould promise herself in  
 ion for the new sacrifices  
 ght be the result of the  
 claims, Alquier replied,  
 master (Bonaparte) re-  
 the first instance deeds  
 le to his system; after  
 as possible that what his  
 majesty was inclined to do  
 of Sweden *might* become  
 t of discussion."

#### AMERICA.

ton papers to the 15th  
 on a great mortality which  
 the invading American  
 rticularly among those  
 ationed at Burlington.  
 to twelve men die daily.  
 e of this sickness in the  
 traced to the soldiers hav-  
 encamped on a low wet  
 these papers is an official  
 om general Hopkins. It  
 aughable, and affords a  
 idea of American dis-  
 General Hopkins project-  
 pedition of mighty pro-  
 nost the Kickapoo villages.  
 ors, all mounted riflemen,  
 the Wabash, and had  
 three miles towards his  
 which was 80 or 100 miles  
 then he imparted his plan  
 ficers. One would think

they had nothing to do but to follow  
 it. No such thing; they hold a  
 council, excluding the general; and  
 after re-examining the evidence,  
 which he had before considered, they  
 at length make a report, that they  
 acquiesce in his views. Thinking  
 himself now secure in the *confidence*  
 (observe, not the *obedience*) of  
 his army, he marches on four  
 days successively, without any  
 occurrence good or bad. The fifth  
 day, a violent gust of wind annoys  
 these warriors; and some straggling  
 Indians having set fire to the long  
 grass in their neighbourhood, this  
 inclines the army to return. The  
 poor general next morning assem-  
 bles his officers, argues the matter  
 with them, fairly states the *pro* and  
*con*, and, after advising them to  
 proceed, begs they would *take the*  
*sense of the army* on the measure.  
 "In less than an hour the report  
 was made almost unanimously  
*to return.*" The general, still dis-  
 satisfied, *requests* that he may *dictate*  
 the course to be pursued that day  
 only,—puts himself in front,—di-  
 rects them to follow *him*,—when  
 lo! most preposterous event! the  
 columns move off a contrary way.  
 The retreat soon becomes an ab-  
 solute flight. The columns fall  
 into disorder, and general Hopkins  
 throws himself into the rear, and  
 brings it up with less loss than he ex-  
 pected, though he has "no reason to  
 think they were either followed or  
 menaced by an enemy. Having thus  
 returned without seeing either ene-  
 my or village, thanks are given  
 to the officers for lending him their  
 authority, and the troops are said  
 to have exhibited a formidable  
 appearance; and this, it is hoped,  
 will operate beneficially in terrify-  
 ing the hostile tribes who never saw  
 them." The finest touch of the  
 pathetic closes the performance;  
 for



for the general says, and we believe it is to be found in no other official dispatch, that a violent diarrhœa had so reduced him that he was unable to sit his horse!—Another detachment, under general Tupper, is said to have merited great praise, except in one instance—when in face of the enemy, who was advancing, they left their ranks “to pursue—a drove of hogs!”

*Petersburg Gazette, Nov. 29, (Dec. 11.)*

“The progress of the Russian army in the pursuit of the enemy becomes every hour more rapid and remarkable; every step it advances is a victory, and destructive to the enemy of our native country, to the enemies of Europe. Russia now exhibits an exalted aspect to the whole world, and we can boldly assert, that all nations, not even excepting those unhappy slaves of despotism, who through pusillanimity and weakness have been armed against her, await her victories in hopes through them of obtaining peace and happiness. On the one side we see a valiant army, whose regiments are not broken, and whose warriors are animated with an elevated feeling of vengeance for their homes, for the plundering of their towns and villages, vengeance for inhumanity. Glory inspires them: they know no weakness, feel no sufferings; and even if, in their rapid pursuit of the enemy, they may at times be exposed to some unavoidable wants, they bear them with courage, because they see victory before them. On the other side appear the ruins of an immense army, in which numerous foreign nations were united together to destroy a powerful nation in the bosom of its native country. They were

encouraged by a view of the but this result was deceptive. single heavy blow threw the immense host into confusion. fly, pursued by fear and They are followed by having no food; they are spair, and forced to eat dead forced to do what their contemporaries can scarce lieve—*feed upon the bodies of the brethren dead!*

“The roads by which they dreamt to retire in triumph and laden with booty, are covered with their dead bodies. The sick and wounded are thrown by them on their march, as a prey to famine and the sword. All these unfortunates, condemned to perish far from their own countries, curse, in different languages, ambition as the cause of their destruction; and those who remain under the colours of broken legions, follow them without courage—without hope. Without sufferings, they have all confidence in fortune and their generals. Their camps are taken by hundreds. They surrender in whole regiments. At the first shot either throw away their arms or fight out of mere desperation. Such is the condition of the armies which are now to decide the fate of many nations.”

The greatest exertion is making in Russia to increase the military force of that empire. A new levy has been ordered of 300,000 men, to be raised within a month. The provinces which suffered in the last campaign are exempted.

The emperor Alexander's proclamation dated Dec. 12, ordered a new levy of eight men every 500 (which, it is calc

300,000), is in sub-  
 follows :—It states the ne-  
 keeping up a military  
 quate to the circumstances  
 es. "Russia having been  
 y an enemy, leading ar-  
 n almost every European  
 is been obliged to make  
 sacrifices; and though,  
 d of divine providence,  
 nies have been entirely  
 , and their poor remains  
 g safety in a precipitate  
 t it becomes necessary to  
 the glory of the empire,  
 military establishment as  
 ure permanent security.  
 of the giant is broken, but  
 ctive strength must be  
 from reviving; and his  
 er the nations who serve  
 of terror, must be taken  
 ussia, extensive, rich, and  
 ks no conquests,—wishes  
 ose of thrones. She de-  
 uillity for herself, and for  
 will not, however, suffer  
 d so to abuse her mode-  
 to endanger the well-be-  
 self, or of other nations.  
 it is to call upon a loyal  
 onate people for new ex-  
 et it would be still more  
 o see them exposed to  
 for the want of an ade-  
 ence; and that the most  
 calamities would result  
 success of her late invaders,  
 from the enormities they  
 ady committed. The  
 trusts in God and his  
 ies, which shall be raised  
 posing number, which is  
 necessary for the preser-  
 what has been purchased  
 y labours and sacrifices  
 ch blood."

ce that will be raised,  
 at defiance any future  
 France; a force consist-

ing of men whose hearts and minds  
 are enthusiastically attached to the  
 cause in which they are called upon  
 to fight. The men are at hand,  
 and anxiously wait the signal to  
 join their brethren in arms. What  
 may not the presence of such an  
 army effect in Europe! The ty-  
 rant of France may levy upon  
 paper; but his decree can only  
 produce reluctant conscripts filled  
 with despair, and looking only to  
 destruction; animated by no com-  
 mon principle, but losing all cou-  
 rage and firmness, in the conscious-  
 ness that they are merely the servile  
 tools of their leader's lawless ambi-  
 tion; and that he will basely desert  
 them in the hour of danger, when-  
 ever it suits his own convenience,  
 utterly regardless of their miseries  
 or their sufferings.

A letter from Messina says, that  
 had it not been for the successes of  
 the Russians, Murat was to have  
 been removed to the throne of  
 Poland, and Naples annexed to the  
 kingdom of Italy.

Marshal Kutusoff has been cre-  
 ated by Alexander, prince of Smo-  
 lensko.

Lord Cathcart's dispatches,  
 dated St. Petersburg, the 22d of  
 December, inclose very long de-  
 tails from general Kutusoff of the  
 14th, written from the theatre of  
 the operations. They state, that  
 in the passage of the Beresina the  
 Russians took about 20,000 pri-  
 soners. In the pursuit from the  
 Beresina to Wilna 7000 more fell  
 into their hands, including bag-  
 gage, &c.; among which is a  
 great part of Bonaparte's perso-  
 nal effects, and important state-  
 papers.

On the 10th ult. the Russians  
 entered Wilna, taking in and be-  
 fore that place 8 generals, 398 offi-  
 cers, 24,330 privates, 385 cannon,  
 2 colours,

2 colours, one eagle, and the whole of the magazines.

These dispatches make the number of prisoners taken since the last account, upwards of 40,000 men. Of the remainder not more than 20,000 were believed to be effective on the 14th ult. Little doubt, therefore, can be entertained of the entire annihilation of the French grand army, especially as Wittgenstein reports, that the Bavarian division had been surrounded by adjutant-general Kutusoff's corps, and cut off from Wilna. It is in fact supposed, that only a few officers have escaped. Besides the prisoners, the French have, since the last accounts, lost 200 pieces of cannon, all their magazines, stores, &c. Several general officers had been taken, amongst whom is general Lefevre, who violated his parole, and ran away from Cheltenham.

From a perusal of official details, we find that the destruction of the French army has been most complete. Macdonald's corps has been so weakened by the defection of the Prussians, that he has followed his master's example, and run away from it.

We have received two Russian documents of high interest—a manly declaration of marshal prince Smolensko, in the name of the emperor Alexander; and a noble and magnanimous declaration of his imperial majesty himself, on the present auspicious and most promising state of affairs. The former is more particularly addressed to Prussia, on the Russian armies passing the frontiers of that kingdom; and expresses the emperor's determination to demonstrate his friendship for the unhappy enslaved Frederick, by restoring the monarchy of Prussia to its former

ecolat and extent. The latter addressed to the different states that have so long bent under tyrannic and galling yoke France, and is peculiarly entitled to the most serious consideration of all the sovereigns and states of the continent; nor can it in reason be supposed that any one of them will not be raised from his torpor by the animating call of the magnanimous Alexander, or that they cannot unite with him, that *now is the appointed time of salvation*. Independent of their own interests, dignity, independence, let them but consider the universal feelings of their subjects, and they cannot hesitate a moment to take the becoming and necessary resolution of shaking off the disgraceful servitude imposed upon them by France, under the delusive name of an alliance. The whole of this noble and admirable proclamation cannot be deeply studied by the princes and the people of the continent, whom it is a most praiseworthy and inspiring invitation to throw off their debasing bondage, assist the generous emperor, who holds out to them a fostering protecting hand, in restoring the grand principle of the independence of Europe. As the magnanimous Alexander himself well observed, "Ages may elapse before an opportunity equally favourable presents itself; and it would be an abuse of the goodness of providence not to take advantage of this crisis to reconstruct the work of the equilibrium of Europe, and thereby to insure public tranquillity and individual happiness."

A private letter from St. Petersburg mentions a curious anecdote in relation to the altered feeling of the soldiers towards Bonaparte during his retreat.—For a

oleon rode in a close car-  
 rrounded by his half-fa-  
 nd dispirited troops. At  
 e men, indignant at seeing  
 g at ease, and feeling no  
 he calamities he had so  
 brought on them, cried  
*à bas la voiture.*" This  
 not to be slighted: Bo-  
 nstantly quitted the vehicle  
 nted his horse, covered  
 cloak, and muffled with  
 is condescension did not,  
 appease his followers:  
 d and famishing with  
 y again cried out, "*d bas*  
 ." The great Napoleon,  
 ance with the mandate of  
 ry, immediately threw off  
 and fur, and, in common  
 men, exposed his person to  
 clemencies of the season.  
 , profiting by experience,  
 ed squadron" was imme-  
 rmed to protect the great  
 from the rising indignation  
 n army, till an opportunity  
 e afforded him of making  
 escape.

## FRANCE.

a remarkable fact, that  
 Bonaparte reached Paris  
 ast eleven at night on the  
 ember, no notice whatever  
 n of his arrival either in  
*teur* or in any of the minor  
 f the 19th. His arrival  
 a secret till the following  
 en discharges of artillery  
 d it to the people. On  
 Bonaparte received his  
 nd council of state, who  
 to present their congratu-  
 pon his *bappy return*; for  
 he character they give to  
 t and discomfiture. The  
 then notices the late con-  
 against the government,  
 omends for its security

and permanence, that they should  
 bind themselves by oath immedi-  
 ately to the infant king of Rome,  
 as heir apparent of the empire.—  
 Bonaparte, in his answer, dwells  
 upon the uncertainty of his own  
 life, thus supporting the recom-  
 mendation in favour of the king  
 of Rome: he talks obscurely of a  
 timid and cowardly soldiery ruin-  
 ing the independence of states, and  
 a pusillanimous magistracy de-  
 stroying the empire of the laws;  
 and boasts of what he has done for  
 the regeneration of France. Of  
 his northern expedition he says,

"The war which I maintain  
 against Russia is a war of policy;  
 I have waged it without animosity;  
 I could have wished to spare her  
 the misfortunes which she has  
 caused herself. I might have  
 armed the greater part of her popu-  
 lation against her, by proclaiming  
 liberty to her slaves; a great  
 number of villages demanding this  
 of me. But when I saw the bar-  
 barism of that numerous portion  
 of the Russian people, I refused to  
 accede to a measure which would  
 have devoted many families to  
 death, and the most horrible pu-  
 nishments. My army has sus-  
 tained losses; but they arose from  
 the premature severity of the sea-  
 son."

## DISPATCHES FROM LORD CATHCART.

*Foreign-office, Feb. 27.*

*St. Petersburg, Jan. 8.*

My lord,—I have the pleasure  
 to acquaint your lordship, that  
 count Heller arrived here last  
 night from his uncle count Witt-  
 genstein, with accounts of the sur-  
 render of the Prussian corps  
 which served in Courland under  
 general York. And this officer  
 states, that the French marshal  
 Mac-



Macdonald has written to count Wittgenstein, to treat for capitulation, apparently not aware how completely he was surrounded. Count Wittgenstein had sent prince Repnin to settle this business. Accounts were received last Monday of the capitulation of the garrison of Memel; and I saw in the hands of field marshal count Soltykoff the copy of the capitulation. The Prussian commandant was a major, and the garrison consisted of two Prussian battalions, but there was no return of their strength, or of the ordnance and stores in the place.—Your lordship will observe, that Gumbinnen and Insterburg are occupied, and that detachments are sent to Allanberg, Kreutzberg, and Braunsberg between Dantzic and Königsberg, so that I have no doubt but that the latter place is occupied by the Russian troops.

## CATECHART.

*St. Petersburg, Jan. 16.*

My lord,—In a former dispatch I had the honour to inclose a journal of reports, received at head-quarters, to the 30th ult. with the addition of the important news of the capitulation of Memel, and convention of the Prussian part of the corps under marshal Macdonald. The particulars of this transaction have not been published; but nothing can exceed the joy manifested by the Prussians on finding themselves at liberty to embrace the Russians, and to renew their former habits as companions in arms: of this there is the most certain evidence. The terms granted to the Prussians are extremely liberal. A detached corps under general Musseubach was included, in the event that orders could reach him: these orders were in time, and, with the addition of the corps in question,

the Prussian troops included in the convention, it is stated to amount to 15,000 men. Macdonald, however, availed himself successfully of stratagem, and, treating for conference, had progress in removing the remainder of his force in the direction of the Prussian frontier. He was closely pursued during the night from the 1st to the 2d inst. and lost 600 prisoners. Reports being received of a large corps in force at Wehlau, it became necessary to direct the attention of the principal part of the Prussian army to an attack upon that post. The occupation of Königsberg by the Russian army is detailed in the short bulletins, which have been published, and which I have the honour herewith to inclose. The imperial majesty has been occupied in forming a new distribution of the army, which is divided into several corps, which are advancing in different columns. I learn with satisfaction, though not officially, that a very considerable corps is intended to be sent to baron Winzingerode, that he has been promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general. The emperor moved in the night of the 7th of January from Wilna, the division which comprehended the guards, and the head-quarters of the whole army were at Merseburg on the 10th of January; it was then they would continue there for a day or two.—The Austrians under prince Schwartzemberg had moved from Bielestock, and were near Warsaw, but not in force to attack. It is probable that they would combat with the superiority that might be opposed to them. Zambrow was said to be fortified and garrisoned, but I do not conceive that any considerable force upon the Vistula could be adequate to the defence of the têtes-du-pont and fortresses on

pecially where active operations can take place upon both sides. The emperor remained 16 days at Wilna, where his majesty issued many regulations and decrees for the restoration in various provinces have suffered, and for prevention of disease from the infection of the rivers, and from the number of bodies and quantity of carcasses above ground. In the neighbourhood of Wilna 16,000 are piled up in heaps, for the purpose of being consumed by the want of sufficient wood can be seen; but numbers still are collected in the roads and the mortality in the city at Wilna continues to be great.—The emperor himself recently visited all the hos-

doned their artillery before their arrival at that place. The attack upon Marienwerder seems to have been nearly a surprise; and Beaulharnois is said narrowly to have escaped being made prisoner. There is no report of the surrender of Pillau.—On the 13th of Jan. the emperor crossed the Niemen near Moretz, amid the acclamations of his brave troops, and has continued to march, with a division of his army, in a western direction through Berjuki, Krasnople, and Subalki, to Likue, whence the last dispatches are dated. Generals Milaradovitch and Docteroff, with the troops which crossed the frontier at Grodno, move in a line parallel to that of the emperor, on his left, and general Sachen's column is still further to the left. There are also intermediate corps to keep up the communication between each of these columns.—The Austrians remained on the Bug, probably with a view to create a diversion in favour of the army retiring upon Dantzic, as long as their own line of retreat may remain open.—Graudentz has a Prussian garrison.—The Russians have uniformly been received by the inhabitants of the Prussian dominions as friends and deliverers, of which there is ample testimony in all private letters from the army, as well as in public reports.—The retreat of the French through Prussia has, like that from Moscow, been marked by the abandonment of magazines, tumbrils, and other stores.—Berthier, Victor, Macdonald, Daru, and Beaulharnois, are named among the generals who are gone to Dantzic. The precise force in that place does not appear to be clearly ascertained; but cannot easily be estimated at more than half the number of an adequate

*St. Petersburg, Jan. 29.*  
 I have the honour to forward you the journal of the movements of the several corps of his majesty's army from the 20th of January. You will observe, that by the advance of the corps on the right the enemy has been driven from the Vistula; the Russian army being in possession of Elblagen, Marienwerder, and Marienberg. The corps from Danzig and Marienberg, being driven from the Nogat, attempted to stand at the tête-du-pont at Danzig, but were soon compelled to abandon it, and retired, leaving Danzig, and the ramparts upon Stargardt, still pursued by the Russians. It appears that the troops stationed in Dantzic, having been ordered to the Pregel, to support marshal Macdonald's retreat, that they made no retreat at Elbing, having aban-

quate garrison. The intercepted courier from Bonaparte to Berthier is said to have carried orders to complete the provisions of Dantzic for a long siege. The service upon the Vistula appears to have been very ably performed; and I have inclosed a copy of the thanks that have been given to general count Platoff, and the officers and troops under his command, in general orders. The intense cold has continued, and the marches of all the columns have been long and severe. I have, &c.

## CATHCART.

Field marshal prince Kutusoff Smolensko has laid before his majesty the continuation of the operations at war, from the 4th to the 10th Jan. (N. S.)

"The 4th Jan. count Wittgenstein reports under date 31st Dec. that in the direction which he had taken towards Prussia, to act against the corps of marshal Macdonald, he had overcome all the difficulties in his way on the country roads, and came up with the enemy at Tilsit. He immediately surrounded Macdonald's troops of the van with his cavalry, and separated him from the Prussian troops under the command of general d'York, by the detachment of major-gen. Deibitsch, whom he instructed to enter into a negotiation with that general.—On the 30th Dec. lieutenant-gen. d'York signed an agreement to remain neutral with the troops under his command, consisting of 30 battalions of infantry and 6 squadrons of cavalry, with 30 pieces of artillery. By this means Macdonald has not more than about 5000 men of all descriptions with him, and 20 pieces of artillery.—Adjutant-general Wasseltchekow reports, on the 31st Dec. that the Austrian troops con-

tinue their retreat, having divided themselves into three columns, directed their march towards Gumbinnen, saw, and that he is at Memel with his detachment.—Count Platoff continues his march to Insterburg, with the Don Cossaks.

Jan. 5. General count Wittgenstein reports under date Jan. 4. when the Prussian troops, men strong, with 60 pieces of artillery, were obliged to conclude the agreement of becoming neutral, Macdonald, finding himself separated from the Prussian troops, terminated on making a separate treaty with the remainder of his army. The cavalry pursued him vigorously, and on the first day took several officers and about 800 men of the lower ranks prisoner. Count Wittgenstein having in the mean while obtained intelligence that the enemy's troops which had been in Dantzic were marching towards Taplaken and Wehlau, proceeded with intent to strengthen Macdonald, or to cover his retreat, he turned his corps against them, and met lieutenant-gen. count Stenheil was on Jan. 4. already in Taplaken and Wehlau. He likewise sent a strong party of cavalry into the low country behind Königsberg, and towards Elbing, for the purpose of depriving the enemy of all means of obtaining provisions, as according to the counts received, there is a great want in corn of different kinds. Admiral Tschitschagow states on Jan. 3d his headmost detachment under count Platoff entered Insterburg; lieutenant-gen. Tietz's van-guard entered Gumbinnen; and major-gen. count Wasseltchekow marched into Memel. The lieutenant-gen. informs that lieutenant-gen. count Oruk was, on the entrance into the village of Gumbinnen, received by the inhabitants.

assembled joy and trans-  
 ey all unanimously ex-  
 "May the emperor Alex-  
 the protector of the inno-  
 cing nation!" and went to  
 procure provisions and  
 our troops.

Adj.-gen. Wasseltchekow  
 under date Jan. 2, that  
 to certain intelligence  
 from the inhabitants, the  
 French army has passed  
 Osterburg on its retreat:  
 not at that time left of  
 French guards more than

General count Wittgen-  
 ts, under date Jan. 7, in  
 a of his former statement  
 the taking of the city  
 berg, that the enemy  
 n out of that city by the  
 nents of Cossacks, under  
 and of col. Riedeger.—

observed the enemy's  
 s from the commence-  
 e evening, and, notwith-  
 he darkness of the night,  
 ntage of every step he  
 his retreat. On the 4th  
 o o'clock after midnight,  
 eger, with the Cossacks  
 entioned, pushed vigo-  
 ward, and, after an obsti-  
 of musketry, entered on  
 s shoulders into the city,  
 out 1300 men were made

The celerity with which  
 s forced their way into  
 bliged the enemy, besides  
 ve about 8000 of his ex-  
 troops behind him, and to  
 thirty pieces of artillery,  
 artridge boxes, which be-  
 the besieging train that  
 ourland, and which the  
 s are now employed in  
 t. After taking posses-  
 city, col. Riedeger again  
 th the aforesaid cavalry,

without making the least delay, in  
 pursuit of the enemy. In the course  
 of our pursuit of the enemy from  
 Tilsit to Königsberg, and after  
 taking possession of the city, he  
 has lost fifty-one pieces of cannon  
 in the whole. Adj.-gen. Wassel-  
 tchekow states, under date Jan. 5,  
 that the Austrian troops, after  
 strengthening their advanced posts,  
 had drawn themselves towards  
 Warsaw.—The report of the mili-  
 tary operations, from the 30th Dec.  
 to Jan. 4, transmitted by the prince  
 Smolensko, contains, amidst some  
 unimportant matter, the following  
 passages:

Our troops entered Memel on  
 the 27th Dec. We there found  
 200 sick, and about 100 of our pri-  
 soners. We seized on three armed  
 sloops of the French flotilla, and in  
 the harbour we likewise took six  
 sloops belonging to the Prussian  
 flotilla, with 30 guns; 31 vessels  
 belonging to different nations; and  
 a considerable quantity of colonial  
 produce, imported by the French.  
 In the town were found five pieces  
 of cannon, &c. The magazines con-  
 tain large quantities of all kinds of  
 corn and of brandy. The head-  
 quarters of his imperial majesty,  
 and of the marshal, continue to be  
 for some time past at Wilna. Thus  
 there no longer remains an enemy  
 in the whole extent of the frontiers  
 of Russia, and all the former Polish  
 provinces, at this present time un-  
 der subjection to the Russian scep-  
 tre, are evacuated by the foreign  
 troops. The anointed of the Lord  
 has without doubt said by inspira-  
 tion, "I will not lay down my  
 arms until I have driven from the  
 Russian soil the enemy who has  
 dared to transgress its limits."—  
 This prophecy is fulfilled: the only  
 traces of the enemy which are yet  
 perceptible, are his bones spread



over the fields from Moscow to the frontiers.

*Wilna, Jan. 11.*

The emperor Alexander departed from this place on the 7th inst.: the preceding day he issued a proclamation to his troops.

The commander-in-chief of the armies, marshal prince Kutusoff Smolensko, has reported as follows to his imperial majesty, from his head-quarters, Orany, 28th Dec. (9th Jan.)

"Konigsberg, the ancient capital of Prussia, is subject to your imperial majesty. This vast city was captured on the 25th Dec. (6th Jan.) by count Wittgenstein's advanced guard, under the orders of major-gen. Schepiliff. Marshal Macdonald occupied the town with a corps d'armée, composed of the old French guards, and some troops who had escaped the general destruction of the enemy's grand army.—The wreck of his particular corps, constituting part of this total, was reduced to 2500 men: after the Prussians separated from them, there remained to him in all but about 7000 men. At the approach of the advanced guard, which briskly pursued, the enemy, without halting, passed by Konigsberg, and abandoned it to major-gen. Schepiliff, who entered it without meeting any resistance. This astonishing facility in giving up the possession of this city, is a consequence of the victories with which the arms of your imperial majesty have been crowned during the last two months. Macdonald's corps is pursued by Wittgenstein's and Tschischagoff's army, by diagonal routes."

### MARCH.

The Gazette of Feb. 27 contains a notification from the commissary

in chief's office, dated Feb. 6, any officer of commissariat, shall have lost a limb, or an or totally lost the use of a shall be entitled to a pension, mencing from the time when was wounded, and depending its amount on the rank he according to the scale annexed pension to be held with any pay and allowance. The wages for which pensions are granted must have been received since commencement of hostilities 1793: the pension will be proportioned to the rank he held at time of being wounded, and be paid from Dec. 25, 1800. Commissary-general at the head of a department, 350*l.*; ditto, not at the head of a department, 300*l.*; deputy commissary-general at head of a department, 300*l.*; not at the head of a department, 200*l.*; assistant commissary-general, 100*l.*; deputy assistant commissary-general, 70*l.*; commissary-clerk, 40*l.*; commissary-general of accounts, 360*l.*; deputy commissary-general of ditto, 240*l.*; assistant commissary-general of ditto, 100*l.*; deputy assistant commissary-general of ditto, 70*l.*; commissariat clerk, 40*l.*

### IRELAND.

2. The important trial before the hon. F. Cavendish and the Atlas and Globe insurance companies terminated in the common pleas, Dublin. It was action to recover the sum of 16,000*l.* from the defendants, who insured the plaintiff's house and library at Clontarf to that amount, both of which were nearly destroyed by fire in July last. The defendants contended that the fire was not accidental: and the court found a verdict in their favour.

PORT OF KING'S BENCH.  
*King v. Henry White jun.*  
 a libel on the duke of  
 Cumberland.

his was an information filed  
 by his majesty's attorney-  
 for a gross and scandalous  
 published on the 30th August  
 27th September last, in a  
 paper called The Independent  
 reflecting on the character  
 duke of Cumberland.

principal libel was a letter  
 duke of ———, with this  
 "*Qui caput, ille habet*," and  
 Philo-Junius.

William Garrow, as counsel  
 prosecution, stated the lead-  
 ings of the prosecution.  
 Scarlett, for the defendant,  
 long and able defence.

Ellenborough summed up  
 jury, and said it would be  
 to determine whether they  
 doubts that the libels  
 to accuse the duke of Cum-  
 of having had a guilty  
 in the death of Sellis.  
 dship thought it was im-  
 for any one to peruse the  
 without having the firm con-  
 on his mind that they had  
 written for the distinct and  
 local purpose of maintaining  
 lis did not die by his own  
 and that the duke of Cum-  
 had been concerned in  
 dishing such death. The

questions," for instance,  
 not directly and unequiv-  
 alude to the alleged fact that  
 he had some criminal con-  
 with the death of Sellis?—  
 ore he was "off," the writer  
 would put a few questions

What! was it to be en-  
 that this journalist should  
 is tribunal, and that he  
 summon whom he pleased  
 his spurious jurisdiction,

while the laws of the land were in  
 full operation? Was such a spu-  
 rious jurisdiction to impute crimes,  
 and then to be suffered to put a  
 string of questions to the accused?  
 He knew it was much the habit of  
 the journals of these times to erect  
 themselves into tribunals, and to  
 call on every man to whom they  
 chose to impute a crime, to obey  
 their tyrannic despotism, and to  
 answer the charges preferred  
 against them. He would declare,  
 that sooner than submit to be cate-  
 chized in this way, he would rather  
 live under the arbitrary rule of the  
 tyrant of France; for he should  
 deem that preferable to living un-  
 der the arbitrary despotism of those  
 journalists. It was his duty to  
 pronounce a character upon the  
 libels, and he did so by pronouncing  
 those now before them to be most  
 atrocious and notorious libels.

The jury almost immediately  
 returned a verdict of Guilty. He  
 was sentenced to be imprisoned fif-  
 teen months, and pay a fine of 200*l*.

7. At the last quarter sessions  
 for Derby, Abraham Hodgkinson,  
 found guilty of forestalling at Ash-  
 bourne, by buying ten pecks of  
 potatoes before they came to the  
 market, at ten-pence per peck, and  
 selling them in the market for  
 thirteen-pence per peck, was sen-  
 tenced to suffer one month's im-  
 prisonment.

8. The lord chancellor has final-  
 ly decided in the cause Wilkinson  
*v.* Adams and others, trustees,  
 against the appellant. By this de-  
 cision nearly a million sterling in  
 estates is confirmed to three illegiti-  
 mate children of the late Mr. Wil-  
 kinson, iron-master, in exclusion of  
 his nephew, who had been brought  
 up as his heir, resided with him,  
 and managed his business upwards  
 of thirty years, without any salary.

(C 3) —Mr.

—Mr. W. became acquainted with the mother of the children in one of his visits to London, where she acted as a servant, and after he had attained his 70th year. This decision settles the question, which has lately been contested, that illegitimate children can succeed to estates by will.

15. Intelligence by the Gottenburgh mails states, that the grand Russian army marching against Warsaw is 60,000 strong. The emperor Alexander had arrived at Pultusk. The Austrian auxiliary corps had retired. Dantzic is not so completely invested, but that at some points the garrison can freely make excursions to the distance of three German miles. The garrison is numerous, and in no want of provisions or ammunition. The French head quarters at Posen are now occupied by the Saxons, under general Regnier, amounting in the whole to 36 or 40,000 men. The Berlin Gazette contains a proclamation of count Lauriston, general in chief of the corps of observation of the Elbe, to the soldiers of that army, calling upon them, as the first reserve of the great French army, to preserve their discipline, and declaring that "military commissions will be immediately established in each department, who will execute prompt justice on all agitators: and if any of the communes shall suffer themselves to be led astray by their perfidious insinuations, they will be laid under execution, and hostages will be required of them." Another proclamation also appears from the king of Saxony to the inhabitants of Warsaw.

21. This morning, about twenty minutes past six, the inhabitants of Exmouth were alarmed by the shock of an earthquake, which

lasted for two or three seconds. The houses were shaken, the people hurried from their beds, and the utmost alarm prevailed for some time throughout the town. The shock was felt in like manner at Sidmouth, Budleigh, Salter's Starcross, and for many miles along the coast; but we have not heard of any ill consequences from it.

27. The monument erected by the corporation of London to the memory of Mr. Pitt was opened to public view. It is placed on the south side of Guildhall, exactly facing that of his father the late earl of Chatham. Mr. Campbell accompanied by lord G. L. Gordon attended the corporation committee, and, after viewing it, expressed his satisfaction with the design and execution of it.

The massy substance on which the figures in this composition are placed, is intended to represent the island of Great Britain and the surrounding waves. On an elevated point in the centre of the island Mr. Pitt appears in his robes, as Chancellor of the exchequer, in the attitude of a public orator. Behind him, on an intermediate ground, two statues characterize his abilities; while, with them, is embodied the national energy, which is embodied and riding on a symbol of the ocean. In the lower centre, they assume to describe allusively the effects of his administration. Apollo stands on his right, impersonating Eloquence and Learning. Mercury is introduced on his left, as the representative of Commerce and the power of Policy. To describe the unprecedented splendour of success which crowned the British navy, Mr. Pitt was minister, the lower part of the monument is occupied by a statue of Britannia seated in triumph.



antly on a sea-horse; in  
land is the usual emblem of  
power; and her right grasps  
er-bolt, which she is pre-  
hurl at the enemies of her

Canning, is clear and nervous; and  
avoids, more perhaps than could  
have been expected from the right  
hon. author, any very pointed  
allusions to those matters of policy  
on which such contrariety of opi-  
nion is still held.

scription, written by Mr.

#### WILLIAM PITT,

Son of WILLIAM PITT Earl of Chatham,  
Inheriting the genius and formed by the precepts of his Father,  
Devoted himself from his early years to the service of the State,  
The chief conduct of the Administration, after the close of a disastrous war,  
He repaired the exhausted Revenues, he revived and invigorated  
the Commerce and Prosperity of the Country;  
He had re-established the Public Credit on deep and sure foundations;  
Then a new War was kindled in EUROPE, more formidable than any  
preceding War from the peculiar character of its dangers.  
To resist the arms of FRANCE, which were directed against the  
Independence of every Government and People,  
To animate other Nations by the example of GREAT BRITAIN,  
The contagion of opinions which tended to dissolve the frame of Civil Society,  
To array the loyal, the sober-minded and the good in defence of  
the venerable Constitution of the BRITISH MONARCHY,  
The duties which, at that awful crisis, devolved upon the British Minister,  
Which he discharged with transcendent zeal, intrepidity and perseverance:  
He upheld the National Honour abroad;  
He maintained at home the blessings of Order and of true Liberty:  
And, in the midst of difficulties and perils,  
United and consolidated the strength, power and resources of the Empire.

#### For these high purposes

He was gifted by DIVINE PROVIDENCE with endowments,  
Rare in their separate excellence; wonderful in their combination:  
Talent; imagination; memory; wit; force and acuteness of reasoning;  
Eloquence, copious and accurate, commanding and persuasive,  
And suited from its splendour to the dignity of his mind  
and to the authority of his station;  
A lofty spirit; a mild and ingenuous temper;  
Unshaken in friendship, towards enemies he was forbearing and forgiving.  
His industry was not relaxed by confidence in his great abilities.  
His confidence in others was not abated by the consciousness of his own superiority.  
His ambition was pure from all selfish motives:  
The love of power and the passion for fame were in him  
subordinate to views of public utility;  
Dispensing for near twenty years the favours of the Crown,  
He lived without ostentation and he died poor.

#### A GRATEFUL NATION

Decreed to him those funeral honours  
Which are reserved for eminent and extraordinary men.

#### THIS MONUMENT

Erected by the LORD MAYOR, ALDERMEN, and COMMON COUNCIL,  
To record the reverent and affectionate regret  
with which the CITY OF LONDON cherishes his memory;  
And to hold out to the imitation of Posterity  
Those principles of public and private virtue,  
Which ensure to Nations a solid greatness,  
And to individuals an imperishable name.



## SAINT PATRICK'S DAY.

21. The anniversary of the society of St. Patrick was held on the 17th inst. at the City of London tavern, by a company of nearly 400 persons. The toasts were suitable to the occasion. In proposing "the prince regent," lord Darnley, who, in the absence of the duke of Devonshire, filled the chair, cautioned the company from mixing any thing of a political nature with the conviviality of the evening. The health of the prince regent was then drunk with applause, but not without slight marks of disapprobation in different parts of the room. Among the subscriptions received, the list of which was read by the treasurer, was one of 50*l.* from her royal highness the princess of Wales. Loud and long cheering followed the mention of this subscription, and the chairman was called on repeatedly to give the health of the princess. The chairman said, this ebullition of feeling did honour to the Irish heart: and after the reading of the list, he proposed "the princess of Wales, the marchioness of Downshire, and the countess of London and Moira."—(*Cries of "No, no! The princess of Wales by herself!"*) There was but one man allowed to be despotic in this land of liberty—and that was a toast-master. If any other person, however, chose to give "the princess," he should not oppose it.

After some observations from gen. Matthew, the chairman proposed "the princess of Wales and other lady patronesses of the society," which was drunk with loud applause. A letter was read from lord Moira, excusing his absence; and on the chairman giving "sir John Doyle and the 87th regiment," sir John made a short and

manly speech, returning thanks for himself and his gallant brethren in arms.

LOSS OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP  
CAPTAIN.

*Plymouth, Mar*

We were most dreadfully alarmed this morning between one and two o'clock, by the fire-bells in Dock-yard, Dock-Town, Hospital, Victualling office, &c. the fire-bell of this town rung incessantly. After some space of time, it was found to be the *hulk* (74) *hulk*, with part of the stores of the *San Josef* (110) along side. By the activity of the different boat crews from each of the *San Josef* was soon cut off and floated out of reach of the *hulk*, which at three o'clock presented one blaze of fire. As we feared she might burn her way to the float in this state of things, other men of war lying near by it was judged necessary to remove from the gun-wharf somehow. Long medium twelve-pounders and carronades, in men of war launches, conducted by army men, which, with their utility, was soon accomplished. Ample ammunition, to enable us to sink her. She was soon completely surrounded, and, in the most heavy firing of howitzers and guns at her, betwixt land and water, she sunk, amidst a tremendous blaze of fire. Very happy to state that no lives were lost, and only one artillery-man was hurt. The Captain took the *San Josef* 110, with the late gallant commander, on the ground 14th February, 1797, under St. Vincent, and now was on her side her, as a British man of war to witness her ancient rival's flagration and destruction.

## AMERICA.

the proceedings of congress to the 10th ult. are lately received. The principal business relative to this country is a bill introduced on the recommendation of the committee on foreign relations, for the exclusion of foreign seamen from the vessels and merchant service of the United States, was read the first time, and passed in the affirmative by a majority of the representatives. As its provisions are expected to remove the principal remaining impediment to commerce with this country, it was strongly opposed by the war party in all its stages. The state of the votes on the question for its passage was 89 yeas, and 82 nays. The bill had been received from the President for vesting the power of reclamation in certain cases in the President.

A motion was under the consideration of the house for laying on a new tax in support of the navy. The senate of Pennsylvania rejected a bill sent up from the house by the representatives of that state for building a frigate and arming it for war. In consequence of the arrival of the British squadron in the Chesapeake, orders were issued on the 6th ult. by the Virginia government, for numerous detachments of the militia to repair to the coast to delay to Norfolk and Hampton. The squadron consisted of two seventy-fours, three frigates, a brig, and a sloop, and more frigates were reported to have joined. It was apprehended that a landing would be attempted in order to procure a supply of fresh water. The Constellation was in Hampton roads, when the squadron entered the Chesapeake, but escaped in the night and took shelter under the guns of two forts. It was reported that our tars had taken possession of St. John's Island, and were occupied

in fortifying it. On the 10th ult. Mr. Madison was formally declared president, and Mr. Gerry vice-president of the United States for four years ensuing the 4th inst. The result of the votes was—for Mr. Madison 123, and Mr. Clinton 89; for Mr. Gerry 131, and Mr. Ingersoll 86.

## CHILD DROWNED.

Thomas Aris, late keeper of the house of correction in Cold Bath Fields, was on Friday examined, together with Mary Evans, the reputed father and mother of a child lately found drowned in the New River, at Sadler's Wells. The mother offered to swear, that about three weeks ago Aris sent to her lodgings, in Gray's-Inn-lane, a strange woman for the child, who took him away: since which time she had not seen the child, till found drowned; and that the handkerchief found wrapped round the drowned body was that of Aris. Aris denied the charge, but admitted that he was the reputed father of the child; and that he had allowed the mother five shillings per week for his maintenance, the parish allowed two shillings per week in addition. Another examination was directed. The boy was about four years of age, and had a brick tied round his middle, but some think it was strangled before it was thrown into the river.

The woman was afterwards tried and acquitted. There was no evidence to criminate Aris.

## CAPTURE OF THE JAVA.

(American account.)

*New York, Feb. 19.*

The United States frigate Constitution, commodore Bainbridge, arrived at Boston on Monday, from a cruise, having performed the gallant action which is detailed in

in the subjoined account, for which we are indebted to an officer belonging to the Constitution, who passed through this city yesterday, for Washington, and obligingly furnished it to the Editor of the Mercantile Advertiser.

We rejoice, says the American editor, at every circumstance which adds new laurels to the naval glory of our country, and particularly so when they are gathered with so small a sacrifice of human life, 9 men only being killed and 25 wounded on our part. Amongst the former is lieutenant Aylwin. To the enemy, indeed, the carnage has been dreadful, in the loss of 60 killed and 101 (or as another account says, 170) wounded, besides the total destruction of the vessel. It is an additional evidence, that whenever an opportunity occurs in which an American vessel comes in contact with an equal force of the enemy, our gallant naval heroes will, at all times, "deserve well of their country."

On the 29th December, in lat. 13. 6. S. long. 38. W. about ten leagues from the coast of Brazil, the United States frigate Constitution fell in with and captured his Britannic majesty's frigate Java, of 49 guns, and manned with upwards of 400 men. The action continued one hour and fifty-five minutes; in which time the Java was made a complete wreck, having her bowsprit and every mast and spar shot out of her. The Constitution had 9 killed and 25 wounded. The Java had 60 killed and 101 wounded. Amongst the latter was her commander, captain Lambert, a very distinguished officer, mortally.—From a letter written by one of her officers, whilst on board the Constitution, it is evident that the wounded must have been considerably greater,

and many must have died of the wounds previous to removal. The letter states sixty killed and a hundred and seventy wounded.

The Java was rated at 38 guns but mounted 49. She was jettied out of dock, and fitted in the completest manner, to carry out lieutenant general Hislop governor of Bombay, and his staff; capt. Marsh, a commander in the British navy, and a number of naval officers going to join the British ships of war in the East Indies. Besides these, and having her own complement of officers and men complete, she had upwards of 100 supernumeraries of petty officers and seamen for the admiral's ship, and other vessels, on the East India station. She also had dispatched from the British government to St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope, and to every British establishment in the East Indies and China sea, and had copper on board for a gun-ship, and two sloops of war building at Bombay; and, it is presumed, many other valuable stores, all of which were blown up in her on the 31st of December, when she was set on fire.

The Constitution was considerably cut in her spars, rigging, and sails; but not so much injured by the action that she would have commenced another action immediately after the capture of the Java, which latter vessel was made a perfectly unmanageable wreck.

29. At the Lancaster assizes, an indictment was preferred by Mr. Kirkpatrick, inspector general of taxes in Liverpool, against Mr. Creevey, M. P. for causing to be published in the Liverpool Mercury, a copy of his speech in the house of commons on the subject of the grievances and distresses under which the town of Liverpool laboured on presenting a petition against

the East India company's  
ly. Among these griev-  
e reckoned the appointment  
Kirkpatrick (whom he  
ed "a common informer,"  
l been an attorney, and re-  
cient of Mr. Perceval, as  
r of taxes; as he received  
salary for screwing up the  
ents, to the great terror of  
n, and even of the profes-  
ax-gatherers, one of whom  
eyor) resigned in conse-  
his nerves not being strong  
to withstand the scene that  
d. The speech so published  
mitted to be correct, and  
to have been sent by Mr.  
, with a request that it  
e inserted as a correction of  
misrepresentations of his  
No attempt was made to  
malice. After Mr. Parke  
en heard for the prosecu-  
d Mr. Brougham for the  
nt, who, he said, had been  
y several members of par-  
to insist on his privilege;  
tice Le Blanc declared, he  
the words used were de-  
y; and on the authority  
case, 'The king v. Lord  
lon,' sent it to the jury, who  
d a verdict of Guilty.—  
rdict underwent every kind  
ion that the superior courts  
liament itself could give.  
ritish and Foreign History,

and greatly exceeded in quantity  
the other two. The lower colour-  
less stratum exhibited, when frozen,  
regular crystals, very distinct rect-  
angular prisms of equal planes, and  
some of them surmounted by  
quadrangular pyramids, but the  
greater part by dihedral summits.  
Hence it appears that the strongest  
spirit of wine consists of three  
volatile substances, which can be  
separated only by freezing; that  
the first gives it a peculiar flavour;  
the second, when mixed with water,  
resembles the best Highland whisky;  
and the third, or pure alcohol,  
smokes when opposed to the air, is  
pungent, but without flavour. Dr.  
Marcet has also frozen mercury,  
by evaporating ether instead of  
water under the receiver of an air  
pump. The ingenious Dr. Wol-  
laston read a paper to the royal  
society, in which he described a  
freezing instrument, which he called  
a chrysophorus: it consists of a  
tube with a bulb at each end, and  
bent, one of these bulbs having water,  
the other being a perfect vacuum:  
by plunging the empty ball into a  
mixture of salt and snow, the water  
in the other ball will be frozen in a  
few minutes, although at the di-  
stance of several inches, or even  
feet, from the cold mixture.

#### LOSS OF THE WHALE FISHING SHIP OSCAR.

*Aberdeen, April 3.*

On Thursday last, after a series  
of the mildest weather known for  
many years, we experienced one of  
the most sudden and violent storms  
for its short duration, which we re-  
member, almost without exception,  
since the memorable storm of Janu-  
ary 1800; and although not equal-  
ly fatal in its effects, attended with  
one of the most melancholy and  
distressing events that ever happen-  
ed

#### APRIL.

##### ARTIFICIAL COLD.

Mr. Hutton of Edinburgh has  
led in freezing spirit of wine;  
and it divide into three di-  
arts previous to congelation:  
per stratum was thin, and of  
yellowish green; the second  
thicker, and of a pale yellow  
; the third was colourless,



ed at this place, or that we have had the painful task of recording. In the morning, the wind, which had been westerly during the night, veered round to the south-east, with snow, blowing strong, but, shifting soon after to the north-east, became moderate. About eleven o'clock A. M. the Oscar, after dragging away her anchor, was seen to go a-shore in the Grey-Hope, near the Short Ness, and immediately after she lost her main-mast. A considerable number of people succeeded in getting across by the ferry, and hastened to the spot, in order to render such assistance as might be found in their power. The heart-rending scene which however now presented itself, made it too apparent that all human efforts for preservation of the unfortunate crew must be altogether unavailing. The vessel lay among large rocks, and, from the tremendous sea which broke over her, was already breaking up, and soon after separated, the foremast going by the board. At this awful crisis, two of her boats, nearly full of men, were observed pushing on from the wreck; but before they could get any distance, so as rightly to have the use of their oars, both were overwhelmed by a tremendous sea, when the whole disappeared in the merciless ocean!—the distance between the spectators on shore and the unfortunate seamen, being such as to admit a communication of sentiment even by the countenance. The fate of two or three others seemed no less hard; for, having nearly gained the shore, they were swept off by the surge, or borne down by the casks and other wrecks with which they were surrounded. The fore-castle of the Oscar still remaining above the water, five men were observed, and among them captain

Innes was distinctly seen, making signals for that assistance which could not possibly be afforded; and, after clinging long to knight-heads and bow-sprits, and struggling hard for life, they shared the fate of their unfortunate companions, the vessel being now a total wreck. About this time Mr. John Jamison, first-mate, and James Venes, a seaman belonging to Shields, were with difficulty saved, being the only survivors of this sad catastrophe, out of a crew of 43 persons. Thus perished the Oscar, which but a few hours before had sailed with the fairest prospect, and, being very complete in all her equipments, might have been valued at 10,000*l.*; and thus was lost one of the finest crews which could go to sea.

#### SPEECH OF BONAPARTE AT THE CLOSE OF THE SESSION.

Gentlemen, deputies, — The legislative body has given me during this short but important session, proofs of its fidelity and love. I am sensible of them.

The French have entirely justified the opinion which I have always entertained of them.

Called by providence, and by the will of the nation, to form this empire, my steps have been gradually uniform, analogous to the spirit of events, and to the interests of the people. In a few years this great work will be finished, and everything which exists completely consolidated.

All my designs, all my undertakings have but one object—the prosperity of the empire, which will for ever render independent the laws of England.

History, which judges of nations as it judges of men, will mark with what calmness, with what simplicity

y, and what promptitude, ssess have been repaired ; judge of what efforts the would be capable, if the was to defend their terri- the independence of my

enemies have offered the Denmark our departments lbe and the Weser, in com- n for Norway. In conse- of this project, they have plots in those countries: k rejected those insidious s, the intent of which was ive her of her provinces, w her, in exchange, into an war with us.

ll quickly place myself at d of my troops, and con- the fallacious promises of mies. In any negotiation, grity of the empire neither shall be called in question. mediate that the laws of ll leave us a moment's le- e will recall you to this ca- well as the great men of pire, to assist at the coro- of the empress, our well spouse, and of the heredi- nce, the king of Rome, our beloved son.

thought of this great ty, at once religious and po- touches my heart. I shall its epoch to satisfy the wish- ance.

#### OTS ON THE SUN'S DISK.

rofessor Stark, of Augs- has observed a very elliptic a dusky colour on the sun's e smaller axis of which is 50 s, and the larger one minute onds. Within this spot are hers, much blacker. The axis of that on the western 80 seconds, and the smaller The great axis of that on the

eastern side is 15 seconds, and the smaller 12. Between these two spots there is a luminous interval of 6 seconds. On the 2d of February there was seen under the western spot, a third black spot, of about 4 seconds in diameter, which had already disappeared on the 5th. On the 1st Feb. at one hour 50 minutes after noon (mean time) the centre of the large spot was only one minute 9 seconds distant from the north-east part of the sun's disk. On the 11th, at 2h. 40 min. it was 23 min. 20 sec. Above the larger spot, in the direction of the north-east limb of the sun, were seen eight small black spots which occupied a space of many mil- lions of miles.—The large spot is more than 29,437,500 square miles, consequently three times larger than this earth.

#### PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

As a petition for a reform in par- liament is now signing in this town, (Nottingham) the following remarks may be useful to show how times and circumstances, unnoticed by the ge- nerality of mankind, have changed and disproportioned our present representation in parliament.

	Electors	Members
London has	7,000 who send	4
Westminster,	10,000	2
Middlesex,	3,500	2
Surrey,	4,500	2
Southwark,	2,000	2
	<hr/> 27,000	<hr/> 12
Newton, Hants,	1	2
Old Sarum, Wilts,	1	2
Midhurst, Sussex,	1	2
Castle Rising, Norf.	2	2
Marlborough Wilts,	2	2
Downton, Wilts,	4	2
	<hr/> 11	<hr/> 12

## EXCISE LAWS.

9. A circumstance of a somewhat extraordinary nature occurred in this place (Nottingham,) on Monday the 5th.—A bookseller and stationer, of Sheffield, had employed Mr. Gaskill to sell for him seven hundred reams of post and pot-paper; also a considerable quantity of ledgers and day-books, together with several hundred volumes of printed books, &c. On Monday, while the goods were exhibited for inspection, and just before the sale commenced, the excise made a seizure of all the paper. The pretext set up was, the post paper (which had been cut up into quarto) had not the original wrappers bearing the stamp and signature of the excise upon it. The owner produced an invoice of the paper, showing it to have been bought at the regular price of a respectable house in London. This however availed nothing. The arm of power was inexorable; and the whole, amounting to several reams, was carried into durance vile. Thus, it appears, every stationer is liable to have his premises ransacked, and a seizure made: for there is not a bookseller but who keeps his letter paper in the same state, and sometimes the quantity is very considerable. Every stationer ought to take the hint, and, as much as he can, guard against such an intrusion. It is right to say, that a supervisor in this place has given it as his opinion, that it is an unwarrantable seizure. (*Nottingham Review.*)

## DISCOVERY OF THE BODY OF KING

## CHARLES THE FIRST.

The day before the interment of her royal highness the duchess of Brunswick in the new vault in St. George's chapel, Windsor, a discovery was made by the workmen

of two ancient coffins, one of lead the other of stone. His royal highness the prince regent being down at Windsor on Thursday evening, he was of course consulted about the mode of exploring the royal remains, which he directed to be immediately done in his presence. Sir Henry Halford attended his royal highness to the vault, when the leaden coffin being unsoldered, a body appeared covered over with a waxed cloth on carefully stripping the head and face, the countenance of the unfortunate martyr Charles the First immediately appeared, in features apparently perfect as when he lived. Sir Henry Halford now endeavoured to raise the body from the coffin in attempting which the head fell from it, and discovered the irregular fissure made by the axe, which appeared to have been united by a cement. What added considerably to the interest of this extraordinary spectacle was, that as the head separated from the neck, a fluid drop, of the appearance of blood, fell upon the hand of Sir Henry Halford; which he accounted for, by supposing it to have been the dissolution of some congealed blood, on its being exposed to the warmth of the air.

The body of the royal martyr was always known to have been interred at Windsor, but so privately, that the spot could never be ascertained till now. The stone coffin was next opened, which from its inscription was found to contain the remains of Henry the Eighth, which consisted of nothing more than the skull and principal limbs, bones, which appeared in a perfect state.

EXECUTION OF A BANKRUPT FOR  
DEFAUDING HIS CREDITORS.

12. On Saturday the 3d inst,  
Yor

was hanged John Senior, for  
 indulgent concealment of his  
 from his creditors.—Only  
 stance has occurred, we be-  
 within the memory of any  
 any bankrupt, before John  
 suffering capital punishment  
 concealment of his effects;  
 at individual was John Per-  
 laceman, on Ludgate-Hill,  
 , who suffered in the year  
 Perrot's case, it is said,  
 considerable sensation at  
 e, and the facts of it were  
 at singular. On his ex-  
 on before the commissioners,  
 ared that his deficiency  
 ed to 13,513*l.* which he at-  
 to account for in sixteen  
 articles; one of which was  
 es attending the connection  
 with the fair sex, 5,500*l.*" But  
 tement not being deemed  
 ory, he was put on his trial,  
 ed, and executed. Such  
 l examples, though of rare  
 nce, will, we hope, have their  
 influence, and serve to check  
 owing evil.

#### ADDRESS TO THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

the humble address of the lord  
 or, aldermen and livery of  
 city of London, in common  
 assembled.

it please your royal high-  
 -We, his majesty's loyal  
 , the lord mayor, alder-  
 and livery of the city of  
 n, in common hall assem-  
 bearing in mind those sen-  
 of profound veneration and  
 affection with which we  
 the arrival of your royal  
 s in this country, humbly  
 your royal highness to re-  
 our assurances, that in the  
 of the citizens of London  
 sentiments have never ex-

perienced diminution or change.—  
 Deeply interested in every event  
 connected with the stability of the  
 throne of this kingdom, under the  
 sway of the house of Brunswick;  
 tenderly alive to every circumstance  
 affecting the personal welfare of every  
 branch of that illustrious house, we  
 have felt indignation and abhorrence  
 inexpressible, upon the disclosure of  
 that foul and detestable conspiracy,  
 which by perjured and suborned  
 traducers has been carried on  
 against your royal highness's ho-  
 nour and life.—The veneration for  
 the laws; the moderation, the for-  
 bearance, the frankness, the magna-  
 nimity which your royal highness  
 has so eminently displayed under  
 circumstances so trying, and du-  
 ring a persecution of so long a du-  
 ration: these, while they demand  
 an expression of our unbounded  
 applause, cannot fail to excite in us  
 a confident hope, that, under the  
 sway of your illustrious and beloved  
 daughter, our children will enjoy  
 all the benefits of so bright an ex-  
 ample. And we humbly beg  
 permission most unfeignedly to  
 assure your royal highness, that, as  
 well for the sake of our country as  
 from a sense of justice and of duty,  
 we shall always feel, and be ready  
 to give proof of, the most anxious  
 solicitude for your royal highness's  
 health, prosperity, and happiness.

(Signed by order)

HENRY WOODTHORPE.

To which her royal highness  
 returned the following most gra-  
 cious answer:

I thank you for your loyal and  
 affectionate address.—It is to me  
 the greatest consolation to learn,  
 that during so many years of un-  
 merited persecution, notwithstand-  
 ing the active and persevering  
 dissemination of the most deliberate  
 calumnies against me, the kind  
 and



and favourable sentiments with which they did me the honour to approach me, on my arrival in this country, have undergone neither diminution nor change in the hearts of the citizens of London.—The sense of indignation and abhorrence you express against the foul and detestable conspiracy, which by perjured and suborned traducers has been carried on against my life and honour, is worthy of you, and most gratifying to me. It must be duly appreciated by every branch of that illustrious house with which I am so closely connected by blood and marriage, the personal welfare of every one of whom must have been affected by the success of such atrocious machinations. The consciousness of my innocence has supported me through my long, severe, and unmerited trials; your approbation of my conduct under them, is a reward for all my sufferings.—I shall not lose any opportunity I may be permitted to enjoy, of encouraging the talents and virtues of my dear daughter, the princess Charlotte; and I shall impress upon her mind my full sense of the obligation conferred upon me by the spontaneous act of your justice and generosity. She will therein clearly perceive this value of that free constitution, which, in the natural course of events, it will be her high destiny to preside over, and her sacred duty to maintain, which allows no one to sink under oppression; and she will ever be bound to the city of London, in ties proportioned to the strength of that filial attachment I have had the happiness uniformly to experience from her.—Be assured that the cordial and convincing proof you have thus given of your solicitude for my prosperity and happiness, will be cherished in grateful

remembrance by me, to the latest moment of my life; and the distinguished proceeding adopted by the first city in this great empire will be considered by posterity as a proud memorial of my vindicated honour.

## MAY.

## PARIS PAPERS.

5. Bonaparte has opened the campaign by crossing the Saale and establishing his head quarters at Naumberg. The great division of his forces under Macdonald, Bertrand, Marmont, Ney, and Ordénat, occupy the whole of the bank of the Saale. The passage of the Saale was twice attempted by the force under general Lauriston; but the bridges were destroyed, and he could do no more than take possession of the têtes des ponts evacuated by the retiring Russians and Prussians. On the 29th of April Macdonald attacked a Prussian detachment in Merseberg, consisting of 2000 men, belonging to the corps of d'York, and made 200 prisoners besides getting possession of the town and bridge. These occurrences were of a trifling character except that they gave the French the full possession and passage of the Saale. At Weissenfels on the 29th of April a more important action took place. Ney was marching on that town, which is a few miles westward of the Saale: his advanced guard, commanded by Souham, fell in with a Russian division of 6 or 7000 cavalry, infantry, and artillery. Souham had no cavalry, and his numbers were about equal to the Russians. After a sharp engagement the Russian retreated, and were followed by the French, who made themselves masters of the town.

# O C C U R R E N C E S. (49)

## NATIONAL DEBT.

account of the total amount  
capital of the funded debt of  
Britain and Ireland, on the  
January 1813:—

Britain	812,013,135	8	11½
- -	94,926,454	7	8½
<u>Total</u>	<u>£906,939,589</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>8½</u>
account of the total amount capital of the unfunded debt Britain and Ireland, up to January 1813:—			
Britain	54,055,632	17	11
- -	2,342,215	18	11
<u>Total</u>	<u>£56,397,848</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>10</u>

ount of the total amount  
raised in the year ended  
January 1813; specify-  
ums raised by taxes and

## RAISED BY TAXES.

the ex- on ac- every pub- ue or cept and st, &c. (debt)	63,570,217	6	1½
ac- lotte- - - an of re- raw- ounts, ma- &c. of ue ut of e, ap- na- cts	942,537	17	8
	7,031,848	10	9
	1,249,811	17	8½
<u>Total</u>	<u>£72,794,416</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9½</u>

## RAISED BY LOAN.

Brought up -	72,794,416	11	9½
By increase of national debt by loan - -	30,665,202	4	4
Retained by the bank for receiv- ing loans and lotteries - -	19,031	14	0
By exchequer bills funded	5,431,700	0	0
By increase of exchequer bills outstanding	4,393,179	9	8
<u>Grand Total</u>	<u>£113,303,529</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9½</u>

## DETECTION OF ANN MOORE.

5. The public are much indebted to the gentlemen who instituted, and have with so much vigilance and impartiality conducted, the watch of Ann Moore of Tutbury. They have detected an imposture, which has, with extraordinary art and success, been carried on for some years, and which during that period has obtained, in regard to the supposed validity of the woman's assertions upon the article of abstinence from food, the sanction of a large number of medical, philosophical, and other visitors of every description, from all parts of the kingdom. It is remarkable, that although many in various places had disbelieved the fact, yet that those who had had the closest and most minute opportunities of inquiry into the circumstantial evidence of the case, as it stood till now, thought themselves justified in their assent to its integrity. The cloak is now torn from the imposition, and the question connected with the truth or falsehood of this singular matter set at rest for ever.

The committee who have so laudably exerted themselves in the investigation of this extraordinary case

(D)

have



himself of the linen she was during the watch, and were evident marks of co-accusation; and from the machine, upon which she stood during the watch, it appeared that she had lost daily ten pounds in weight. Now remained to convince her of her imposition, but her confession of her guilt.—proof she voluntarily made before the magistrate, and which, with accompanying testimonials, were inserted above. After this she took milk, in the opinion of several of the gentlemen now seems fast recovery which is the result of her imposition by the artful management, and the curiosity and sensation it excited, she has, however, continued to hoard a quantity nearly sufficient to support her through the remaining wretched existence.

#### OF THE THUNDER STORM.

On Thursday night the 6th inst. a dreadful thunder storm, which blew down the steeple of Greenwich was blown down. The clock, with a large stone attached to it, perforated the earth at Greenwich. The awful tempest which was in London in a peculiar manner. At eleven o'clock the vivid lightning produced considerable alarm; and in various parts of the city a roar of thunder was heard, and the explosion of a mine. The events were followed by a deluge of rain, which in a short time filled the kitchens and cellars; and many streets in the city were impassable. When the rain had subsided. We have not heard of considerable damage having been experienced in various parts of the country.

Henry White, proprietor of The Independent Whig, a Sunday newspaper, was brought up for justice, a few days ago, in the court of king's bench. Mr. justice Grose, in delivering the sentence of the court, animadverted at considerable length on the atrocity of the libels which the defendant had published against the duke of Cumberland, which charged him with no less a crime than the foul murder of one of his own domestics. As this illustrious personage had never given him any cause of offence, this base and malignant attack must have proceeded from an inordinate thirst for lucre; and he had endeavoured to malign the character of the royal duke, that public curiosity being thereby drawn to his journal, he might put a few additional pounds in his pocket. The court therefore awarded that the defendant should pay a fine of 200*l.* to the king, and be imprisoned in the gaol of Newgate for 15 calendar months, and further till the above fine be paid.

#### AMERICAN CAPTURES.

A report, made in consequence of the approaching naval inquiry in the house of lords, states, that from the 1st of October 1812 to the 1st of May 1813, 382 ships have been captured by the Americans, of which 66 were retaken, and 20 restored.

#### PARIS PAPERS.

16. The following proclamation of Bonaparte to his army is a curious document, worth the perusal of our readers.

"Soldiers!—I am content with you, you have fulfilled my expectations, you have supplied every thing by your good will and your bravery. You have, on the celebrated day of the 2d of May, defeated and put to rout the Russian and Prussian army,

commanded by the emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia. You have added a new lustre to the glory of my eagles. You have shown every thing of which French blood is capable.

"The battle of Lutzen will be placed above the battles of Austerlitz, of Jena, of Friedland, and of Moskwa.

"In the past campaign the enemy found no refuge against our arms but in following the ferocious method of his barbarous ancestors; armies of Tartars burnt his fields, his towns, the holy Moscow itself. Now they arrive in our countries, preceded by all that Germany, France, and Italy have of bad subjects and deserters, to preach revolt, anarchy, civil war, and murder. They are, in fact, the apostles of all crimes. It is a moral fire which they would light up between the Vistula and the Rhine, in order, according to the custom of despotic governments, to place deserts between us and them. Fools! they know nothing of the attachment to their sovereigns, the wisdom, the spirit of order, and the good sense of the Germans; they know little of the power and the bravery of the French.

"In a single day you have deranged all these partical conspiracies. We will drive back these Tartars to their frightful climates, who deserve not to be free.

"Let them remain in their icy deserts, the residence of slavery, of barbarism, and corruption, where man is reduced to the level of the brute. You have deserved well of civilized Europe.

"Soldiers!—Italy, France, and Germany, render you thanks.

"From our imperial camp of Lutzen, May 3d 1813.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

## COURT OF COMMON PLEAS

*Wardell v. Black.*

20. This was an action brought by a gentleman residing at bridge, against the defendant veterinary surgeon, to recover guineas, the value of a blood horse killed by his unskilful treatment. In November last the horse was not well, having an inflammation on the kidneys. The defendant employed to bleed the horse could not at first get blood; with a view to accomplish his object, struck the bleeding instrument so violently, that he did the animal injury. The neck swelled, and the defendant attempted to pass a stick up the wound. For that purpose he put a birch twig up the vein, which would not do; he then tried a packing-needle, which failed, and resorted to another of birch stick. In the last application the stick broke in the wound. He then said he could not do what was necessary to be done with proper instruments, and he sent the horse home next day. The defendant came next day, but could do the horse no good. The animal died after the attempt to bleed, and four days after the neck was opened, and he died.

Mr. Sewell, a veterinary surgeon, stated that the defendant had not used proper instruments; but if he wanted of better he might be just in using those he did use. It was proved that the horse was diseased internally when he died.

There was no defence to the action, and the unskilfulness was evident, the jury gave a verdict for 63/.

## POPULATION OF FRANCE

26. The population of France was, in 1789, 26,000,000 individuals: some persons compute

00,000. The present population of the empire is 42,700,000, 28,700,000 are contained in the departments of Old France. The estimate is not founded on conjecture, but on accurate observation. It is an augmentation of 10, or more than one-tenth in 10 years.

A fearful catastrophe lately happened in the bay of Brackless, off Donegal. An unusual quantity of herrings (which for many years past had deserted the coast) had collected all the way along the southern coast to the north, and the night, when the boats were fully laden, a storm arose, which rendered them unmanageable, in which all was confusion, and which spread his terrors around. Sixty boats were wrecked; and of their crews, not a man remained! The morning presented a most dismal spectacle of dead corpses, torn nets, and wrecked boats. Forty-two industrious fishermen, who had left their families the preceding evening, were cheering prospect of retrieving their means of a comfortable subsistence, were brought to the point of despair.

## JUNE.

### PLYMOUTH.

At two o'clock in the morning (June 20) the inhabitants of the Dock were alarmed by a tremendous Hamoaze. The bells of the yard rang, to summon the artificers of the yard to duty, who promptly attended the call. A fire had broken out on board the Magdalen, a fine American ship, prize to the French, of 74 guns; and as a great number of prizes, as well as men of war, were at the time close to the dock, much apprehension

was entertained lest the conflagration might be communicated to them. It was at length deemed prudent to tow her to the western shore, and scuttle her; which the artificers of the dock effected with their usual alacrity. The Magdalen was a large three-masted vessel pierced for 20 guns, and was laden with brandy from Bordeaux.

### GERMANY.

Hamburgh has again fallen into the hands of the French. At the very moment when we were led to believe that they were under the protection of an irresistible Russian and Swedish force, their city was occupied, on the morning of the 30th ult. by 5000 Danes, who were followed in the evening of the same day by 1500 French. The city was taken possession of by the French general Bruyere, in the name of Bonaparte, as belonging to the French empire. General Tettenborn and his troops left it the day before; the Swedes had previously quitted it.

The French general, however, has not entered Hamburgh, as it was supposed he would, clothed in all the terrors of martial law, destroying the property of the inhabitants, and sacrificing their lives to his fury. It does not appear that he has even called upon them to deliver up their arms. Instead of giving up muskets and bayonets, bullets and gun-powder, Davoust has, *ex virtute officii*, issued a criminal information against all those who possess, either for their own private use, or for general dissemination, any libels, books, pamphlets, portraits, pictures, caricatures, poems, verses, &c. which have been published since the 24th of February, when the allies became possessed of the city.—He does not appear

to consider the place, as these papers describe it, "a well stored hive of war" filled with a citizen-soldiery, and having on its ramparts upwards of 200 pieces of cannon. No, with that hatred of the liberty of the press, which characterizes Napoleon, and which, of course, his satellites imitate, he contemplates Hamburg as an immense depôt of inflammatory and seditious publications: inflammatory, because they are calculated to excite a spirit of resistance throughout Germany; and seditious, because, having that effect, they tend to destroy the power of his master. He considers a 48-pounder as an engine less to be dreaded than one of those inflammatory folios; the whole burgher guard affects him less than half a dozen of duodecimos; and the desultory observations contained in various pamphlets "strike more terror to the soul of Richard" than the utmost exertions of a regiment of Cossacks; a pun is more an object of dread than a petard; and the point of an epigram more destructive than the spear of a Polish lancer. A proclamation of Davoust's imposes an extraordinary contribution of 48 millions of francs on the citizens of Hamburg, as a punishment for their conduct during the absence of the French from that city. The proclamation is dated the 7th inst. and the first instalment on the contribution was to be paid on the 12th. The whole is divided into six instalments, the last of which is to be paid on the 12th of July. The first three instalments were to be paid in money: but for the last three bills would be accepted, payable at Paris at three months date. The proclamation particularly directs the contribution to be levied on those persons who had

subscribed to the patriotic letter or otherwise distinguished themselves against the French since the 24th of February.

A recent defeat of the French at Halberstadt appears to have been one of the most brilliant enterprises of the campaign. General Canicheff, who directed this gallant and skilful operation, having crossed the Elbe on the 28th ult. received information of the passage of a large hostile convoy and of artillery through the Brunswick territory, as well as of the expected arrival of the whole on the following night at Halberstadt. He instantly formed the determination to surprise this convoy. He issued under his orders about 400 regular cavalry and a body of Cossacks, and in thirty hours, in pursuance of his design, executed a rapid march of fifteen German miles (upwards of 70 English). About four o'clock in the morning of the 30th he discovered the enemy encamped without the walls of the town, forming into a square, of which the centre constituted the centre. Notwithstanding the fatigue of his campaign from the extraordinary length of his march, he attacked the square which the enemy had strengthened with great art, and defended with 14 pieces of cannon. He began first with a vigorous resistance, but, having been apprised that another convoy, protected by 1000 men, was approaching, he ordered his men to make a general simultaneous charge, which happily succeeded, just as the vanguard of the second column had arrived. The result of this admirable attack was the capture of 1000 men, 1000 draft horses, and 14 cannon, the destruction of the enemy killed, besides the destruction of the large park of artillery. The general of divi-

colonel, and several horses among the prisoners. This enterprise reflects great credit on the Russian general. The papers of Baur and other papers to which we have alluded, bring accounts of the battle of Bautzen and Wurtzen, which are different from the statements given in the French papers.—According to the fair of the 19th, instead of a great loss admitted by Bonaparte, it appears that Lauriston's corps of 12,000 men was routed; that the divisions of Ney's corps were not engaged; and that the result was a complete victory on the part of the allies, who took 1500 prisoners of cannon, 1500 prisoners, two general officers, and completely dispersed a column of French. In the battle of the Battle of Bautzen, the French were in all their attempts to gain the position of the allies; the battle was renewed with great fury at four o'clock in the morning, the 21st. The French began by attacking the left of the allies; but this was a feint to cover their main attack against the centre and the right. In the centre he was with great slaughter, where he had a most formidable force, which did dreadful execution on the assailants. On the 22d it appears to have been successful. General Blücher commanded here, and was driven from the position. This was, in fact, the advantage obtained by the allies, and even this was counted by a forward movement of the allied left wing, which prevented the French from pressing further on the right. Night intervened to the conflict; and the result of the combined action on the right and centre of the allies was to make such a

change in their position as rendered it advisable for them to remove from the field of battle, yet they took up a new position at a short distance, in the greatest order, and ready for another contest.—That the French ultimately gained the victory in these battles, there is no doubt, because they remained in possession of the field of battle, from which the allies retreated; but it appears to have been in itself a barren triumph. Bonaparte acknowledges a loss of 11,000 or 12,000 men, killed and wounded, and has no trophies to boast of; he says, he could take no colours, because the allies always carry them off the field of battle! and he only took 19 cannon, because he wished to spare his cavalry. These reasons, so curious, and at the same time so unusual in a French account of a battle, evidently show that the victory in itself was of little value. It is remarkable also, that he does not estimate the loss of the allies, or state his having taken any prisoners, except wounded. The number of the wounded of the allied force is said in a vague manner to be about 18,000 men, of whom 10,000 were prisoners. The rest, he admits, had been carried off by the allied army in carriages. It is clear, therefore, that he was unable to pursue, and that the allies retreated at their leisure and in good order. On the 22d an affair took place at Reitzenbach, in which the allies were defeated.

There is a sort of theatrical display of Bonaparte's sensibility on the occasion of this tremendous waste of human blood, which is intended, we suppose, to divert the attention of the French public from his sanguinary ambition. Among those who were mortally wounded



wounded was Duroc, the son of a scrivener, and for many years a servile attendant on the tyrant, who in return had created him duke of Friuli. To this person, in his last moments, Bonaparte paid a consolatory visit; and the poor dying wretch is described as carrying his adulation and servility to the very borders of the grave; much like Pope's courtier, who expires uttering his customary compliment—"If where I'm going I can serve you, sir." The scene; however, is too much for the tender nerves of Bonaparte; and he, who could behold unmoved the wanton destruction of so many thousands of his fellow-creatures, for no other object but to gratify his lust of power, this emblem of ferocious and unrelenting cruelty, is overcome by his feelings, and retires to his tent to indulge the luxury of grief alone.

But our readers shall receive the narration in the language of the *Moniteur*: "As soon as the posts were placed, and the army had taken its bivouagues, the emperor went to see the duke of Friuli. He found him perfectly master of himself, and showing the greatest *sang froid*. The duke offered his hand to the emperor, who pressed it to his lips.—'My whole life,' said he to him, 'has been consecrated to your service; nor do I regret its loss, but for the use it still might have been of to you!'—'Duroc!' replied the emperor, 'there is a life to come: it is there you are going to wait for me, and where we shall one day meet again!'—'Yes, sire! but that will not be yet *these thirty years*, when you will have triumphed over your enemies, and realized all the hopes of our country.—I have lived an honest man—I have nothing to reproach my-

self with—I leave a daughter behind me—your majesty will fill the place of a father to her!'—The emperor grasping the right hand of the great marshal, remained for a quarter of an hour with his head reclining on his right hand in deep silence. The great marshal was the first who broke this silence. 'Ah! si' cried he, 'go away; this sight gives you pain!' The emperor, supporting himself on the duke of Dalmatia, and the grand master of the household, quitted the duke of Friuli, without being able to say any more than these words: 'Farewell, then, friend!' His majesty returned to his tent, nor would he receive another person the whole of that night."

#### ARMISTICE.

A suspension of arms was agreed to on the 1st inst. and finally, on the 4th, the armistice was signed, a cessation of hostilities having previously taken place. It is to last until the 20th of July; six days notice of the recommencement of hostilities is to be given; and the besieged fortresses are to receive provisions every five days. The terms are such as serve amply to show that Bonaparte, with all his boasting, late, has not been able to dictate conditions to the allies; who, on the contrary, have procured an advantageous line of demarcation for their armies, at which they will be able to receive all necessary reinforcements. As, however, the French reinforcements have the lesser chance to march, we should suppose the armistice necessarily most favorable to France, if we did not recollect a decree of the emperor of Russia, dated December 1806, commanding a levy of 300,000 men, who were to be drawn throughout the whole empire, one month from that date.

three months for the collection and training of this force, it would be ready to march about the middle of April; and it is, probably, necessary to allow more than two months for the average length of the march from the different parts of the empire. If this calculation be correct, it is plain that none of the troops could have been with the Russian army when the armistice was signed; and yet it is probable that all will have joined before the conclusion.

The headquarters of the allies were removed, immediately after the signature of the armistice, to Weydenbach, twelve miles beyond Glognitz. The commander-in-chief, Barclay de Tolly, was at Weydenbach; and generals Wittgenstein and Blucher, in front of Glognitz. Bonaparte arrived at Weyden on the morning of the 10th, and in the evening he received the Danish minister. He then, in the suburbs of that capital, remained there on the 13th. On the 10th, marshal Ney was at Glognitz; Mortier at Glogau; Vicsman Grossen; and Oudinot upon the frontiers of Saxony and Prussia on the Berlin side.

Commissioners on both sides were appointed to negotiate the terms of peace; the generals Schonbush and Kutusoff on the part of the Emperor of Russia and king of Prussia, and generals Dumoutier and Thibault on that of Bonaparte. They have met at Newmarkt. The Emperor of Austria set out on the 10th of June from Vienna for Bohemia, and was immediately followed by the minister for foreign affairs, Metternich; a circumstance of sufficient importance to show that negotiation is the result of his journey.

#### SWEDEN.

The treaty between our government and that of Sweden stipulates, that we shall assist the views of Sweden by a naval co-operation, if necessary, in obtaining possession of Norway; cedes to that power the island of Guadaloupe, and grants a subsidy of 1,000,000*l.* sterling. Sweden, in return, agrees to contribute 30,000 men to join the Prussian army, and grants a right of *entrepôt* for British goods and colonial produce, in British or Swedish vessels, to the ports of Gottenburgh, Carlsham, and Stralsund, on payment of a duty of one per cent. *ad valorem*; possession of Guadaloupe to be delivered to Sweden in the month of August in the present year, or three months after the landing of Swedish troops on the continent.

#### FRANCE.

4. A large wood in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux, called the *Four Squares*, was set on fire in April last. Notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the people of the commune, the flames destroyed houses, barns, cattle, growing crops, and timber, along a surface of 22 miles in extent, and 12 broad.

#### ITALY.

From Palermo it is stated that a cessation of hostilities had taken place between the Sicilian government and Murat king of Naples; in consequence of which, a friendly intercourse had taken place with the islands in the bays of Gaeta and Naples, which it was hoped would soon be extended to the continent. The conjecture is, that Murat, immediately on his return to Naples after the disastrous retreat from Russia, carried his disgust

gust of Bonaparte so far as to make propositions to lord William Bentinck, the result of which has been a material approximation towards an amicable understanding between the two governments.

#### SPAIN.

Dispatches from the marquis of Wellington exhibit an auspicious opening of the campaign in the peninsula. His force is divided into three parts, of which the centre, composed chiefly of light troops, is headed by lord Wellington himself. With these he has pushed on to Salamanca, and once more delivered that famous university from the modern Vandals. Villat had barely time to evacuate it, with the loss of 300 of his rear-guard, who were cut off by lord Wellington's entering the town at full gallop.—The right, commanded by sir Rowland Hill, includes only one division of British. It is moving up in a parallel direction with his lordship, on the left bank of the Douro. But the grand and judicious feature of the plan is, the throwing the main body of the army on the north of the Douro, at Braganza; from whence, under the command of sir Thomas Graham, it will proceed along the right bank of the river; thus superseding the necessity of forcing a passage across it, in the face of the enemy. The right bank of the Douro, through all this part of its course, is rugged and precipitous, and completely commands the southern side. Hence the French had confidently reckoned on an advantage, which the present plan has entirely defeated; and it is presumable, that no serious obstacle can be opposed to the junction of the allied army in or near Valla-

dolid, which was calculated to take place on the 8th instant.

Besides the capture of Salamanca, and the defeat of the enemy's rear-guard, Zamora has been possessed by our troops: and government is also in possession of accounts of lord Wellington having entered Toro on the 2d instant.

#### AMERICA.

Accounts from Halifax bring intelligence of the British town and port of Little York, the capital of Upper Canada, having been captured on the 26th of April by the American general Dearborn, with 5000 men, assisted by a naval force under Commodore Chauncey. 29 militia and Indians were made prisoners, and a quantity of stores were found in the place. The American brigadier-general Pike and 200 of his troops were killed by the explosion of a magazine in one of the batteries. Fifty of the British artillery-men are also said to have been killed by it.—General Sheaffe retired with his regular troops.

According to private accounts, general Dearborn and his army had since been compelled to evacuate Little York.

Halifax papers to the 12th ult. state, that general Proctor had defeated the Americans with the loss of 1000 killed and wounded.

A serpent, of a species supposed by Bryan Edwards, in his History of Barbadoes, to have been extinct for more than 100 years, was lately found on that island: it was 1 foot long, and 2 feet in girth; and had killed several head of cattle by enfolding its body round the throat, and suffocating them: it displayed extraordinary sagacity in eluding search, never choosing a hiding

ding-place which had not seven openings remote from each other, and from whence it usually issued. Its powers of mobility were incredible, distancing the fastest dogs, and clearing, at a bound, a space of 14 feet. Many of the negroes, from the sagacity, quickness, and courage displayed by the animal, considered it as haunted by an evil spirit, and began to regard it with veneration: it was killed in the act of bringing in its young, 8 miles from the place where it was first seen, and where it had suffocated a heifer.

The American papers depict in glowing colours the alarm that pervades almost every part of the country.—Havre de Grace, in Maryland, has been burnt by our squaws.—Elk town was expected to meet the same fate.—Charlestown is in great consternation. A fire had been effected near Baltimore, and admiral Warren is expected to have been on the 6th of that city, and preparing to board it.

#### IRELAND.

It appears from the subjoined article, that had the late catholic emancipation bill been approved and passed, it would have failed of conciliating Ireland, or being received as a boon by the catholics: At a general meeting of the catholic prelates of Ireland, on this day, May 27, 1813, the most reverend Richard O'Reilly, D. president,—Resolved unanimously, That having seriously considered the copy of the bill now progressing through parliament, reporting to provide for the repeal of the civil and military disabilities under which his majesty's Roman catholic subjects labour, we feel ourselves bound to

declare, that the ecclesiastical clauses or securities therein contained, are utterly incompatible with the discipline of the Roman catholic church, and with the free exercise of our religion.—Resolved unanimously, That without incurring the heavy guilt of schism, we cannot accede to such regulations; nor can we dissemble our dismay and consternation at the consequences which such regulations, if enforced, must necessarily produce. R. O'REILLY, Pres."

#### MURDER OF MR. AND MRS. THOMSON BONAR AT CHISELHURST.

7. This murder equals the most atrocious which have disgraced the country. On Sunday evening, May 30, Mr. Thomson Bonar went to bed at his usual hour: Mrs. Bonar did not follow him till two, when she ordered her female servant to call her at seven. The servant at the appointed time went into the bed-room, and found Mr. Bonar mangled and dead upon the floor, and her lady wounded, dying and insensible in her bed. The footman, Philip Nicholson, came express to town for surgical assistance, and to give information at Bow-street. He performed the journey in 40 minutes, though he stopped three times on the road to drink as many glasses of rum. Mr. Ashley Cooper arrived with all possible dispatch, but it was too late; Mrs. Bonar expired at one o'clock, having been during the whole of the previous time insensible. The linen and pillow of the bed in which Mrs. Bonar lay were covered with blood, as was also the bed of Mr. Bonar. They slept in small separate beds, but placed so close together that there was scarce room to pass between them. The interval of floor between the beds was almost

almost a stream of blood. About seven o'clock in the evening, Mr. Bonar jun. arrived from Feversham, where he was on duty as colonel of the Kent local militia. He rushed up stairs, exclaiming, "Let me see my father; indeed I must see him." It was impossible to detain him; he burst into the bed-chamber, and immediately locked the door after him. Apprehensions were entertained for his safety, and the door was broken open, when he was seen kneeling with clasped hands over the body of his father. His friends tore him away, tottering and fainting, into an adjoining chamber.—The unfortunate subjects of this narration had resided at Chiselhurst about eight or nine years; their mansion is called Camden-place, and is remarkable as being the spot from which the late lord Camden, who resided there, took his title. Mr. Bonar, we learn, was upwards of 70 years old. Perhaps scarce a man exists in whose praise a more generally favourable testimony could be borne. Both he and his lady have died regretted by all ranks in the vicinity of their residence.

During Monday, Nicholson did not make his appearance, and it was alleged that, before he had given information at Bow-street, he had gone to a man named Dale, and said to him 'The deed is done. You are suspected; but you are not in it.' Dale was taken up and examined, but clearly proved an *alibi*. From this and other collateral circumstances the lord mayor was induced to issue a warrant for the apprehension of Nicholson. When examined by sir C. Flower, he was in such a drunken state that no rational answer could be obtained from him.—The coroner's jury, after a most patient investi-

gation, returned a verdict of *Wilful murder* against Nicholson; but the evidence has become much less interesting since the subsequent ample confession of the murderer. While the coroner was reading over the depositions to the several witnesses for their assent and signature, Nicholson was permitted to go into a water-closet in the passage leading to the hall, attended by two of the officers, and the moment he was released, he cut his throat with a razor which he had previously concealed in his breeches. He bled so copiously, that it was supposed he could not live many minutes; but, fortunately, Messrs Roberts and Hott, surgeons, of Bromley, were in attendance, and the latter gentleman seized the arteries, and contrived with his mere grasp to stop the blood till the wound could be sewed up.

On the 7th, in consequence of the numerous visitors (among whom were lord Castlereagh, lord Camden, and lord Robert Seymour) who went to contemplate the supposed murderer, Nicholson showed repeated symptoms of annoyance and agitation. On the morning of the 8th, at half-past-six, Nicholson voluntarily requested Mr. Bramston, the priest, who had been with him a short time, to bring Mr. Bonar to him immediately; when Nicholson burst into tears, and, begging pardon of Mr. Bonar, expressed a wish to make a full confession. Mr. Wells the magistrate, who resides at Brickley-house, in the neighbourhood, was sent for; and in his presence Nicholson made, and afterwards signed, a deposition, acknowledging himself to be the murderer. The following particulars may be relied upon: "On Sunday night, after the groom left him, he fell asleep upon

on a form in the servants' hall, the room where he was accustomed to lie: he awoke at three o'clock dropping from the form: he jumped up, and was instantly seized with an idea, which he could not resist, that he would murder his master and mistress; he was at this time half-undressed: he threw off his waistcoat, and pulled a sheet from his bed, with which he wrapped himself up; he then snatched a poker from the grate of the servants' hall, and rushed up-stairs to his master's room: he made directly for his mistress's bed, and struck her two blows on the head; she neither spoke nor moved; he then went round to his master's bed, and struck him once across the face. Mr. Bonar was roused, and, from the confusion produced by the stunning violence of the blow, imagined that Mrs. Bonar was then coming to bed, and spoke to that effect: that when he immediately repeated the word, Mr. Bonar sprung out of bed, and grappled him for 15 minutes, and at one time was nearly getting the better of him; but being exhausted by loss of blood, he was at length overpowered. Nicholson then left him groaning on the floor. He went down stairs, stripped himself naked, and washed himself all over with a sponge, at the sink in the butler's pantry. He next went and opened the windows of the drawing-room, that it might be supposed some person had entered the house that way: he then took his shirt and stockings, which were covered with blood (the sheet he had left in his master's room), went out at the front door, and concealed his bloody linen in a bush, covering it with leaves: the bush was opposite the door, and at many yards from it: he then returned without shutting the outer

door, and went to the servants' hall; he opened his window shutters and went to bed (it was not yet four o'clock): he did not sleep, though he appeared to be asleep when King came for the purpose of waking him at half past six o'clock. He stated in the most solemn manner, that no person whatever was concerned with him in this horrid deed; and to a question that was put to him, whether he had any associate, he answered, How could he, when he never in his life, before the moment of his jumping up from the form, entertained the thought of murder? He can assign no motive for what he did; he had no enmity or ill-will of any kind against Mr. and Mrs. Bonar. This deposition was regularly given before the magistrate, and attested by Mr. A. Cooper, Mr. Herbert Jenner, the rev. Mr. Lockwood, Mr. Hott, and Mr. Bonar. Nicholson had been drinking a great quantity of the beer of the house during the Sunday; and though it is not stated that he was intoxicated, yet the quantity might have had some effect on his senses. Search was made for the linen, and it was found in a laurel bush close to the house, covered with leaves, except about two inches; the stockings were very bloody, and the shirt was also rent almost to rags about the neck and front. Nicholson, who before the confession looked gloomy and fierce and malicious, has, since that period, been perfectly calm, and has even an air of satisfaction in his countenance.

Nicholson states that his parents were Irish, his father a protestant, his mother a catholic; he was born and bred in Ireland, was discharged from the 12th light dragoons in January last on account of a broken wrist, and entered the service

service of the City remembrancer ; from whence, about three weeks before he committed the horrid deed, he entered the family of Mr. Bonar. He is a man about the middle height (five feet six inches), not bulky, but well set and muscular. His countenance bears in it a decided resolute character ; but its features are neither unfavourable nor unpleasing. His age is 29 years.

#### MURDER OF MRS. STEPHENS.

7. Mrs. Stephens, an elderly widow woman, who kept a chandler's shop within 200 yards of the Castle inn at Woodford, was found murdered this morning. The murder must have been committed late on Saturday night the 5th inst. Her skull was dreadfully fractured, and her throat cut ; her pockets emptied, a quantity of money taken from the till, and her watch missing. A man of the name of W. Cornwell, who had been employed as an ostler at Woodford, was taken into custody on the 16th, in consequence of his having given the watch to a publican as satisfaction for a debt. On being taken into custody, he acknowledged that it had been in his possession, that he found it on Sunday morning after the murder, at four o'clock, close to the pond near the Castle-inn, where he went to get water for his horses. He confessed that he had been at Mrs. Stephens's shop on Saturday, the evening of the murder, and had seen her in her shop about nine o'clock previously to her shutters being put up. Several other suspicious circumstances being brought to light before the magistrates, the prisoner was fully committed for trial.

8. An inquisition was held at Upton-upon-Severn, on the bodies

of Henry Weed, a corporal in the 2d foot, Joseph Taylor, George George, and William Heming, recruits in the same regiment, and Wm. Pumphrey junr. a waterman. It appeared that eight young men of whom the five already named formed a part, took a fisherman's boat for the purpose of going to Hanley quay and back by water. They were returning from this excursion, when Pumphrey rocked it, in order, as he observed, to frighten the recruits. In consequence of this folly, the boat filled with water and sunk. Two of the party swam to shore, procured another boat, and rowed with their hats in search of their companions who had been carried a considerable distance by the force of the current. Only one was preserved by this assistance. It appears to be clearly ascertained, that Pumphrey was alone to blame. He was a good swimmer, and would have saved himself, had not the corporal held him fast by the collar, in convulsions of death, and thereby prevented him from using the necessary exertion. The jury returned their verdict—Accidental death occasioned by Pumphrey rocking the boat.

9. In the evening the eastern part of the county of Glamorgan was visited by a storm of rain, hail, and thunder, more destructive in its effects than any within the collection. The torrents of rain washed down the banks in many places on the high roads ; hailstones measured three inches round. The rev. Dr. Lisle, of St. Fagan's, is a very considerable sufferer, five walls having been levelled with the ground, and upwards of 10,000 squares of glass broken in his extensive hot-house and graperies. A neighbour  
br

rose about six feet in a quar-  
an hour, and the water made  
ach through his house, al-  
h situated on an eminence.  
yn-house, the seat of the hon.  
Grey, was completely filled  
water, and two or three men  
nearly drowned in one of the  
s, the water having rushed in  
them with such rapidity, that  
were immediately up to their  
before they could reach the

At Court-ar-alla, the seat  
B. Rous, esq. every window  
broken; and at many other  
considerable injury was  
bridges and trees were wash-  
own, the garden crops in the  
ion of the storm are every  
nearly destroyed, and the  
ng corn much damaged.

#### QUEEN OF SICILY.

The following has been pub-  
as the copy of a letter writ-  
y the queen of Sicily to lord  
nck, in consequence of the  
e of the late attempt to reco-  
influence in the island, un-  
retence of re-establishing her  
nd on the throne:—

ord Bentinck,—Notwithstand-  
the present extraordinary and  
ular proceeding of your court  
ce me, the queen of the Two  
es, by birth archduchess of Au-  
to abandon, after an union of  
five years, the king my spouse,  
my family, and to retire into my  
country, under the specious  
false pretexts,—sometimes of  
retended correspondence with  
common enemy, (an enormous  
nny! of which I defy any one  
ing the slightest valid proof,)  
sometimes the violent propen-  
I betrayed, as it is said, to  
e obstacles to the projects of  
English government to change  
constitution under which Sicily

has existed so many ages; notwith-  
standing I am very far from ac-  
knowledging the authority of the  
British government, of which God  
has rendered me quite independent  
by birth, I do not feel less the ne-  
cessity of submitting to the order  
it prescribes; since this submission  
appears the only means of preserv-  
ing the interests of my family, to  
which having devoted myself du-  
ring the whole of my toilsome ca-  
reer, I do not hesitate to make this  
last sacrifice, though it may, per-  
haps, cost me my life. I declare  
then to you, my lord, and through  
you to your court, that to this con-  
sideration only, and not to any  
other, I yield, and I am ready to  
set out towards the end of this  
present month, to return to the do-  
minions of the emperor of Austria,  
my august kinsman and nephew.  
I must decline going to Sardinia,  
as I do not choose to be separated  
from every branch of my family,  
and as at my time of life the se-  
paration must be expected to be  
final: I wish likewise to avoid dy-  
ing in a foreign land.

“ I wish that, in making the ar-  
rangements for my return to my na-  
tive country, the voyage may be ren-  
dered as short and as little toilsome  
as possible: my age, and my health  
destroyed by twenty years of pains,  
of chagrins, and of persecutions of  
every kind, do not leave me even  
the hope of terminating this jour-  
ney. In submitting to this act of  
violence, as I cannot nor ought not  
to forget what is due to my birth  
and rank, I demand, I claim the  
previous execution of the following  
conditions; and I am persuaded,  
my lord, that you will both consent  
to and hasten the fulfilment of them.

“ 1. That an arrangement shall  
be made to secure to my creditors  
payment of their demands, not be-  
ing



ing willing to quit Sicily, and fail in so sacred a duty. I demand also that measures shall be taken for the restitution of my diamonds, which are deposited in the bank of Palermo.

" 2. There shall be delivered to me, as soon as possible, a sum equal to the expenses of a journey so long and so remote as I shall be compelled to undertake, with a retinue befitting the rank in which providence has placed me.

" 3. That there shall be secured to me a sum sufficient to sustain this rank in the country to which I shall retire, and that it shall be paid every six months in advance.

" 4. That permission to depart shall be granted to every person whom I may be willing to attach to my service, and to that of my son Leopold, who accompanies his unfortunate mother, and that those who receive pay from me, or pensions from the Sicilian government, shall receive an assurance that they shall be transmitted wherever I may reside.

" 5. Lastly, that there shall be placed at my disposal, a frigate belonging to the king, a corvette, and the necessary transports, on board which my retinue and my equipage may be embarked; and I request to have the appointment of the captain of the frigate, for my particular tranquillity, being in great dread of travelling by sea.—I have reason to believe, my lord, that you will find nothing but what is reasonable and convenient in my demands, the execution of which is indispensable to a journey as long as it is toilsome, and to which your government compels me. Your instructions, according to my information from England, are to make use of your influence over the Sicilian government, to dispose

it to make all necessary and convenient arrangements which may be required. If you have hitherto demonstrated extreme perseverance and firmness in obliging me to make a sacrifice of my existence, have reason to hope, my lord, that without you depart from the orbit of your court, you will maintain the same character in order to ensure the last days of a princess, a victim of all kind of misfortune, and to whom your government and the English nation itself, one day or other render the justice that she merits.—I transmit this letter by the hands of general Macfarlane, to whom I owe infinite gratitude and thanks for the delicate manner in which he has conducted himself towards me, and which makes me desirous of continuing to receive through him any further explanations of this painful affair. I beg you will offer my compliments to lady Bentinck, whose suffering heart, I am persuaded, participates and deplores my unmerited sufferings.

" April, 1813."

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

*Budd v. Foulks.*

June 12.—The attorney-general stated, that this action was brought by the plaintiff, as treasurer of a college of physicians, to recover a penalty of 500*l.* from the defendant for keeping more than one lunatic, she not having a license from the commissioners appointed by the 14th Geo. III. cap. 49. As the law now stood, with the exception of the great public charities, no house could be kept for the reception of lunatics, without the guards established by that act. They were under the superintendence of a college of physicians, liable to be visited by members of that body appointed

ed for that purpose, and no  
s could be received without  
tificate from a physician.  
ught the public much in-  
to the college, for having  
nced this action. It was  
ty to bring it; and he did  
abt but the jury would be  
n enforcing this salutary act  
verdict. This action was  
ught by a common informer,  
generally a depraved and idle  
merely brought an action for  
advantage; but it was  
by the learned body, for  
lic good, and the penalty  
o to the funds of that body,  
to any individual. It might  
that defendant had not the  
f paying so large a penalty:  
salutary a law ought not to  
a dead letter, and it was at  
iod most necessary to en-  
; for he was sorry to say,  
e keeping of unlicensed  
or the reception of lunatics  
ome quite a trade in the envi-  
he metropolis, and in them  
d that many persons were  
p who ought not. He had  
d that a person at the head  
public hospitals owned the  
recommended the patients,  
ived the profits. No per-  
d lawfully keep a house for  
ption of lunatics, without a

He would prove, by a  
who had been called in to  
e of a lady in an unsound  
at three unfortunate luna-  
e confined in defendant's  
And how were they treated?  
n the great public institu-  
ported by the hand of char-  
e, those unfortunate beings  
plied with every comfort  
le with their situation; but,  
be expected in a habita-  
re the only object was to  
much money by their re-

sidence as possible, these three un-  
fortunate ladies were fastened to a  
table with strait waistcoats upon  
them, unable to lift their hands to  
wipe their mouths, whenever the  
mistress was engaged in the busi-  
ness of her house, or whenever she  
might choose to go out to take the  
air. How many persons might be  
placed in the same dreadful situa-  
tion, it was impossible to say. Un-  
less the jury would do their duty,  
in vain had the legislature enacted  
the safeguard of visitors,—in vain  
might that court grant a writ of  
habeas corpus,—in vain was a cer-  
tificate required, if any troublesome  
relation might be dragged to an un-  
licensed house, which, from being  
unknown, could not be the object  
of any of those restraints.

A verdict was given for the  
plaintiff.

#### BOW-STREET.

June 15.—It having been ascer-  
tained that Mrs. Stephens, who had  
been murdered at Woodford, had  
been robbed of nearly a new silver  
watch, and that the maker was  
Thomas Ridley, of Woodford,  
No. 1544, and this description hav-  
ing been pretty generally adver-  
tised, it has been the cause of tracing  
it out, and of leading to the detec-  
tion of the murderer.

On Wednesday a man of the  
name of William Cornwell, who  
some time since worked as an ostler  
at the Red Lion inn-yard in Hol-  
born, but had left that neighbour-  
hood about two months since in  
consequence of being in debt, called  
in at the Sun public-house in Gate-  
street, Lincoln's-inn-fields. The  
landlady, Mrs. Davis, upbraided  
him for leaving the neighbourhood  
without paying his score he owed  
her. He replied, she need not be  
surprised if he paid her before he

(E) left

left the house; and in a short time after he proposed to Mr. Davis, the landlord, to give him his watch for a 1*l*. bank-note, and to clear off his score of fourteen shillings. Mr. Davis declined the proposition, saying, he had not got a one-pound note to spare. Cornwell afterwards proposed to give his watch, which is worth 5*l*. to take Mr. Davis's old metal watch, which proves only to be worth about twelve shillings, and clear his score, provided he would give him half a crown; which Mr. Davis agreed to, and they exchanged watches. Mr. Davis told a customer of the exchange he had made, and showed him the watch. The latter, on Monday morning early, having read the advertisement describing the watch Mrs. Stephens had been robbed of at the time of the murder, called again upon Mr. Davis, and found the watch exactly to answer the description. Mr. Davis, in consequence, gave information at the above office of the discovery. Inquiries were then made respecting Cornwell; and it was ascertained that on Wednesday morning, previous to his going to Mr. Davis's house, he had been at the Red Lion and Axe and Gate inn-yards, in Holborn, and had offered the watch for sale, or to exchange it, but could not succeed. Vickery was dispatched in a chaise to Woodford, attended by Westbrook, one of the patrol, it being understood that Cornwell was at work there. In the evening Vickery returned to town with Cornwell in his custody, when the business underwent an investigation of three hours, from eight o'clock till eleven. The officer learned that Cornwell was in the employ of Mr. Pattin-gale, the proprietor of the Woodford stage coaches, as an ostler, and had worked for him during the last

five or six weeks. Cornwell was then at work in a hay-field, about a mile and a half from Woodford. Vickery proceeded after him, and found him on a cart, loading hay. Vickery told him he had a warrant against him, and desired him to come down; which he very readily complied with. The patrol proceeded to hand him, and Vickery mentioned the watch. Cornwell acknowledged that it had been in his possession, but stated, that he found it on Sunday morning after the murder, at four o'clock, close to the post near the Castle inn, when he went to get water for his horses. He acknowledged, however, that he did not tell any body of his possession during the Sunday, nor on Monday, although he had then ascertained that it was Mrs. Stephens's watch. He confessed that he had been at Mrs. Stephens's shop on Saturday evening of the murder, and had seen her in her shop at nine o'clock, previous to her shutters being put up.—Vickery took him in the custody of the patrol, while he went and searched his rooms and stables. He lodged in a cottager's but a short distance from the house of Mrs. Stephens, where he found he slept with a man of the name of Winterlood. He ascertained the clothes and other things belonging to Cornwell, and seized them. Vickery then proceeded to the stables which Cornwell had the use of. On a corn-bin he found a pair of corded breeches which had evidently been stained with a considerable quantity of blood, particularly on one of the thighs, and had not been washed without soap, but being but partially cleansed. In another part of the stable he found a jacket, which had been washed in a similar way. He took all these things to Cornwell, at the C



who owned them all except  
 tucket, which he said was his  
 r's, but he occasionally wore  
 e stains on it were with some  
 e washed some horses' mouths

The blood on the breeches  
 occasioned by bleeding a horse.

w, hat and a new coarse blue  
 ere found in his lodgings ;  
 rmer he said he bought on the  
 y morning after the murder,  
 . Saville, a hatter in Wood-  
 and paid him with a 1*l*. Bank  
 ngland note; the new blue  
 e purchased for 1*l*. when he  
 London, on Wednesday, in  
 ighbourhood of Clare mar-  
 t could not point out where.  
 ote he paid for the hat with,  
 d he had had in his possession  
 ree months, and the note he  
 ased the coat with, he had  
 y him since last harvest.—As  
 ere leaving Woodford, they

d the chaise at the door of  
 aville, the hatter, who recol-  
 selling the hat to Cornwell  
 e Sunday morning after the  
 er, but had not got the 1*l*.  
 e received from him: he had  
 unately parted with it that  
 ut had no doubt he could get  
 in, and could identify it from  
 particular marks in red ink

Thomas Davis, the landlord  
 Sun public-house in Gate-  
 attended during the exami-  
 , and identified the person of  
 isoner, also the old metal  
 found on him by Vickery,  
 e been the same he exchanged  
 e watch belonging to the late  
 Stephens, which was proved  
 her property by Mr. Ridley,  
 tchmaker, of Woodford.

e prisoner behaved in a very  
 nt manner, appearing in a  
 ued laugh or grin during the  
 of the examination.

On Mr. Read asking him what  
 he had to say, he gave an ac-  
 count of himself up to nine o'clock  
 on the Saturday evening previous to  
 the murder, when he stopped short,  
 and said he would answer no more  
 questions.

Cornwell persisting in refusing  
 to answer any more questions, or  
 to give any further account of him-  
 self than up to nine o'clock of the  
 night of the murder of Mrs. Ste-  
 phens, Mr. Stafford read over to  
 him what he had taken down of  
 what he had said, and he corrected  
 some trifling errors. He was then  
 asked if he chose to sign the ac-  
 count of what had been taken  
 down in writing of what he had  
 said respecting his conduct, which  
 he did, and was committed to the  
 house of correction, for further  
 examination.

Cornwell is a native of Cam-  
 bridgeshire, and was born within  
 about six miles of the town of  
 Cambridge. He is about 24 years  
 of age. He was employed a few  
 years since by Mr. Moore, at the  
 Axe and Gate inn in Holborn,  
 and left there about two years since  
 with Mr. Moore. Some time after  
 that he returned to that neighbour-  
 hood, and was employed at the  
 Red Lion inn in Holborn, when  
 he contracted several debts, for one  
 of which he was summoned to the  
 court of request in Fulwood's rents,  
 Holborn, and not paying the in-  
 stalments as ordered by the court,  
 an execution was issued; to avoid  
 being arrested on which he left his  
 place and London about two  
 months since. He went to Wood-  
 ford, and got work there about five  
 or six weeks since. For an account  
 of his trial see page (90).

#### ROBBERY OF THE NORWICH MAIL.

For some time the Norwich mail  
 (E. 2) has

has been repeatedly robbed of bankers' and other valuable parcels to an immense amount. Mr. Caldwell, the mail contractor, has exerted himself in every possible way to discover the depredators. One of the parcels sent by the mail by Messrs. Oakes and Co. bankers at Bury St. Edmunds, directed to their agent in London, contained exchequer bills, notes, and bills of exchange, to the amount of 13,000*l*. Some of the notes, after a little time had elapsed, were traced to the porter employed at Bury, connected with the mail. By the continued exertions of Mr. Caldwell, the mail contractor, a number of persons in connexion with each other have been discovered to be concerned in carrying on the depredations. Codlin, the book-keeper at Hertford, has been detected in being connected with the porter at Bury, and the circumstances proved against them are deemed sufficient to commit them both to Norwich castle for trial. A parcel containing gold watches and jewellery goods, sent by a jeweller in London to one of the same trade in Norwich, did not arrive as directed. One of the watches which were in this parcel was lately traced into the possession of Mr. Mann, a respectable cabinet-maker at Hertford. The account he gave of having possession of the watch was, that he had purchased it of his apprentice, Thomas Maslin, who had since run away from his service, and he did not know what had become of him. He was afterwards traced to London. On Tuesday, Pearkes, the Bow-street officer, apprehended him in the neighbourhood of Bethnal Green.

## EXECUTION.

On Wednesday morning Robert

Kennett, for having forged a draft for 2,090*l*. on the firm of sir Richard Carr Glynn and Co. was, pursuant to his sentence, executed in the Old Bailey. The unhappy man was brought upon the scaffold at eight o'clock, dressed in a plain suit of mourning, and attended by the ordinary of Newgate, with whom he remained a few minutes in prayer during this short and awful period. He appeared to be perfectly resigned to his fate, which he met with becoming fortitude. Some further particulars of the antecedent life and connexions of the above person may be learnt by reference to the Parliamentary Debates of 1809, the conduct of the duke of York from which it appears that Kennett engaged to advance the sum of 70,000*l*. to his royal highness upon annuity, with the additional consideration of a place to be obtained for him the said Kennett under government. The negotiation was ultimately broken off, on intelligence that Kennett was not a man to be trusted.

*Admiralty-office.*

Captain Capel, of the *La Hogue*, senior officer on the Halifax station, has transmitted the following letter to J. W. Croker, esq. detailing the brilliant capture of the American frigate *Chesapeake* :—

*Shannon, Halifax, June 6, 1813.*

SIR, I have the honour to inform you, that being close in with Beaton light-house, in his majesty's ship under my command, on the 1<sup>st</sup> inst. I had the pleasure of seeing that the United States' frigate *Chesapeake* (whom we had long been watching) was coming out of the harbour to engage the *Shannon*. I took a position between Cape Ann and Cape Cod, and then

hove-

to for him to join us—the enemy came down in a very handsome manner, having three American guns flying; when closing with he sent down his royal yards. I the Shannon's up, expecting breeze would die away. At past five P. M. the enemy led up within hail of us on the board side, and the battle began, ships steering full under the sails. After exchanging between and three broadsides, the enemy's ship fell on board of us, her channels locking in with our rigging. I went forward to ascertain her position; and observing the enemy were fleeing from our guns, I gave orders to prepare boarding. Our gallant bands pointed to that service immediately rushed in, under their respective officers, upon the enemy's decks, doing every thing before them with irresistible fury. The enemy made a desperate but disorderly resistance.

The firing continued at all the gang-ways and between the tops; in two minutes time the enemy were driven sword in hand from every post. The American flag was hauled down, and the proud British union floated triumphant over it. In another minute they ceased firing from below, and begged for quarter. The whole of the service was achieved in fifteen minutes from the commencement of the action.

I have to lament the loss of many of my gallant ship-mates, but they are exulting in their conquest. My brave first lieutenant, Mr. [name], was slain in the moment of victory, in the act of hoisting the British colours; his death is a severe loss to the service. Mr. Aldham, the purser, who had spiritedly

volunteered the charge of a party of small-arms men, was killed at his post on the gangway. My faithful old clerk, Mr. Dunn, was shot by his side. Mr. Aldham has left a widow to lament his loss. I request the commander in chief will recommend her to the protection of my lords commissioners of the admiralty.

My veteran boatswain Mr. Stephen has lost an arm. He fought under lord Rodney on the 12th of April. I trust his age and services will be duly rewarded.

I am happy to say that Mr. Samwell, a midshipman of much merit, is the only other officer wounded besides myself, and he not dangerously. Of my gallant seamen and marines we had twenty-three slain and fifty-six wounded. I subjoin the names of the former. No expressions I can make use of can do justice to the merits of my valiant officers and crew: the calm courage they displayed during the cannonade, and the tremendous precision of their fire, could only be equalled by the ardour with which they rushed to the assault. I recommend them all warmly to the protection of the commander in chief.

Having received a severe sabre wound at the first onset, whilst charging a party of the enemy who had rallied on their forecastle, I was only capable of giving command till assured our conquest was complete; and then directing second lieutenant Wallis to take charge of the Shannon, and secure the prisoners, I left the third lieutenant, Mr. Falkiner, (who had headed the main deck boarders,) in charge of the prize. I beg to recommend these officers most strongly to the commander in chief's patronage,

for the gallantry they displayed during the action, and the skill and judgement they evinced in the anxious duties which afterwards devolved upon them.

To Mr. Etough, the acting master, I am much indebted for the steadiness with which he conn'd the ship into action. The lieutenants John and Law, of the marines, bravely boarded at the head of their respective divisions.

It is impossible to particularize every brilliant deed performed by my officers and men; but I must mention, when the ship's yard-arms were locked together, that Mr. Cosnahan, who commanded in our main-top, finding himself screened from the enemy by the foot of the top sail, lay out at the main-yard-arm to fire upon them, and shot three men in that situation. Mr. Smith, who commanded in our fore-top, stormed the enemy's fore-top from the fore-yard-arm, and destroyed all the Americans remaining in it. I particularly beg leave to recommend Mr. Etough, the acting master, and Messrs. Leake, Clavering, Raymond, and Littlejohn, midshipmen. This latter officer is a son of captain Littlejohn who was slain in the Berwick.

The loss of the enemy was about seventy killed, and one hundred wounded. Among the former were the four lieutenants, a lieutenant of marines, the master, and many other officers. Captain Laurence is since dead of his wounds.

The enemy came into action with a complement of 440 men: the Shannon, having picked up some recaptured seamen, had 330.

The Chesapeake is a fine frigate, and mounts 49 guns, eighteens on her main-deck, two-and-thirties on her quarter-deck and forecastle.

Both ships came out of action in the most beautiful order, their rigging appearing as perfect as if they had only been exchanging a salute.

(Signed) P. B. V. BROKE

To captain the hon. T. Bladen Capel, &c. Halifax.

[Here follows a list of killed on board his majesty's ship Shannon.

#### POLICE.

On Monday was brought up to Bow-street a juvenile depredator, only thirteen, of interesting appearance and easy address. He was dressed like a midshipman, and gave his name as Charles John Clifford, but it appeared that he had assumed various names. He was charged with feloniously stealing a gold watch and a silver table spoon from the house of Mrs. MacNiel at Knightsbridge. It appeared, that a short time since the prosecutrix met the prisoner in Fleet-street when he introduced himself with a very graceful bow, and made inquiries after her health. The prosecutrix replied, he had the advantage of her. He answered, he had the honour of meeting her a few months back at lady Seymour's. The prosecutrix assured him he was mistaken, and that she had not been at lady Seymour's. However, his genteel appearance and manner induced her to inquire of him to what ship he belonged? He replied, he was a midshipman belonging to the Namur lying at the Nore, and that his name was Charles Thomas Leigh, and that his father was first lieutenant of the ship. They walked and talked together till they came to the residence of the prosecutrix, when she asked him to walk in. He was talkative, and particularly amusing; he played with the prosecutrix's children. He

called



and a second time on the prosecutrix, when he brought a boy with him dressed as a common sailor, and that he was his servant. He called on the third time last Wednesday, when the prosecutrix met him at the door just as she was going out. He asked him to walk with her and her daughter. He excused himself by saying he had been talking a long way, which had made his shoes very dirty, and he was in other respects not fit to walk with a lady. She desired him to go in, and her servant to brush his shoes, when he might follow where she was going. While there, he went into the drawing-room; and after he was gone, a gold watch and a silver spoon were seized from the sideboard. He was suspected of stealing them, and was traced to the neighbourhood of the Surrey theatre. A pawnbroker's duplicate was found on him, which led to the recovery of the property. A pawnbroker attended and produced the property, and said the articles had not been sold by the prisoner, but by a friend. The account the prisoner gave of himself appears to be a mere fabrication. He is an illegitimate child, who was abandoned by his father and mother when an infant, and has been brought up by a widow woman of the name of Sythes, whose name the prisoner assumes. She fostered him, having received him to nurse, and refused to send him to the parish. The poor woman attended, and seemed to have as much affection for him as if he had been her own. He was at sea about three months, but had his discharge. He is well known at several pawnbrokers' shops; is a frequent frequenter of the theatres, and sometimes mixes with the loungers

in the lobbies. He was committed for further examination.

The royal college of surgeons have come to the following important resolution, worthy the intelligence and spirit of their profession:

#### ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS.

We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, deeply impressed with the many fatal instances of the small-pox which have lately happened, and which daily occur, in the metropolis and in various towns of the kingdom; convinced that such events are, in a great degree, consequences of the support and propagation of that disease by inoculation; and fully satisfied of the safety and the security of vaccination, from a consequent sense of duty to the community, do hereby engage ourselves, to each other and to the public, not to inoculate the small-pox, unless for some special reason, after vaccination, but to pursue, and to the utmost of our power promote the practice of vaccination. And further, we do recommend to all the members of the college, of correspondent opinions and sentiments of duty, to enter into similar engagements.

Master—Thomas Forster.

Governors — Everard Home, William Blizard.

Assistants — James Earle, G. Chandler, Charles Blicke, T. Keate, J. Heaviside, Henry Cline, David Dundas, John Charlton, William Norris, James Ware, J. A. Hawkins, F. Knight, Ludford Harvey, William and John Abernethy.

Lincoln's-inn-fields, 1813.

20. On the 13th of May the following general orders were issued by lord Wellington to his army:

The commander of the forces  
(E 4) has



has received frequent complaints relative to the behaviour of officers and soldiers of the army towards the magistrates of the country, notwithstanding the repeated orders which he has issued on this head: and it appears the more extraordinary, that soldiers and officers of the British army should give cause for such complaints, since it is well known that, in their own country, not one of them would dare to insult or maltreat civil magistrates.

Circumstances have however augmented the inconveniencies which result from such conduct; and the commander of the forces requests officers of the army to recollect, that the operations of the army are carried on within the territories of friendly powers, whose laws for the protection of persons clothed with authority are as rigorous as those of Great Britain; and that every injury that is done, or insult practised, towards the civil authorities of the government, will be followed by the same consequences as similar behaviour would produce in England.

The commander of the forces requests, that care be taken to communicate these orders to the Portuguese officers and troops as well as to the British; and he trusts that the Portuguese will pay the same attention to the civil authorities of Spain, that all classes of persons are bound by the Portuguese laws to pay to the civil authorities of Portugal.

#### MALTA.

A packet arrived at Gibraltar from Malta on 18th June. We are concerned to state, that the hopes have been disappointed which were expressed in general Oakes's letter of the 10th of May, with respect to the malady having been arrested.

The reverse has been the case. Eight days had scarcely elapsed since the date of the letter, when the board of health found it necessary to inform the public that it was spreading,—that seven individuals had been taken ill on the very day. He imparted this intelligence on the 18th, and on that day one died. On the 19th, eight died; and three were taken ill; on the 20th, ten died and eleven were taken ill; and on the 21st, the date of the last official report, six died and five were taken ill. The military and physicians continued healthy. Commerce was at a stand. No strangers were admitted into La Valette, but such as had urgent business transacted: proper precautions had been taken to maintain cleanliness in the town; and subscription had been opened for the poor persons suffering in consequence of disease.

#### FIRE AT WOOLWICH.

Between seven and eight o'clock Thursday morning the inhabitants of Woolwich were thrown into consternation in consequence of prodigious volumes of smoke which enveloped the whole town. It was soon discovered that the white house store-house in the rope-yard was on fire. The alarm immediately spread, and the engines were quickly on the spot. The drums beat to arms, and upwards of 1000 artillerymen from the barracks arrived to assist in quenching the flames; but, notwithstanding the most prompt and active exertions, the fire continued to burn with irresistible fury about nine o'clock, when the roof of this part of the building fell. For some time great apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the adjoining buildings of the arsenal.

al; but by the prompt supply  
ater, and the great exertions of  
ilitary, the flames were pre-  
d from spreading, and were  
nder about ten o'clock. The  
est intrepidity was evinced by  
artillerymen, many of whom  
placed in the most perilous  
tions in endeavouring to sub-  
the flames. The damage done  
have been considerable, and it  
posed that several thousand  
ds worth of hemp and oakum  
been destroyed. The cause  
e fire has not yet been disco-  
, though various conjectures  
float as to its origin. It is only  
months ago since a fire hap-  
d in another part of the build-  
It has been conjectured, that  
re-works exhibited the evening  
e may have been the accidental  
of the calamity.

## JULY.

### RUSSIA.

*St. Petersburg, July 1.*  
The merchants of this capital  
given a brilliant proof of  
gratitude to the general of  
ry, count Wittgenstein, who,  
is signal exploits in the last  
aign, defended the northern  
of Russia, as well as the  
al, against the enemy's inva-  
After having, through the  
mediation of the commander  
chief of St. Petersburg, receiv-  
imperial majesty's permission  
that purpose, they have done  
age to their generous defender,  
the name of all the merchants,  
praying him to accept the sum of  
000 roubles, as a proof of their  
tude for having preserved them  
their property from the rapaci-  
the enemy. By a letter dated  
6th of April, and signed, by  
members of this society, they

transmitted him a note, by which  
they give him full power to dispose  
of the said sum, as belonging to him-  
self, requesting him to accept this  
weak testimony of their gratitude.  
Count Wittgenstein in his reply,  
dated the 2d of June, expressively  
returned his grateful thanks, add-  
ing, that he knew how to appreciate  
this mark of attachment, which de-  
rived its source from the purest pa-  
triotism: and to give them a sincere  
proof of the sentiments which ani-  
mated him, he informs them of his  
resolution to employ this sum in  
purchasing an estate in the govern-  
ment of St. Petersburg, in order  
that this property may become a  
title to bind him to that honourable  
corps: this possession shall be trans-  
mitted from generation to genera-  
tion, without its being permitted  
them either to alienate or mortgage  
it. It will (continues he) be an  
everlasting monument for my de-  
scendants, and incessantly remind  
them, that it is to the generous gra-  
titude of the body of St. Petersburg  
merchants that they are indebted  
for a bounty which they are to en-  
joy for perpetuity.

### LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

#### SPLENDID VICTORY OF VITTORIA.

*Downing-street, July 3.*

The following dispatches have  
been this day received from the  
marquis of Wellington, dated Sal-  
vatierra, June 22, and Irunzun,  
June 24.

My lord, the enemy's army,  
commanded by Joseph Bonaparte,  
having marshal Jourdan as the ma-  
jor-general, took up a position, on  
the night of the 19th inst. in front  
of Vittoria, the left of which rested  
upon the heights which end at Pue-  
bla de Arlanzon, and extended  
from thence across the valley of  
Zadora, in front of the village of  
Arunez.

Aranez. They occupied, with the right of the centre, a height which commanded the valley of Zadora, and their right stationed near Vittoria, and destined to defend the passages of the river Zadora, in the neighbourhood of that city. They had a reserve in rear of their left, at the village of Gomecha. The nature of the country through which the army had passed since it had reached the Ebro, had necessarily extended our columns, and we halted on the 20th, in order to close them up, and moved the left to Margina, where it was most likely it would be necessary. I reconnoitred the enemy's position on that day, with a view to the attack to be made on the following morning, if they should still remain in it. We accordingly attacked the enemy yesterday; and I am happy to inform your lordship, that the allied army gained a complete victory—having driven them from all their positions, and taken from them 151 pieces of cannon, 415 waggons of ammunition, all their baggage, provisions, cattle, treasure, &c. and a considerable number of prisoners. The operations of the day commenced by sir R. Hill obtaining possession of the heights of La Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested, which heights they had not occupied in great strength. He detached on this service one brigade of the Spanish division under gen. Murillo, the other being employed in keeping the communication between his main body, on the high road from Miranda to Vittoria, and the troops detached to the heights. The enemy however soon discovered the importance of the heights, and reinforced their troops there to such an extent, as that sir R. Hill was obliged to detach, first, the 71st regiment, and the light infantry

battalion of gen. Walker's brigade under the command of lieutenant-col. Cadogan, and successively other troops to the same point; and allies not only gained, but maintained, possession of these important heights throughout their operations, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy to retake them. The contest here however was very severe, and the loss sustained considerable. General Murillo was wounded, but remained in the field; and I am concerned to have to report that lieutenant-col. Cadogan has died of a wound which he received. In him his majesty lost an officer of great zeal and gallantry, who had already acquired the respect and regard of the whole profession, and of whom much might be expected, that if he had lived he would have rendered most important services to the country. Under cover of the possession of these heights, sir R. Hill passed the Zadora at La Puebla, and the defile formed by the heights and the river Zadora, and attacked and gained possession of the village of Sabijana de Alava, in front of the enemy's line, which the enemy made repeated attempts to regain. The difficult nature of the country prevented the communication between our different columns moving to the attack from their stations on the river Bayas, at as early an hour as I had expected; and it was late before I knew that the column composed of the 3d and 7th divisions, under the command of the earl of Dalhousie, had arrived at the station appointed for them: the fourth and light divisions however passed the Zadora immediately after sir R. Hill had possession of Sabijana de Alava, the former at the bridge of Nancas and the latter at the bridge of T

Puentes; and almost as soon as these had crossed, the column under the earl of Dalhousie arrived at Mendonza, and the third division, under sir T. Picton, crossed at the bridge higher up, followed by the 7th division under the earl of Dalhousie. These four divisions, forming the centre of the army, were destined to attack the heights on which the right of the enemy's centre was placed, while sir R. Hill should move forward from Sabijana de Alava to attack the left. The enemy however, having weakened his line to strengthen his detachment in the hills, abandoned his position in the valley as soon as he saw our disposition to attack it, and commenced his retreat in good order towards Vittoria. Our troops continued to advance in admirable order, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground. In the mean time sir T. Graham, who commanded the left of the army, consisting of the 1st and 5th divisions, and generals Pack's and Bradford's brigades of infantry, and gens. Bock's and Anson's cavalry, and who had been moved on the 20th to Margina, moved forward from thence on Vittoria, by the high road from that town to Bilboa. He had besides with him the Spanish division under col. Longa; and gen. Giron, who had been detached to the left under a different view of the state of affairs, and had afterwards been recalled, and had arrived on the 20th at Orduna, marched that morning from thence, so as to be in the field in readiness to support sir T. Graham, if his support had been required.—The enemy had a division of infantry and some cavalry advanced on the great road from Vittoria to Bilboa, resting their right on some strong heights covering the village of Gamarra Maior. Both Gamar-

ra and Abechuco were strongly occupied, as têtes-de-pont to the bridges over the Zadora at these places. Gen. Pack with his Portuguese brigade, and col. Longa with the Spanish division, were directed to turn and gain the heights, supported by gen. Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the 5th division of infantry under the command of gen. Oswald, who was desired to take the command of all these troops. Sir T. Graham reports that, in the execution of this service, the Portuguese and Spanish troops behaved admirably. The 4th and 8th caçadores particularly distinguished themselves. Colonel Longa, being on the left, took possession of Gamarra Menor. As soon as the heights were in our possession, the village of Gamarra Maior was most gallantly stormed and carried by general Robinson's brigade of the 5th division, which advanced in columns of battalions, under a very heavy fire of artillery and musketry, without firing a shot, assisted by two guns of major Lawson's brigade of artillery. The enemy suffered severely, and lost three pieces of cannon. The lieutenant-gen. then proceeded to attack the village of Abechuco, with the 1st division, by forming a strong battery against it, consisting of capt. Dubourdieu's brigade and capt. Ramsay's troop of horse artillery; and under cover of this fire col. Halkett's brigade advanced to the attack of the village, which was carried, the light battalion having charged and taken three guns and a howitzer on the bridge: this attack was supported by gen. Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry. During the operation at Abechuco, the enemy made the greatest efforts to repossess themselves of the village of Gamarra Maior, which were gallantly



lantly repulsed by the troops of the 5th division under general Oswald. The enemy had however on the heights on the left of the Zadora, two divisions of infantry in reserve, and it was impossible to cross by the bridges till the troops which had moved upon the enemy's centre and left had driven them through Vittoria. The whole then co-operated in the pursuit, which was continued by all till after it was dark. The movement of the troops under sir T. Graham, and their possession of Gamarra and Abechuco, intercepted the enemy's retreat by the high road to France. They were then obliged to turn to the road towards Pampeluna ; but they were unable to hold any position for a sufficient length of time to allow their baggage and artillery to be drawn off. The whole therefore of the latter, which had not already been taken by the troops in their attack of the successive positions taken up by the enemy in their retreat from their first position on Arunez and on the Zadora, and all their ammunition and baggage, and every thing they had, were taken close to Vittoria. I have reason to believe that the enemy carried off with them one gun and one howitzer only. The army under Joseph Bonaparte consisted of the whole of the armies of the South and of the Centre, and of four divisions; and all the cavalry of the army of Portugal, and some troops of the army of the North. General Foix's division of the army of Portugal was in the neighbourhood of Bilboa ; and general Clausel, who commands the army of the North, was near Logrono with one division of the army of Portugal, commanded by general Topin, and general Vandermasen's division of the army of the North. The 6th division of the allied army, under

general Pakenham, was likewise sent, having been detained at Medina del Pomar for three days, to cover the march of our magazines and stores. I cannot extol too highly the good conduct of all the general officers, officers, and soldiers, of the army in this action. Sir R. Hill speaks highly of the conduct of general Murillo and the Spanish troops under his command, and of that of general the honourable W. Stewart and the conde d'Aranda, who commanded division of infantry under his directions. General likewise mentions the conduct of lieutenant-colonel O'Callagan, who maintained the village of Sabido de Alava against all the efforts of the enemy to regain possession of it ; and that of colonel Brooke, the adjutant-general's department, and the honourable A. Abercrombie of the quarter-master-general's department. It was impossible for the movements of any troops to be conducted with more spirit and regularity than those of the division of the earl of Dalhousie, sir T. Picot, sir L. Cole, and barón C. A. These troops advanced in echelon of regiments, in two, and occasionally in three lines ; and the Portuguese troops in the 3d and 4th divisions, under general Power and colonel Stubbs, led the march with a steadiness and gallantry not surpassed on any occasion. General C. Colville's brigade of the 3d division was seriously attacked in advance by a very superior force, well formed, which it drove back supported by general Inglis's brigade of the 7th division commanded by colonel Grant of the 1st. These officers and the troops under their command distinguished themselves. Gen. Vandeleur's brigade of the light division was, during the advance upon Vittoria, detached

the support of the 7th division; and the earl of Dalhousie has reported most favourably of its conduct. Sir T. Graham particularly reports his sense of the assistance he received from col. Delancy, deputy-quarter-master-general; and from colonel Bouverie of the adjutant-general's department; and from the officers of his personal staff; and from col. Upton, assistant quarter-master-general; and major Hope, assistant adjutant with the 1st division; and general Oswald reports the same of colonel Berkeley of the adjutant-general's department, and colonel Gomm, of the quarter-master-general's department. I am particularly indebted to sir T. Graham, and sir R. Hill, for the manner in which they have conducted the service intrusted to them since the commencement of the operations, which have ended in the battle of the 21st, and for their conduct in that battle; as likewise to marshal Beresford for the friendly advice and assistance which I have received from him upon all occasions during the late operations. I must not omit to mention likewise the conduct of general Giron, who commands the Gallician army, who made a forced march from Orduna, and was on the ground in readiness to support sir T. Graham. I have frequently been indebted, and have had occasion to call the attention of your lordship, to the conduct of the quarter-master-general, general Murray, who in the late operations, and in the battle of the 21st inst. has again given me the greatest assistance. I am likewise indebted much to lord Aylmer the deputy adjutant-general, and to the officers of the adjutant and quarter-master-general's departments respectively; and to lord Fitzroy Somerset, colonel Campbell,

and the officers of my personal staff, and to sir R. Fletcher and the officers of the engineers. Colonel his serene highness the hereditary prince of Orange was in the field as my aid-de-camp, and conducted himself with his usual gallantry and intelligence. Mareschal del campo don Luis Wimpfen, and the inspector-general don T. O'Donaju, and the officers of the staff of the Spanish army, have invariably rendered me every assistance in their power in the course of these operations; and I avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my satisfaction at their conduct, as likewise with that of mareschal del campo don M. de Alava, and of brigadier-general don J. O'Lawlor, who have been so long and so usefully employed with me. The artillery was most judiciously placed by lieutenant-col. Dickson, and was well served, and the army is particularly indebted to that corps. The nature of the ground did not allow of the cavalry being generally engaged; but the general officers commanding the several brigades kept the troops under their command close to the infantry to support them, and they were most active in the pursuit of the enemy after they had been driven through Vittoria. I send this dispatch by my aid-de-camp capt. Freemantle, whom I beg leave to recommend to your lordship's protection: he will have the honour of laying at the feet of his royal highness the prince regent the colours of the 4th battalion of the 100th regiment, and marshal Jourdan's baton of a marshal of France, taken by the 87th regiment. I have the honour to be, &c.

WELLINGTON.

[A return of the killed and wounded in the late operations, and of the ordnance and ammunition captured, follows.]

*Irunzun, June 24.*

My lord, the departure of captain Freemantle having been delayed till this day, by the necessity of making up the returns, I have to report that we have continued to pursue the enemy, whose rear reached Pampeluna this day. We have done them as much injury as has been in our power, considering the state of the weather and of the roads; and this day the advanced guard, consisting of baron V. Alten's brigade, and the 1st and 3d battalions of the 95th regiment, and major Ross's troop of horse artillery, took from them the remaining gun they had. They have entered Pampeluna therefore with one howitzer only. General Clausel, who had under his command that part of the army of the North, and one division of the army of Portugal which was not in the action of the 21st, approached Vittoria on the 22d, when he heard of the action of the preceding day; and finding there the 6th division, which had just arrived under the command of general E. Pakenham, he retired upon la Guardia, and has since marched upon Tudela de Ebro. It is probable that the enemy will continue their retreat into France. I have detached general Giron with the Gallician army in pursuit of the convoy which moved from Vittoria on the morning of the 20th, which I hope he will overtake before it reaches Bayonne.

WELLINGTON.

[We regret that our limits do not allow us to give an account of all the victories obtained by lord Wellington.]

Extract of a dispatch from the marquis of Wellington, dated June 24.

I have the honour to inclose a report, which I have received from

gen. Copons, of a very gallant action in Catalonia, on the 7th of May, a brigade of Spanish troops under the command of col. Llander; I have received a report (not official) stating, that on the 17th of May gen. Copons had defeated the enemy in the position of 'Cor' near El Abisbal.

(Translation.)

Most excellent sir, The Government favours the operations of which I have the honour to command. The 2d brigade of the division, under the command of col. Llander, has completely destroyed, on the 7th inst. a column composed of 1500 men, commanded by the marshal, who left Puyol for the purpose of attacking Llander's flank, while he was gaged in the blockade of C. Four officers and 290 men were made prisoners, 12 caissons, and more than 500 muskets, and the reduction of the enemy's number to some 1000 men, are the result of this fortunate affair. Gen. Mathieu, with a column of 6000 infantry, 300 cavalry, five pieces of cannon, under general Expert and Debans, marched upon Tarragona, for the purpose of protecting a convoy. I followed the 2d brigade of the 1st division, the 1st of the 2d, the battalions of the general, and 30 cavalry, making a total of 3200 men. On the report of gen. Mathieu from Barcelona, I endeavoured to draw him to an advantageous position which I occupied at the village of Abisbal, where I offered him battle on the 17th. At half-past seven in the morning the fire began, and soon became general along the whole line; the attack and movement of the enemy to turn my flank were unavailing. At half-past 12 he attacked with the greatest spirit; and being repulsed and vigorously pursued, commenced

his retreat in sight of our valiant soldiers. The field remained covered with bodies and arms. The enemy's loss exceeded 600 killed, wounded, and prisoners. One commanding and five inferior officers were among the first, and seven were wounded. The enemy confessed this loss in the village, in which he left a part of his wounded under the charge of a French surgeon. My loss is not accurately ascertained, but I know that it bears no proportion to that of the enemy. When the different reports are received, I shall forward them to your excellency; but in the mean time I have the honour to give your excellency this information. God preserve your excellency many years.

FRANCISCO DE COPONS NAVIA.

*Head-quarters at Villafranca, May 18..*

8. The French papers contain a decree of Bonaparte, dated from the field of battle, at Wurtchen, the 22d of May, and directing a monument to be erected upon Mount Cenis. On the front of the monument, looking towards Paris, are to be inscribed the names of all the cantons of departments on this side the Alps. Upon the front, looking towards Milan, to be engraved the names of all the cantons of departments beyond the Alps, and of the kingdom of Italy. On the most conspicuous part of the monument the following inscription is to be engraved:—"The emperor Napoleon, upon the field of battle of Wurtchen, ordered the erection of this monument, as a proof of his gratitude to his people of France and Italy; and to transmit to the most distant posterity the remembrance of that celebrated epoch, when, in three months, 1,200,000 men ran to arms, to insure the integrity of the empire and of its allies."—Another decree orders the foregoing monu-

ment to be erected next spring, and appropriates the sum of 25,000,000 of francs for that purpose.

M. Gardonne, mayor of the commune of Cite, in France, perished on the 24th of June in the following manner:—He was walking with some friends in the new road making from Lyons, about the hour when the workmen usually blast the rocks, which have been previously mined and charged: the signal had been given for all persons to retire: the workmen then lighted the matches, and retired to some caves out of the reach of danger. Two of the mines exploded with a loud detonation: that of the third was expected every instant, when, on a sudden, M. Gardonne, who had wandered from his friends, appeared alone upon the road, directing his course towards the side where the match of the mine was yet burning. The workmen uttered a cry of terror. M. Gardonne turned, hesitated, being ignorant how he should avoid the danger. In an instant the mine exploded, and he disappeared among a load of rocks, which hurried him beneath their massy fragments.

12. The Hamburg papers apprise us of another infamous exaction made by marshal Davoust upon the inhabitants, and of a most singular method of procuring the money. The demand was an extraordinary military contribution for three months, in addition to the other sums which had, under different pretences, been extorted from the inhabitants. To procure the money, the French authorities had persuaded the directors of the Hamburg bank to advance to their fellow-citizens sums not smaller than 300 marks banco, on the security of such silver articles as they might possess, and which, if not redeemed within the stipulated time, were to be



be forfeited. With this money they were to pay the contribution; and thus, should they remain in their native place, they have no other prospect than that of being ultimately reduced to beggary by their tyrants.

The special military commission at Osnabruck, on the 29th ult. condemned to death Carl Kamps, doctor of laws, residing at Damme, in the department of the Upper Ems, for having insulted the gendarmerie while on duty, and refused to obey the orders issued to him by the commander of the gendarmerie. The sentence was executed within 24 hours after it was passed.

#### RUSSIA.

##### *St. Petersburg, June 12.*

Yesterday the body of prince Kutusoff Smolensko arrived at the place appointed by his imperial majesty for its sepulchre, in the church of Our Lady of Casan. The procession left the convent of St. Sergius at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The burgher-corps of St. Petersburg arrived at three o'clock, at the limits of the city, near to the river Taronowka, to receive the venerable remains, of which the capital was to be the depôt. The nobles and clergy, accompanied by the metropolitan, and the great civil and military authorities, followed on foot. The people drew the funeral-car to the church-door. The coffin was placed in a vault under the dome. It was covered by the trophies of the French eagles and colours, accompanied by the Turkish trophies. A genius, with a laurel-crown in his hand, hovered in the air over the hero's corpse. The people went there to render their last homage to the man of their affections. The tomb is prepared under the picture which represents the deliverance of Moscow.

#### PRUSSIA.

A proclamation of the king of Prussia, dated the 5th ult. states that a suspension of hostilities has been solicited by the enemy; and that the use which his majesty makes of it, is only to afford time for the national efforts now put forth to obtain their full vigour, in order that his people may be enabled "to conquer their independence." We find, by another authentic document, that the governor of the country between the Vistula and the Russian frontier is actually obliged to calm the public indignation on account of the armistice, by an assurance, that it "will not lead to peace, but to the renewal of a more powerful and energetic warfare."

The Prussian government has ordered a return to be made of the consecrated gold or silver vases reserved in the churches of Berlin; in order that if circumstances should render necessary, to appropriate them towards defraying the expenses of the war. It is proposed, if these vases should be taken for the public service, to replace them with Prussian porcelain, the manufacture of which has been ruined by the introduction of French porcelain.

13. The court of common council having voted thanks to lord Wellington, his officers and army, for their skill and gallantry at Vittoria, resolved that the bust of his lordship be placed in the council chamber: they also voted the freedom of the city in gold boxes of 100 guineas value to sir T. Graham and sir R. Hill. The court also voted the freedom and a sword to capt. Broke of the Shannon, with thanks to his officers and crew.

15. Dispatches have been received from lord Wellington, dated Zubieta, 10th July. — Gen. Mina reports to hi

his lordship, that general Clausel had marched from Saragossa towards Jaca. Though the enemy had withdrawn the whole of their right and left wings into France, still three divisions of the centre, under general Gazan, remained in the valley of Bastan, of which they seemed determined to keep possession, as it is very rich and full of strong positions. Upon the 4th, 5th, and 7th instant, they were successively dislodged from all their posts by two brigades of British and two of Portuguese infantry, under sir Rowland Hill, and were obliged to retreat into France. The loss of the allies has been only eight killed and 119 wounded. Among the latter is lieutenant Ball of the 34th regiment.

#### SIR J. MURRAY.

The following particulars have been stated from authority, respecting the unfortunate affair on the coast of Catalonia.

#### *War Department, July 13, 1813.*

By letters which have been received at this office, it is known that the allied troops commanded by sir John Murray, which had embarked at Alicant in the last days of May, were landed on the 3d of June near Salon, and immediately invested Tarragona. Lieutenant-colonel Prevost had been previously detached with the 2d battalion of the 67th, and a part of Rolle's and of Dillon's regiments, to attack the fort of St. Philip upon the Coll de Balaguer. He was there joined by a brigade from the Catalan army; captain Adam commanded the squadron sent to co-operate with col. Prevost; and the great exertions of the troops and seamen employed upon this service under the direction of very able officers, over-

1813.

came the difficulties presented by the situation of the fort, and obliged the garrison to surrender on the morning of the 7th. Lieut. Delatre, of Dillon's regiment, and one Spanish officer, were killed, as were six soldiers, and 37 were wounded. In the mean time sir John Murray had commenced the siege of Tarragona; but having intelligence upon the 12th, that a strong body of French troops had advanced from the side of Barcelona towards Villa Franca and Vendrill, and likewise that marshal Suchet was upon his march from Valencia, sir John Murray resolved to raise the siege, and the troops were embarked immediately without any loss of them; but they were obliged to leave in the advanced batteries some pieces of heavy ordnance, of which the carriages were burnt.

#### DENMARK.

A fire broke out last month at Soroe, in the Danish territory, which destroyed the building in which the academy assembled, a library consisting of 12,000 volumes, and all the mathematical and astronomical instruments, besides 22 houses. The church was the only building that escaped.

Norway is suffering under the ravages of famine. Count Knudt, the governor of that country, is said to have put an end to his existence from despondency, occasioned by his inability to relieve the distresses of the people whom he governed. The army of 30,000 men have likewise been reduced to such distress by the want of provisions, that its officers made application to the Swedish commander, Von Essen, who was upon the frontier with 16,000 men, for relief; which was refused.

(F)

TURKEY.

## TURKEY.

Ismail Bey, the youngest son of the governor of Egypt, made his triumphal entry into Constantinople on the 2d May, to present the grand seignor with the keys of the city of Mecca, and of the holy temple of Kaaba. The sultan received him surrounded by the great officers of state in the seraglio. To celebrate this happy event, the batteries of the port and city fired three times every day for one week.

## VICTORIES IN CANADA.

Dispatches from general sir G. Prevost, governor of Canada, have brought the details of two victories obtained by our arms over the Americans. Both these victories were obtained by forces greatly inferior to those of the enemy. In the first engagement the Americans were the assailants; an attack was made on the morning of the 5th of May upon the British force at the Miamis, under the command of colonel Proctor, by a superior force of the enemy; in which the Americans were completely defeated, with a loss in killed and prisoners computed at between 1,000 and 1,200 men. The troops under col. Proctor consisted of about 450 rank and file, regulars of the 41st foot and Newfoundland regiment, and about 400 militia. The loss was 13 rank and file killed, 41 rank and file wounded, and 37 rank and file prisoners. Five hundred prisoners were taken from the Americans, besides those in the possession of the Indians, of which the number was not ascertained when the dispatches were sent away.

On the 5th of June, colonel Vincent, commanding a division at Burlington, at the head of Lake

Ontario, received intelligence the enemy had advanced with force consisting of 3,500 men, field-pieces, and 250 cavalry, the avowed purpose of attacking his position.

Lieutenant-colonel Harveying been sent forward with light companies of the king's 49th regiments, advanced close and accurately ascertained the enemy's position, and proposed to Vincent a night attack on his camp. Col. Vincent, adopting the suggestion, advanced the same night a detachment of the 8th and regiments, amounting to 704 locks. The enemy was completely surprised and routed; and camp, with 4 pieces of ordnance, brigadier-generals Chandler Winsor, the first and second in command, remained in the hands of the British. The loss on the part of the British was 19 killed, 113 wounded and 52 missing.

The skill and gallantry of colonels Proctor, Vincent, and Harvey merit praise and reward. The enemy must, from the result of these engagements, perceive the futility of his attempts to dispossess Great Britain of Canada. It is that sir James Yeo, on receiving intelligence of this last defeat, fled from York Harbour with a flotilla, to cut off the retreat of the boats employed on the expedition.

## CITY ADDRESS:

15. On Thursday the right honourable the lord Mayor, the aldermen, recorder, sheriffs, and officers, and common council of the city of London, waited on the prince regent, at Carlton house, with the following address, which was read by John Silver esq. the recorder:

To his royal highness the prince of Wales, regent of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

The dutiful and loyal address of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common council assembled :

May it please your royal highness, We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common council assembled, deeply interested in the late glorious success which has attended his majesty's arms, and warmly participating in the universal triumph felt and expressed on that memorable occasion, beg leave to approach your royal highness with our heartfelt congratulations on the brilliant and decisive victory obtained by field marshal the marquis of Wellington, and the allied armies under his command, over the French forces, in the neighbourhood of Vittoria, on the 21st of June last. Frequent as have been the occasions on which it has been our duty and delight to approach the throne with our congratulations on the achievements of the British arms under many illustrious commanders, never have we contemplated an event more grand and auspicious, or more admirably calculated to promote the national glory, and to exhibit the British name and valour to the highest possible advantage. The consummate skill and prudence, the undaunted intrepidity and perseverance, so pre-eminently possessed and exercised by the field marshal the marquis of Wellington and his brave army, and the signal success with which those qualities have been crowned, leave us only those emotions of gratitude and admira-

tion which whilst we powerfully feel it is impossible for the utmost command of language adequately to express. A victory so complete and decisive cannot fail to produce the happiest effects on the liberties and independence of Europe ; and whilst it disappoints the counsels, diminishes the resources, and weakens the energies of the enemy, will, we trust, more than ever unite the efforts, animate the exertions, and inspire the confidence of our allies, in the prosecution of the great cause in which we and they are engaged, and be the means of producing results still more glorious and important. We cannot conclude without expressing our ardent hope, that that Providence which has watched over and supported the interests of Britain, during a series of unexampled difficulties, and which has favoured her so highly in the late conflict, may continue to smile upon her exertions, and prosper the counsels of your royal highness, so as to promote and finally secure an honourable and lasting peace.

Signed by order of the court,  
HENRY WOODTHORPE.

To which address his royal highness returned the following answer :

I return you my warmest thanks for your loyal and dutiful address. The victory with which it has pleased Almighty God to bless the operations of the allied army under its illustrious commander field marshal the marquis of Wellington, cannot fail to have excited, in every part of the united kingdom, the strongest emotions of exultation and gratitude ; and it is with the utmost satisfaction that I receive such a testimony of feelings which animate the metropolis of the empire on this most interesting and im-

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portant occasion. Success so splendid and decisive, so glorious in all respects to the arms of his majesty and of his allies, is calculated to contribute most essentially to the establishment of the independence of the peninsula on a firm and lasting foundation, and to the improvement of our prospects in all other parts of the world.

#### WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

— *Morris, esq. v. sir F. Burdett, bart.*

This was an action by which — Morris, esq. high bailiff of Westminster, sought to recover from sir F. Burdett, bart. the sum of 225*l.* being the moiety of the expense incurred by the plaintiff in erecting the hustings, and in providing poll clerks, poll books, &c. at the last election of members to serve in parliament for the city and borough of Westminster.

After much argument on both sides, Mr. Brougham contended that there was not an atom of evidence to connect the Westminster election committee with the defendant.

The attorney-general wished the case to be put in the strongest form in which it could be placed for the defendant, and still he contended he was liable. Admitting, for instance, that he had not asked a single vote, admitting even that he had originally been reluctant to allow his name to be put up; still, if he accepted of the honour when conferred, that, he submitted, was an assent sufficient to vest him with the character of a candidate from the beginning, and as such to subject him to the expenses to which candidates were legally liable.

Lord Ellenborough said, the attorney-general should have this point reserved to him, whether the

act of taking the oaths and his seat after he had been returned, had the effect of rendering such person a candidate. Such act must be supposed to be occasioned by the compulsion of the law, but could not make a man a candidate offering himself. Here the defendant at best was merely passive, and was even absent during the election.

The attorney-general thought there was an instance of a person who had never taken his seat, even after his election. No person could be compelled to take his seat.

Lord Ellenborough presumed a call of the house might compel him.

The attorney-general said, the house knew nothing of any member till he had taken his seat. The question was, whether the defendant had ever acceded to the having been a candidate; which he submitted he had done by taking his seat. After referring to the decision in the former case between the same parties, he contended that act of parliament was perfectly conciliable to his present argument, the words *candidate* and *member* being convertible terms.

The attorney-general called Mr. Tooke, the high bailiff's deputy, to speak to what had passed between him and Mr. Brooks's son, the chairman of the Westminster committee, as connecting them with sir F. Burdett.

Mr. Brougham objected to this, however, as not being evidence; his objection was sustained.

The attorney-general then proposed to call Mr. Brooks himself, but

Mr. Brougham objected to also, as the case of the plaintiff being concluded.

Lord Ellenborough was of opinion, and

The plaintiff was nonsuited, with liberty however to have the nonsuit set aside, and a verdict entered for the plaintiff for the full sum, if the court, on motion made to that effect, should be of opinion, that the mere act of taking his seat and signing the test roll of the house of commons brought the defendant within the meaning of the word *candidate*, as used in the act in question.

#### NEW PRISON.

The first stone was laid opposite Cripplegate church of the new prison, which is to be solely appropriated to the imprisonment of London and Middlesex debtors, instead of confining those unfortunate persons as heretofore in the criminal prisons of the metropolis. Mr. alderman Wood, as chairman of the committee appointed to superintend the building, laid the stone, attended by the dukes of Kent and Sussex, Mr. Whitbread, and many other persons of distinction, besides a vast concourse of spectators.

#### GENERAL ILLUMINATION.

5. The metropolis was generally illuminated this night and the two following in honour of the late victory. The front of Carlton-house, and that of Somerset-house, exhibited one blaze of light, with the name of Wellington in the centre, formed with lamps, and allusions to the hero's exploits. The India-house, the Mansion-house, the Admiralty, Apsley-house (the residence of marquis Wellesley), with the houses of the Spanish ambassador and of the Spanish consul, were illuminated with much taste and elegance; and many individuals made displays honourable to their patriotism, and evincing taste and feeling.

#### FETE IN HONOUR OF THE BATTLE OF VITTORIA.

20. A grand festival in honour of the battle of Vittoria was celebrated at Vauxhall. Soon after five nearly 1,200 people were assembled in the gardens. The dinner was in the range of covered buildings, with the addition of a temporary saloon. The rotunda was filled by a raised semicircular table, which was appropriated to the royal family, the foreign ambassadors, the ministers, &c. At the head was placed a seat for the duke of York as chairman; and behind was ranged on raised shelves, covered with crimson cloth, a vast quantity of massive gold and silver plate (belonging to the regent) surmounted by a bust of the marquis of Wellington. At the back of the duke's chair, and a little before the plate, were stationed two trumpeters and a grenadier holding the standard of the 100th regiment of French horse, taken at Vittoria: the baton of marshal Jourdan was disposed among the plate, and beneath lord Wellington's bust. Besides this semicircular table, on the platform was a smaller square table, appropriated to the lord mayor, aldermen of the city, and their immediate friends. In the saloon were three long tables; beyond that, in a temporary building erected among the trees, the trunks of which served to support the roof, appropriately composed of the ensigns of Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, were accommodations for nearly 900 persons. The dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, Sussex, Cambridge, and Gloucester, took their seats at the table about a quarter past five. The dinner was plain and cold, excepting turtle-soup. The conclusion was announced by a flourish of trumpets, and Non Nobis, Domine.



## MALTA.

21. By the *Giornale di Malta*, of the 16th June, it appears that the progress of the pestilential disorder prevailing there was as follows:

On the 9th June died 24 persons, and 26 were taken ill with suspicious symptoms. On the 10th, 32 persons died, and 23 were taken ill. On the 11th, 27 died, and 40 were taken ill. On the 13th, the number of those who died was the same, but fortunately only 14 were taken ill. On the 14th, 36 died, and 17 were taken ill. Yesterday, the 15th, 19 died, and 15 were taken ill.

A subsequent journal of the 19th reckons 518 to have died from the 18th April up to that day, but thinks upon the whole, that considering the disproportionate size of the place to its population, together with its extensive commerce, the narrowness of some of the streets, and also the closeness of the houses in which the inhabitants are almost heaped upon one another, the progress may be considered as slow and of little consequence. By other accounts, the greatest precautions are said to have been taken for preventing the spread of the infection; and an expectation was entertained, that as the heat of summer became more intense, the disease would be gradually extinguished. Such at least is the usual effect of the ardent summer heats at Alexandria and other places of the Levant, where the plague is an annual visitant.

## MARGATE.

25. Yesterday a dreadful thunder storm was experienced here; and although it passed over the town without injury, it was productive of fatal effects in our immediate vicinity. A donkey party, common at

watering places, consisting of a gentleman, two young ladies; and two little boys, had gone in the evening to Ramsgate; on their return they were overtaken by the thunder storm. They immediately sought for shelter under the porch of a house on Chapel-hill, and the two boys who drove the donkey along with them, leaving the donkeys on the road. The storm still continuing, the donkey drivers fearful lest the poor animals, frightened by the storm, might run home, went out to see if they were still there. They had scarcely reached the spot, when a tremendous flash of lightning struck one of them dead, threw the other to the ground, scorching his eyes and arms, and killed three of the donkeys. The boy, who is alive, was carried home, and there is reason to hope that he is now in a convalescent state. There is a large hole in the left arm of his jacket where the fluid appears to have entered; and his shirt is scorched almost to tinder.

## LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

25. An Extraordinary Gazette was published on Sunday last, giving a detail of the actions in America of the 5th May and 5th June. It also contained an account from colonel Baynes of a spirited attack on Sackett's Harbour, of which the following is an extract:

"The gun-boats which had covered our landing afforded material aid by firing into the woods; but the American soldier, secure behind a tree, was only to be dislodged by the bayonet. The spirited advance of a section produced the flight of hundreds: from this observation all firing was directed to cease, and the detachment being formed in a regular order as the nature of the ground

ground

ground would admit, pushed forward through the wood upon the enemy, who, although greatly superior in numbers, and supported by field-pieces, and a heavy fire from their fort, fled with precipitation to their block-house and fort, abandoning one of their guns. The division under colonel Young was joined in the charge by that under major Drummond, which was executed with such spirit and promptness, that many of the enemy fell in their enclosed barracks, which were set on fire by our troops: at this point the further energies of the troops became unavailing. Their block-house and stockaded battery could not be carried by assault, nor reduced by field-pieces, had we been provided with them: the fire of the gun-boats proved inefficient to attain that end: light and adverse winds continued, and our larger vessels were still far off. The enemy turned the heavy ordnance of the battery to the interior defence of his post. He had set fire to the store-houses in the vicinity of the fort. Seeing no object within our reach to attain that could compensate for the loss we were momentarily sustaining from the heavy fire of the enemy's cannon, I directed the troops to take up the position on the crest of the hill we had charged from. From this position we were ordered to re-embark, which was performed at our leisure, and in perfect order, the enemy not presuming to show a single soldier without the limits of his fort. Your excellency having been a witness of the zeal and ardent courage of every soldier in the field, it is unnecessary in me to assure your excellency that but one sentiment animated every breast, that of discharging to the utmost of their power their duty to their

king and country: but one sentiment of regret and mortification prevailed, on being obliged to quit a beaten enemy, whom a small band of British soldiers had driven before them for three hours, through a country abounding in strong positions of defence, but not offering a spot of cleared ground favourable for the operations of disciplined troops, without having fully accomplished the duty we were ordered to perform."

27. A man of the name of Leary, his wife, and another man, were brought up, and underwent examination, charged on suspicion of having murdered the man that was discovered in a pond near Wellington-square, Gray's-inn-lane, on Monday morning last. It appeared in evidence that the deceased had lately come from Ireland, and in company with his wife went to Leary's lodgings, where after having drunk freely, the prisoner, the deceased, and his wife, went out together. They called at a public house in Field-lane, where they had more to drink, and then proceeded up Holborn-hill, desiring the wife to go home, and that they would be there immediately. The deceased not returning home the whole night, his wife, on Monday morning, went to the prisoner Leary's lodgings to inquire after her husband, when Leary's wife would give no information. The prisoners were committed for re-examination.

Thursday morning James Leary was again put to the bar, and the further investigation of the murder of Edward Clifford took place.— Mary Clifford, wife to the deceased, was brought forward, and being in a very weak state, the magistrates ordered her a chair. Her evidence on a former day was read over,



and was in substance the same as she gave before the coroner's jury. In addition she stated, that to the best of her knowledge, her husband had, on the day preceding the murder, one 5*l.* note, seven 1*l.* notes, two guineas in gold, and 16*s.* in silver. Leary, the prisoner, she said, knew of her husband's having this money; and she accounted for his knowledge in the following way:—

“ Leary asked me on the Sunday morning, in the presence of my husband, whether he or I had the money in keeping; and I told him what there was of it, it was with my husband; my husband was angry at my telling he had money about him, and said, Did I want to get him murdered? Leary told me on Sunday night, that my husband intended to leave London the next morning at two o'clock, which made me watch him very close all day. When I parted with my husband for the last time, Leary was with him; my husband was very drunk, but Leary was sober.” Mrs. Clifford was repeatedly asked by the magistrates if she had any thing else to say, or if she could recollect any thing else that had passed? when she answered as often in the negative; but just as the magistrates were about to dispense with her further attendance, she related the following story: “ This morning, before I came here, a young woman, who was from Ireland, came to my room; she had on a round hat, and I think I should know her again if was to see her; I think she said she did something about Fleet-market; but my husband's corpse was brought home, and I was much distressed, and I hardly know what she said; but I do remember so much which relates to my late husband. The young woman told me, that Leary and my

husband were together at twelve o'clock at night, at a public-house near to where the murder was committed; that they called for half a gallon of beer, and that my husband paid for it; in doing which he pulled out all his money, the notes and the two guineas, on which the landlord asked Leary if he knew who my husband was, and that Leary answered, ‘ Oh! he is my brother, and I will take care of him.’ The landlord soon after turned them both out. The young woman further told me, that Leary was met at four o'clock in the morning by a butcher belonging to Fleet-market, who had said that Leary was in a state of great perspiration, and was wiping his forehead with the neck-handkerchief my husband wore the night before the murder.” Mrs. Clifford could not tell who this young woman was, or what brought her to her room. There was no person in the room but herself when the young woman related this story. The magistrates, in consequence of this statement, immediately dispatched officers in search of the public-house; also other officers to make the necessary inquiries of all the butchers in Fleet-market, to know if any of them or their servants had seen the prisoner at the hour stated. The deceased's hat and the shoemaker's hammer were then produced. The hat was sworn to by Mrs. Clifford, also by the person of whom it was purchased. Two of the police officers of Hatton-garden swore, that they found the hammer now produced in the prisoner's room covered over with coals. The hammer, of which one end is round and the other flat, and about two inches wide, was compared with the cut in the hat, and the flat end exactly corresponded.

[Leary

[Leary was afterward brought to trial, convicted, and executed.]

29. George Woodward, a clergyman, who was apprehended at Vauxhall-gardens on the night of the grand fête, for picking the pocket of Mr. Charles Deare, of Harcourt-buildings, Inner Temple, was again brought up for re-examination. Mr. Ives, the keeper of the prison in Horsemonger-lane, in whose custody Mr. Woodward has been, stated to the magistrate his opinion, that the prisoner was labouring under mental derangement. This opinion was founded on his flighty and irregular conduct whilst in confinement. Mr. Ives's suspicions having been excited soon after Mr. Woodward entered the prison, he had him removed to his own apartments where he could observe him more closely. The result of this observation was a conviction that his suspicion respecting the insanity of the prisoner was well founded, and he sent for Mr. Dixon, the medical gentleman who attends the prison. Mr. Dixon agreed in opinion with Mr. Ives, and by his advice Mr. Ives placed a man with the prisoner continually, lest he should attempt to do himself any personal injury. It appeared that the prisoner was in the habit of taking large quantities of opium. No one appearing to prosecute, the magistrate discharged the prisoner, and he was delivered over to his friends.

#### EXECUTION.

29. This morning William Badcock, Peter Patrick Ennis, and Edmund Birkett, for forgery, and William Smith, for taking money out of a letter, were executed before the debtors' door, Newgate, in presence of a great concourse of spectators. These unhappy men were

brought upon the scaffold a few minutes before eight o'clock; and after Ennis had remained in prayer for some time with a catholic clergyman, and the other three with the ordinary of Newgate, they met their fate with becoming fortitude. Smith and Ennis evinced great penitence. Birkett had contrived to secrete a pistol with so much address as to evade detection on the search which took place upon the night before the execution; and about eleven o'clock, although a fellow prisoner and one of the turnkeys were in the cell with him, he discharged a ball into his left side. He failed however in his object of destroying himself, and only inflicted a wound which occasioned him some pain. He was enabled to ascend the scaffold without assistance, and submitted to his fate with the others.

#### AUGUST.

1. The following form of prayer and thanksgiving for the repeated successes obtained over the French army in Spain by the allied forces, and especially for the signal victory of the 21st of June, was read in all churches and chapels:—

“O Lord God of Hosts, who chiefly declarest thy almighty power by protecting the oppressed, and smiting to the ground the proud oppressor, and who, in the defence of injured nations, teachest thy servants to war, and girdest them with strength for battle, we yield Thee praise and thanksgiving for the continued successes in Spain, with which Thou hast been pleased to crown the conduct of our general, and the valour of our soldiers; but more especially for the signal and decisive victory which, under the same commander, Thou hast recently

recently vouchsafed to the allied armies in the battle of Vittoria. Continue, we pray Thee, thy blessing upon the counsels of our general; maintain and support the courage and strength of the allied armies; sanctify the cause in which they are united; and as it hath pleased Thee to put back with confusion of face the proud invader of Spain and Portugal, let the allied armies and allied kingdoms prostrate themselves with one consent before Thee, and acknowledge with humility of heart the victory to be thine. These prayers and thanksgivings we humbly offer to thy Divine Majesty, in the name and through the mediation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

#### EMPEROR OF RUSSIA AND ORDER OF THE GARTER.

The following are the paraphernalia prepared for his imperial majesty's investment. They have been made with all possible magnificence, but with strict adherence to the pattern of the general habiliments. The only difference is, that the mantle is as long as the king's.

The shoes of white kid, ornamented with silver lace and roses.

The stockings and pantaloons of white silk, manufactured for the purpose in one.

The jacket or doublet, and trunk, of rich white silver tissue, ornamented with silver lace, in imitation of point lace.

The sword has a gold hilt; the belt and scabbard are covered with rich crimson velvet.

The surcoat of rich crimson velvet.

A large silver lace rosette for the right knee. The installation garter, richly embroidered, for the left knee.

The superb mantle of garter blue velvet, lined with white lustring. The badge of the order richly embroidered. The mantle is fastened on the neck with blue and gold rope, with two long rich tassels. The hood of crimson velvet, which is worn on the right shoulder.

The gloves white kid, trimmed with silver lace.

The Spanish hat of black velvet, with a large plume of ostrich and heron feathers.

Flowing ringlets of hair, with a bunch of white ribbons to tie them.

The splendid gold collar of the order, with the medal of St. George, to hang on the breast, and large bunches of broad white ribbons and rosettes.

The emperor Alexander is the first Russian monarch that has been admitted into the order of the garter.

#### CHELMSFORD.

6. This day came on the trial of William Cornwell, on suspicion of being the murderer of the late Mrs. Stephens, of Woodford; when, after a laborious and patient investigation, which occupied the court nearly six hours, he was found Guilty. The evidence, although merely circumstantial, was nevertheless so conclusive, being supported by various corroborative circumstances, as detailed at length by eighteen witnesses for the prosecution; that the jury returned their verdict without a moment's hesitation. The learned judge (Ellenborough) in a most impressive manner immediately passed sentence of death upon the prisoner, and ordered him for execution on Monday next.

Under the very peculiar circumstances

stances of the case, the magistrates of Woodford made application to the judge to order the prisoner for execution at Woodford; which his lordship promised to take into consideration. [This request was complied with.]

The prisoner exhibited the same unbecoming levity and hardihood during the progress of his trial, which he had shown during his previous examinations, and since he has been in custody; always persisting in his innocence: and upon the judge pronouncing the awful sentence of the law, the prisoner, with a convulsive grin, said,—“Thank you, my lord, and gentlemen;” upon which he was removed from the bar.

#### SCHOOLS FOR ALL.

The following resolutions were passed at a meeting at which sir James Mackintosh presided.

At a meeting of the West London Lancastrian Association, held the 2d of August, 1813;—sir James Mackintosh, M.P. in the chair;—

It was resolved, 1st. That this association intends providing instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, and good morals, for the children of both sexes, and of every religious denomination, in a district bounded on the north by the new road from Paddington to Battlebridge; on the east by Gray's-inn-lane and the city of London to the Thames; on the south, by the Thames from the city of London to the intended bridge to Vauxhall; and on the west, from Milbank, through Grosvenor-place, Park-lane, and the Edgeware-road to the New-road.

2d. That by the last returns to parliament, this district appears to

contain 38,560 houses, 84,529 families, and 356,550 inhabitants.

3d. That every annual subscriber of the amount of 5s. and upwards be a member of this association; every subscriber of five guineas, in one sum, a life member; and every subscriber of thirty guineas a member of the committee.

4th. That the address of this association be printed, and delivered to every family within the district.

5th. That the wretched ignorance of a large portion of the population is the fruitful parent of crime, the records of the Old Bailey, and the letter of the rev. Dr. Ford, ordinary of Newgate, to Basil Montagu, esq. afford melancholy proofs.

6th. That the benefits of education and of moral training are such, that of the many thousands of children educated at the Royal Lancasterian Institution, none has been known to be prosecuted for a criminal offence.

7th. That to take the children from the streets, and to train them up in goodness, is the object of this association.

8th. That to effect this object, inquiries will be made from house to house by members of this association, both to ascertain the number of uneducated children, and to receive subscriptions; and it is expected, and respectfully requested, that the applications be received with civility, the inquiries cheerfully answered, and such contributions as may be convenient will be made. In this inquiry the assistance of gentlemen desirous of actively exerting themselves in promoting the great object of this association, is anxiously entreated, and they are requested, as early as possible, to send their names to the secretary.

9th. That the liberal and even noble donations of the affluent, and the smallest contributions of the benevolent, the frugal, and the laborious, are earnestly solicited, and will be equally esteemed.

JAMES MACKINTOSH.

The chairman having left the chair, and Edward Wakefield, esq. having taken the same,

It was resolved unanimously,—That the thanks of this meeting be given to sir James Mackintosh, for the obliging manner in which he accepted the office of chairman, and for the very able and distinguished manner in which he has supported the objects and conducted the business of this meeting.

EDWARD WAKEFIELD.

#### SPAIN.

Dispatches from field-marshal the marquis of Wellington, dated Lezaca, Aug. 4, brought an account of a series of actions in the Pyrennees with the French army under the command of marshal Soult, from the 25th ult. to the 2d inst. inclusive; the result of which has been the defeat and retreat of the enemy from the Spanish frontiers into France, with a loss of fifteen thousand men, including about four thousand prisoners. The loss of the allied army is about six thousand.

The following letters from the army contain some additional interesting particulars:—

Extract from a letter dated the 3d of August: "We never yet saw such desperate fighting, or experienced resistance so obstinate as on these days (the 28th and 30th). The manœuvres of the enemy were admirable, and all his positions chosen with infinite skill, either for attack or defence, victory or defeat. He could assail us from most of his

crowned points with great advantage; or he could reinforce and protect his troops on these stations with celerity and effect. If successful, they were well calculated to ensure the fruits of victory; and, if beaten, to save him from the disasters of retreat. Yet from all these positions he was completely forced, and dreadfully cut up in his retreat, which it required all his efforts to cover, in any way, so as to prevent its being converted into a disorderly flight, notwithstanding the mountainous nature of the ground, which in many places defied combined and extensive movements. Lord Wellington was struck by a spent musquet bullet, which lodged in his sash, but, thank heaven, did no harm to our beloved commander. His lordship says he never met with so daring and powerful an enemy; but it seemed only to rouse the British lions more to vanquish him. Indeed nothing can describe the devotedness and ardour of our forces. The Portuguese acted nobly. The marquis of Worcester was struck by a ball, and fell from his horse; but this brave young nobleman was only stunned, and was soon ready again to partake in the glory of his comrades.—The defiles and passes which abound in this district afforded much facility and security to the foe. We have nevertheless taken great abundance of stores, baggage, &c. Numerous prisoners are hourly bringing in, and I do not think their total loss can be less than twenty thousand men."

Extract of another letter, dated Aug. 4. "On the retreat of the enemy, we came up at Elezando with general Gautier, and 1,500 men, escorting the convoy of provisions (100 cars and 250 laden mules,) intended for Pamplona.

We

We had only 400 men of general Byng's brigade. The enemy was, however, attacked without hesitation, and fled precipitately, leaving all the convoy and 500 prisoners in our hands: in fact, the spirit of the French army is broken, and I do not believe that the presence of Bonaparte himself would re-organise it. I consider this victory to be greater than that of Vittoria, and indeed the greatest ever gained by lord Wellington. Soult had seven divisions of infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and 40 pieces of artillery; in all 45,000 men."

Soult, before he entered Spain, issued a proclamation to his army, in which he says—"That he has been sent by the emperor to the command of his armies of Spain; and that his imperial majesty's instructions and his own intentions were to drive the British across the Ebro, and celebrate the emperor's birth-day in the town of Vittoria."

A letter from an officer attached to the army besieging Sebastian, gives the following shocking particulars of the storming of that place: "As fast as our men came up, they were knocked down by the dreadful fire from the defences which bore upon the breaches; and when a few got into them, they were unable to effect any thing from their weakness. In short, the carnage was so great, that the French themselves called out to our officers to draw the men off, and actually ceased firing upon them. Never was witnessed such heroism as on the part of our soldiery on this occasion; particularly the Scots royals, who, though almost cut to pieces, absolutely refused to retire till the third or fourth command was issued for them to do so."

The regency of Spain, it is said, have lately carried into execution

the unanimous vote of the congress, which ordered a grant of land to be conferred on the marquis of Wellington, as a solid and enduring monument of the gratitude of their nation. Three royal estates have accordingly been submitted to the British field-marshal for his choice; and with that disinterestedness and taste which are known to temper the splendour of his military fame, he gave the preference to that which was lowest in actual value, but which came recommended to his fancy by the beauty of its situation and the amenities of its scenery. It is situated on the river Xenil, in the kingdom of Granada, and its annual produce is estimated at 30,000 dollars.

Some late Cadiz papers contained an order, addressed by marquis Wellington to his army, prescribing the conduct to be observed by the troops in the French villages on the frontier. He justly deprecates the idea of taking vengeance on the people of France for the atrocities committed by the troops of Bonaparte in Spain; and orders receipts to be given as usual for the supplies required of the French inhabitants, in order that they may be paid for by the commissaries.

The Pope's nuncio has been sent out of Spain, and his temporalities have been seized, for continuing to intrigue against the Spanish government on account of the decree for abolishing the Inquisition.

#### GERMANY.

A most sanguinary decree was issued at Hamburg on the 24th ult. by marshal Davoust, under the title of an amnesty for the acts of rebellion, insurrection, and desertion, committed up to that date in the thirty-second military division. From this are excepted certain persons

sons by name, of whom the act contains a list; also all persons guilty of acts of violence, attacks, and individual murders, plunders, thefts, and other excesses, even although originating in the insurrection, and all those who have absented themselves, and shall not return before the 5th of August—all which persons, thus excepted, are declared enemies of the state, and banished for ever, and their property is confiscated.—Now, the second class of offences, though it affects to relate to private crimes, is so vaguely described, that there is scarcely an act of violence or insurrection which may not be brought within it; and as for the third, the time allowed for return is so short, that the parties, if at any considerable distance, could not avail themselves of it. For instance, those Hamburghers who may have sought refuge in England could not by possibility take the benefit of the act, for it was not known there until two days after its expiration. It is, therefore, an insult to common sense, and a mockery of mercy, to call this an act of amnesty. It is, in fact, a cruel measure of proscription—an outlawry against all the loyal and patriotic people of Hamburgh, and an expedient to raise money by the confiscation of their property. The most compulsory means have been resorted to for extending and strengthening the fortifications; neither age nor sex is spared; neither rank nor character is respected; nor is it permitted to the weak and feeble to avail themselves of wealth to procure a substitute.—In this cruel and oppressive decree, fathers, mothers, and guardians, are rendered responsible in penalties, for the acts of their children and wards, though wholly out of their power:—for the

want of males, women are dragged to work at the fortifications, at the rate of three women for two men, and twenty boys are made to supply the place of ten men.

The deputies who had been sent to intercede with Bonaparte, to reduce the demand made for military purposes on this oppressed city, were wholly unsuccessful. They were told by Napoleon, that their disloyalty during the absence of the French troops entitled them neither to favour nor compassion.

The long-intended meeting between the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, and the crown prince of Sweden, took place on the 10th ult. at Trachenberg, and their conferences were continued on the 11th and 12th. Lord Cathcart and Mr. Thornton assisted on the occasion.

A late letter from Stralsund contains the following passage:—“The emperor Alexander, the king of Prussia, and the crown prince, in conjunction with count Stadion the Austrian minister, and lord Cathcart, have drawn up an ultimatum, which has been sent to Napoleon. It will decide the question of peace or war. Every one is prepared for the latter alternative. War frightens no one now; but it is rather wished for than a middling peace.”

Letters have arrived from Gottenburgh to the 23d inst., the contents of which are of the highest importance, as they announce the accession of Austria to the allied cause. This most desirable event, we understand, took place on the 10th inst. On the 13th the head-quarters of the Austrian army were removed to Prague; to which capital the emperor Alexander, the king of Prussia, and lord Cathcart, had proceeded. The whole forces of Austria were in motion.—General Moreau

Moreau sailed from Ystadt on the 4th for Stralsund, where the crown prince was expected from Berlin to meet him. From a bulletin of the army under the command of the crown prince, issued at Oranienburgh on the 13th, it appears that his royal highness has under his immediate command a force of 80,000 men, which, in the course of a day and a half, can be concentrated for any operation; independent of powerful detached corps acting under his orders.

Private letters from Gottenburgh contain the following estimate of the force of the allies:

Austrian army in Bohemia 150,000  
Russian and Prussian army in Silesia - - 200,000

Army of the north of Germany, consisting chiefly of Swedes and Prussians 127,000

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477,000

This, however, is probably an exaggerated statement.

#### RUSSIA.

The merchants of St. Petersburg have presented count Wittgenstein with the sum of 150,000 rubles, for his meritorious conduct during the late invasion. The count has declared his intention of laying out this sum in the purchase of an estate in the government of St. Petersburg, to be entailed upon his posterity, without liberty to alienate or mortgage.

The commander-in-chief of the armies, the general of infantry, Barclay de Tolly, has addressed to the minister of the interior a letter, dated Reichenbach, June 20, in which, among others, we remark the following passage:—"I do not consider it superfluous to inform your excellency, that our armies, as well as those of our ally, the

king of Prussia, notwithstanding the rapid and painful movements and operations which they have had to follow, are in the best possible state, and quite ready to re-appear upon the field of honour. If the armistice does not bring about a solid peace, we hope, with God's assistance, to put an end, by the force of our arms, to the war, and by that to the calamities which overwhelm the universe."

#### INQUISITION.

A letter from India mentions that the Inquisition at Goa was abolished in October last, and all its cells, secret chambers, &c. thrown open to public inspection.

#### AFRICA.

Mr. A'Court, the British envoy at Algiers, has succeeded in negotiating a treaty of peace and amity, on the most satisfactory terms, between the prince regent of Portugal and the dey of Algiers. This treaty was signed at Algiers on the 9th June.

If the Americans are as great readers of books as they are of newspapers, a taste for literature must be gaining ground rapidly in the United States. Four years ago, according to Thomas's History of Printing, there were not less than three hundred and fifty-one newspapers published in the republic. Of these, 12 were printed in New Hampshire; 32 in Massachusetts; 7 in Rhode Island; 11 in Connecticut; 10 in Vermont; 66 in New York; 8 in New Jersey; 71 in Pennsylvania; 2 in Delaware; 21 in Maryland; 4 in Columbia; 23 in Virginia; 10 in North Carolina; 10 in South Carolina; 17 in Georgia; 16 in Kentucky; 6 in Tennessee; 14 in Ohio; 1 in Indiana; 4 in Mississippi; 10 in Orleans; and



and 1 in Louisiana. Before the revolution, only nine papers were published; so that 342 have since been added. Of these, 25 are issued daily; 16 thrice a-week; 33 twice a week; 278 weekly. Eight of them are in the German language, 5 in the French, and 2 in the Spanish. In 1810, 157 were called Federal, 158 Democratic, and the rest Neuter.

At the Hampshire assizes, Ensigns M'Guire and Gilchrist, lieuts. Dillon and O'Brien, principals and accessaries in a duel at Newport between M'Guire and Blundell of the 100th regiment, were tried for the murder of Blundell (lieut. Hemmings, who acted as second to Blundell, did not surrender himself). The variance originated in M'Guire supposing that Blundell had reported that he had supplied M'Guire with clothes. The deceased, it appeared, would not have fought, had he not been influenced by the sentiments of his brother officers. [They were all sentenced to suffer death, but reprieved till the 21st instant; and have been since pardoned.]

#### SOMERSET ASSIZES.

15. On the civil side was tried an action, in which the widow of the rev. W. Ireland was plaintiff, and Mr. Champneys defendant. This cause originated in some disputes which long prevailed in the parish of Frome, about the right of electing a sexton. A poem on the subject (entitled *Hieromania*) appeared about four or five years ago, in which the character of the rector was treated with much ridicule and severity. The printer of the poem was prosecuted, convicted, and imprisoned. At the Somerset Lent assizes, Mr. Champneys, having, as the author and publish-

er, suffered judgement to go by default, was convicted, and 1500*l.* damages were awarded against him, in favour of the rev. plaintiff; but that clergyman dying before the judgement could be duly entered, the verdict of course fell to the ground.—As some passages of the poem were supposed to allude to Mrs. Ireland, and conceived to be of a base and libellous tendency, she brought this action against Mr. Champneys, and laid her damages at 5000*l.* On the part of the defendant, it was contended, that however atrocious the publication might be deemed against the former plaintiff, the passages now produced in evidence, affecting the widow, were too trivial to demand more than nominal damages. The jury, having been inclosed between eight and nine hours, brought in a verdict in favour of the plaintiff, with 400*l.* damages.

MARY DOLAND v. T. DEASY, ESQ.

Bristol.

This was a most curious case.—It was an action brought by Mary Doland, to recover from the defendant certain instalments, due upon an annuity bond given by him to plaintiff, by which he stipulated to allow her 50*l.* per annum, on condition that she gave up her child to him for ever.—It appeared that the father of Mr. T. Deasy had left him an estate of 2 or 3000*l.* value, which was to go to his brother in default of male issue. Mr. Deasy had been married 19 years, without having any child, when a quarrel took place between him and his brother, Mr. Richard Deasy, and shortly after an announcement appeared in *The Star* newspaper, that the lady of Timothy Deasy, esq. had been delivered of a son.—This, with other circumstances, excited the

the suspicion of his brother, who had a family of seven children. He accordingly set to work, and calling upon a medical gentleman of Bristol, (Mr. D. of Park-street), who attended the elder Deasy's family, that gentleman peremptorily refused to give him any answer, and seemed extremely anxious that he should leave the house. This of course added to his suspicions; and on further inquiry, it turned out that, Mary Doland having become pregnant by a fellow servant, she had been delivered of a son in Lower Berkley-place. There she was waited on by the above medical gentleman, by whom she was introduced to Mrs. Deasy, and the bargain made, though with reluctance on the part of the mother.—The child was taken away with due caution and secrecy, and on the 28th of September 1809, was christened by a Bristol minister of the catholic church, in the name of Edward Garrett Deasy. For a considerable time the mother did not know where the child had been secreted, as the nurses had been often changed; but she at length found out, and was permitted to remain with it for about two months. The defendant and his wife then left Bristol with the infant, and travelled about the country to avoid detection.—Mary Doland, it appeared, had executed an agreement never to divulge or make known any of the circumstances respecting her said child, nor to approach near the residence of the defendant or his family; upon an alleged violation of which agreement the defendant rested his opposition to the obligations of the bond.—Mr. sergeant Pell having made a most eloquent exposition of the circumstances thus briefly detailed, and proof of the bond being

1813.

admitted, defendant's counsel, Mr. sergeant Lens, proceeded to call several witnesses in support of the defence; whose evidence went to prove that the plaintiff had often visited the residence of the defendant—at times imperatively demanding a sight of her child—at other times these visits were presumed to be with the consent of the defendant and his wife, as she brought clothing and caps for the child's use.—After a reply from serjeant Pell, the learned baron summed up the evidence; when the jury, without leaving their box, returned a verdict for the plaintiff of the amount sued for, with all arrears to the present time.

## NORTHAMPTON ASSIZES.

The trial of Huffey White, Richard Kendall, and Mary Howes, alias Taylor, for the robbery of the Leeds mail, occupied the court upwards of fourteen hours and a half, nearly forty witnesses being examined, whose connected chain of evidence afforded the most indisputable proof of the guilt of the two men. In the first instance, the arrival of the mail at Kettering, on Monday the 26th of October last, at the usual hour, with the different bags all safe, which were forwarded from thence with the Kettering and other by bags, was satisfactorily proved; as likewise the whole being safe at Burton-Lattimer, three miles from Kettering, when the guard, after travelling about three quarters of a mile from Burton, quitted his seat, and went over the roof of the coach and rode on the box with the coachman till they approached near to Higham Ferrers, when he resumed his seat behind the coach. Having arrived at Higham, the guard, on going to unlock the mail

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box,

box, discovered that the lock had been broken off, and on opening the lid, that the bags had been taken away. At the different post-towns the rest of the way to London, the the guard gave information of the robbery; and on his making the circumstance known at the general post-office, the postmasters-general immediately dispatched several Bow-street officers to endeavour to ascertain how and by whom the robbery had been committed. On Lavender's arrival in the country, he learned, that Kendall, a known suspicious character, lived at Wellingborough, in quest of whom he immediately went, and caused him to be apprehended, when on inquiry, it appeared that Kendall, with another man, had travelled in a chaise-cart from Keyston toll-gate, Hants, through Thrapston to Wellingborough in the afternoon previously to the robbery, and that they would arrive at the point where the road from Thrapston to Wellingborough crosses the London road, near the obelisk, in the parish of Finedon, before the mail coach would pass, and near to which place it was supposed the robbery was committed, from the circumstance of four small by-bags being found on the road unopened. On further investigation respecting Kendall's companion, there appeared very strong reasons to suspect that White was the party, as it was ascertained that he had occasionally been residing at Keyston-gate, but was known by the name of Wallis. In consequence of these circumstances, rewards were immediately offered for his apprehension, which was at length effected. From the evidence adduced it was clearly proved, that White was the companion of Kendall, and that they had been seen together several

times; notwithstanding Kendall, in his examination before the magistrates, denied having any knowledge of the person who rode with him in his chaise cart on the day of the robbery, and stated it was a person he accidentally met with and took up on the road. It further appeared in evidence, that about half an hour after the mail passed the obelisk at Finedon, two, men were observed in a cart or gig travelling towards Wellingborough, and that one of them said to the other, "It's a complete job, d—n you, drive on;" and that shortly afterwards one man in a cart or gig went through the turnpike gate between Finedon and Wellingborough, who before he arrived at the gate was heard speaking to another person, who passed the gate on foot. The turnpike-gate-keeper stated that no other cart or gig had gone through the gate that night. It was then proved that White and Kendall were seen together at Wellingborough the next morning (Tuesday the 27th), from whence the former took post-chaise at Rythorne, which is near Keyston-gate, then kept by Mary Howes, who went by the name of Taylor; but at a short distance before he arrived there, he ordered the post-boy to set him down in the road, and he walked towards the gate. It appeared that after his arrival at the toll-gate, Mary Howes requested a person who was going through the gate to order a chaise and pair from the George inn at Thrapston, to be sent to the gate to go to Huntingdon. The chaise arrived in a short time, and in which White and Howes immediately set off for Huntingdon, which they reached about eight o'clock on Tuesday evening, and then walked together to Godmanchester. There  
they

they endeavoured to hire a horse and gig to convey them to Kisby's hut, a public-house about three miles and a quarter from Caxton, in Cambridgeshire. Not being able to procure a gig, they went on the outside of the Edinburgh mail to the hut, wherethey stopped a short time, and were conveyed from thence to Caxton by the landlord, in his taxed cart. From Caxton they travelled the direct road to London in post-chaises; arriving in Bread-street, Cheapside, about eight o'clock on Wednesday morning, and were set down in the street. It appeared, that in a short time after, White, accompanied by a woman, went to the Bull's head tavern in Bread-street, where the latter stopped till Thursday evening, and the former till the Saturday following. During White's stay at the tavern, and previously to the woman's departure, one Samuel Richardson, a noted character, and who has been connected with the desperate gang of public depredators lately apprehended, swore that White had shown to him a considerable number of notes and bills, which he told him had been taken from the Leeds mail, and particularly a bill of exchange for 200*l.* which became due on the following day; (Friday, the 9th,) and offered to sell them to Richardson; but the purchase of which he declined, saying that they would not suit him. The above 200*l.* bill was identified as having been stolen from the mail the night it was robbed. After the production of a variety of other testimony, all agreeing in the most satisfactory manner to substantiate the guilt of White and Kendall, the jury, on receiving from the learned judge (M. baron Thompson) a charge distinguished for its impartiality,

perspicuity, and humanity, found the prisoners White and Kendall guilty, and acquitted Howes, under direction of the judge, upon a point of law. Immediately after, the judge passed the awful sentence of death upon the two culprits, who were left for execution.

#### TRIAL OF NICHOLSON.

*Maidstone, Aug. 20.*

The doors of the court-house were opened at a quarter before eight o'clock in the morning, and in a few minutes it was crowded. Exactly at eight o'clock Mr. justice Heath was on the bench, and Nicholson was brought to the bar. His appearance was composed. He pleaded "Not guilty," in consequence, he said, of the persuasions of several persons.

Mr. sergeant Shepherd.—"Gentlemen of the jury, this is an indictment for petty treason committed by a servant in the murder of his master, in whose service he was at the time of his perpetration of the atrocious act. What in ordinary cases is called simply murder, this, under peculiar circumstances, the wisdom of the law has denominated treason, ranking it next to offences against the state: and this is ordained for the comfort and security of life in its domestic relations. Against external violence there may be some guard; against domestic treachery there can be no protection, unless the law thus stepped in, and interposed more awful sanctions to make existence valuable.—The case would be proved so fully by the different witnesses, as to leave no doubt, independently of the confession, that the unfortunate man at the bar had committed the dreadful crime imputed to him. On the 31st of last May he was in the service of Mr.

Bonar, in which he had lived for about three weeks; he was the only man servant who slept in the house, the rest sleeping in outer apartments over the stables: he lay in a room called the servants'-hall: Mr. and Mrs. Bonar slept in a room at some distance, to which there was an anti-room. At twelve o'clock Nicholson retired to bed: Mrs. Bonar was not in bed till two o'clock. The next morning the maid servant went up stairs, and found the door of the anti-room locked on the outside, which unusual circumstance showed that somebody had been to the room: she was also alarmed by a strange smell, and by discovering that the rush-light, which was commonly left in the fire-place, had been carried away. She went to the lady's maid, and told her what she had observed; and mentioned that there were marks of footsteps coming from the bed-room of Mr. Bonar, though she had not then ascertained whether they were dirty or bloody. The other, hearing these extraordinary circumstances, was instantly struck with a suspicion of that event which had really taken place, and exclaimed "My master and mistress are murdered!" Some time afterwards Nicholson was observed in the hall, staring round him, with evident signs of perturbation and horror in his countenance. The servants then proceeded to the bed-room, where the body of Mr. Bonar was seen lying dead upon the floor, with several wounds in his head, his appearance altogether denoting a violent struggle with his murderer. Close to him was a poker, which was obviously the instrument of his destruction. It was not the regular poker of the servants'-hall, but one which was frequently used there, as being

lighter and more portable than the other—there was also a broken candlestick which belonged to the servants'-hall. The prisoner afterwards went up with the servants into the bed-room, and took away two sheets with blood upon them: he carried them down stairs, and tied them up in a sheet taken from his own bed; one of the sheets so brought down and tied up was evidently a sheet belonging to Nicholson's bed; and in it he had no doubt clothed himself when he went to perpetrate his horrible crime. A groom was sent to Bromley for a surgeon: the prisoner meantime evinced great anxiety to go for Mr. Astley Cooper, and went to saddle a horse for that purpose, but was so agitated that he could not do it; and the coachman was forced to do it for him. He mentioned this, to show that his perturbation was greater than the ordinary and natural emotion on such a melancholy occasion; and plainly arose from conscious guilt. There were several other important circumstances: the windows of the servants'-hall, which were shut in the evening, were seen open at four o'clock on Monday morning by a washerwoman who went to the house; from which uncommon appearance, it was obvious that some person had opened them between twelve and four o'clock, and that person must have been inside; and as there was no outward breaking of the house, it was clear that Nicholson must have been the only person in the house. Other circumstances induced suspicion, and he was taken up. While he was in custody, and the coroner's inquest was sitting, he made an unsuccessful attempt on his life: the wound was sewed up by a surgeon on the spot, and there was a probability of his recovery.

covery. After a few days the wound broke out afresh ; and then being under an apprehension of death, he sent for Mr. Bonar, and freely and voluntarily made a confession in the presence of several persons : it was afterwards signed by a magistrate (Mr. Wells), who was sent for to render it perfectly regular. It was made, no doubt, in the expectation of death, and under the impression that it was the only possible way of reparation for his dreadful offence. It was credible, for it gave a clear detail (corroborated by circumstances) of the whole of this horrible transaction. All these facts, together, induced a certainty as to the perpetrator of the crime.

Susannah Curnick examined.—She was a servant of the late Mr. Bonar : the prisoner had been there a month or five weeks ; he was footman, and wore his master's livery ; saw her master and mistress at ten o'clock on Sunday night ; prisoner slept in servants'-hall ; no other male servant slept there : at half-past six on Monday morning went to the anti-room of her master's chamber, found the door of the anti-room locked on the outside ; never saw it locked before : went into the breakfast-room adjoining, saw foot-marks leading from her master's bed-room ; and the rush-light, which usually was burning in the anti-room, was gone ; then went down stairs ; saw the prisoner about seven o'clock in the passage near housekeeper's-room ; he was dressed all but his coat ; he was clean, and looked round at her ; nothing particular in his manner : at half-past seven called up Mrs. Clark ; they went together to the anti-room ; knelt down and saw the footsteps were bloody ; went down and saw Penelope Folds, who went into the room : she afterwards herself went

in, and saw her master on the floor covered with a counterpane ; there was blood all about the room ; did not see the prisoner in the room. This was about half-past seven. A surgeon was sent for ; prisoner said he would go for a surgeon ; saw the prisoner bring some sheets very bloody from her master's room into the servants'-hall, and wrap them up (she believes) in a sheet from his bed. After the discovery, he was the first man who went into the room ; he came down and said his master was dead, and his mistress still breathing ; told them to go up ; she found a japan candlestick which belonged to the house, but not to her master's room ; it was usually kept in the pantry, near the servants'-hall.

Mary Clarke was the maid of Mrs. Bonar ; saw her master and mistress at ten o'clock on Sunday ; went to bed at two, and rose at half-past seven ; the house-maid told her there were foot-marks in the anti-room ; went with her and saw the marks ; went to the door of the bed-room, but does not know whether she went in ; called the laundry-maid ; they hesitated which should go in ; the laundry-maid opened the shutters, and screamed out ; went down and saw the servants in the hall ; does not know whether prisoner was one ; lost her recollection : on recovery saw the prisoner with bloody sheets in the servants'-hall ; he told her to go up stairs ; she went and saw her master lying on the floor covered with a blanket ; he appeared dead.

Penelope Folds was laundry-maid : on the morning of the 31st of May was alarmed by the servants, and went with Mary Clarke to her master's bed-room ; she went and opened part of the shutters ;

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then observed the body of her master on the floor; did not stop to examine whether there were any marks of violence; he was covered with blood; went down and saw the prisoner in the servant's hall; he wrapt up some sheets in another sheet; the prisoner said Mrs. Bonar was living, and begged her to go up stairs—he went up—she followed: he got into the room by the time she got to the door: he took a blanket from the floor, and covered the body of her master; does not recollect any thing else there; saw him with the sheets in the hall before this—the sheets were bloody: he took a sheet from his own bed, and put them in it; he put them on the floor.

Thomas Foy, constable of Great Marlborough-street, on Tuesday after the murder, went down to Chislehurst; found some shoes in a wood closet near the servants' hall—(produced them)—there appeared to be blood on the upper leather and the soles: compared the shoes with the bloody footsteps, they corresponded exactly: the shoes are right and left—one with a spring-heel—one without: one worn at the toe, had left a particularly strong impression; showed the shoes to the prisoner in the evening, who said they were his: received some sheets from Susannah Curnick; (she was called, and said those produced were the sheets): one was fine, the other coarse.

Susannah Curnick said, she gave him the sheets from the floor, they were very bloody—(the sheets were produced)—the coarse sheet was more stained than the fine one. In the prisoner's bed was a night-cap, which at first he denied, but afterwards acknowledged: there were appearances of blood, which,

the prisoner said, he supposed came on it when he took the sheets from his master's room: there were no sheets on the prisoner's bed,

Foy (cross-examined) said the prisoner did not appear intoxicated when he spoke to him.

Eleanor Thomas was cook in the family: on the 30th of May, made the prisoner's bed, and put on two coarse sheets: saw the bloody sheets, one was coarser than the other, and was like that she had put on the prisoner's bed—(she looked at the sheet, and said it was the same.)

Susannah Curnick said, no drawers nor any thing had been disturbed: the watches were at the head of the bed—one hanging, the other under the pillow: no appearance of breaking into the house.

Stephen Lavender went to Chislehurst; saw a sheet at the foot of the prisoner's bed; some blood on it, [Mrs. Thomas said the sheet, with the other coarse sheet, made the two sheets of the prisoner's bed.] He arrived at Chislehurst about one o'clock; went to Mr. Bonar's bed-room: saw his skull fractured, and a poker lying by, bloody and bent, [It was produced.] By the side of Mr. Bonar's bed was a candlestick broke and bloody, as if trampled on by a bloody foot: saw the prisoner on Tuesday, about four o'clock, at Chislehurst; between eleven and twelve saw the prisoner with his throat cut; the wound was sewed up by a surgeon in the house; from the day after for several days he had the care of him; on the 8th of June the wound broke out afresh; the prisoner sent for Mr. Bonar: no promise nor threat was used to induce him to confess: what he said was reduced to writing by Mr. A. Cooper;

Cooper: it was then read to the prisoner, who signed it in the presence of Mr. Hott, Mr. Bonar, and himself, and was signed by them: Mr. Wells then came: the paper was read again: the prisoner went over his name with a dry pen; and Mr. Wells the magistrate then signed the paper.

Lavender cross-examined—said, the prisoner appeared disturbed, but his intellects not at all deranged.

•The confession was here read—

#### DECLARATION OF NICHOLSON.

I, Philip Nicholson, to clear the innocence of others, and tell the truth of myself,—I committed the murder.

Question by Mr. B.—Had you accomplices?—No, sir, I would tell you if I had.

I do not mean accomplices in the room, but others?—No, sir, I did not know it myself five minutes before.

Explain how it happened.—I was sleeping upon the form, and waked about three o'clock; I put the sheet around me, and took the poker from the hall grate, and a lighted candle in my hand from the hall. I entered the room, I looked about when I entered, and gave my mistress two blows; she never moved. I left her, and went round to master and gave him two or three blows; and he said, "Come to bed, my love," and then he sprung from the bed and seized hold of me. I hit him in the struggle about the arms and legs; we struggled fifteen minutes or better, he was very near getting the better of me; I got him down by force, and left him groaning. I went down to wash my hands in the sink of the butler's pantry, and then opened the house-door and drawing-room windows.

What motive had you?—I had no bad intention: I did not know what provoked me to do it more than you do.

You were heard to complain of going so much behind the carriage;—Yes; but I never thought of doing it from that.

Did you ever feel resentment for going so much behind the carriage?—No, sir: I never thought much about it.

Had you thought or talked of this murder when you were drinking with the groom the night before in the hall?—No: I never thought of it myself, or had any idea of it myself.

How long was it after you waked that you went up stairs?—I jumped up: I was half undressed when sleeping upon the form: I undressed, and put the sheet about me.

Why did you put the sheet about you?—That they might not know me.

When did you drop the sheet?—In the struggle: I had it on when I gave the first blow.

By Mr. A. C.—Did Dale, the butler, know any thing about it?—No, sir.

Did any of the maid-servants know any thing about it?—Not a word.

Why did you go to Dale in London?—Nothing particular.

Was it your intention to take any thing away?—No, sir.

What was your intention?—Nothing particular: but when I went into the room I saw my master and mistress asleep, and I gave her two blows.

Were you drunk when you went to bed?—No, sir, I had drunk nothing but beer. I had not had a drop of spirits all day.

Had you at any former time  
(G 4) thought



thought of the murder?—No, sir, I never thought of such a thing in my life.

What did you do with your bloody things?—My shirt, neck-cloth, and stockings, I put opposite the hall-door in the shrubbery, under some leaves, near the little gate. The breeches I kept on all day. When I waked from the form I only took off my waistcoat.

What did you wipe your hands with?—With the sponge in the sink, which I left there.

What did you do with your shoes? Did you put them into the wood closet?—I might; but I do not remember.

What did you do with the rush-light?—I threw it into the coal closet.

Why did you take the rush-light?—It was dark in the house.

Why did you think it was three o'clock?—By the break of day.

Why did you open the shutters of your room?—To shew me light.

Was it to see your clothes?—No, I had seen them by the rush-light in coming down stairs.

Did you go to sleep after committing this act?—I went to bed, but could not sleep. I was awake when King entered the room.

In the presence of Almighty God, thinking I am on my death bed, I hereby declare this to be my voluntary confession, to prevent innocent people being accused of this circumstance.

(Signed) PHILIP NICHOLSON.  
Acknowledged as the signature of Philip Nicholson, before me,

(Signed) JOHN WELLS.

June 8, 1813.

Lavender, after the confession, searched and found the clothes nearly in the place described: (the shirt was much torn and bloody,

and also the stockings); they were produced.

Thomas Hott, surgeon, was then called. On the 31st of May he went to Chislehurst: went into Mr. Bonar's room; saw his skull fractured, the teeth loosened, and jaw broken: saw a poker, which he had no doubt was the instrument of his death.

The prisoner being called upon for his defence, merely asked whether Mr. Hott had any doubt of the truth of the confession?

Mr. Hott. Certainly not.

The prisoner then called Mr. Frederick Tyrrell as a witness to his character, who said he was the son of the City remembrancer: the prisoner had lived three years with his father, and his conduct during that time was humane and gentle: he appeared to be a man of kind disposition. Cross examined by Mr. Guernsey,—said the prisoner was turned away from his father's service for frequent drunkenness: he had frequently seen him drunk, but not outrageous: it was not considered safe to retain him. Re-examined as to this last point—he said that he was no further unsafe than any other drunken person on account of the risk from lights, &c.

Mr. justice Heath then summed up the evidence: he said he never knew a case more clearly proved: even of circumstances there was so well connected a series as must carry conviction independently of the confession: the bloody footsteps: the conduct and demeanour of the prisoner; his taking off the sheets; his night-cap stained with blood, which could not have happened in the way he said, because when he brought down the sheets in the morning he was dressed and had no night-cap; and the bloody shoes, which

which exactly corresponded with the footmark. All these things seemed to remove all doubt; and then the confession confirmed all these circumstances. If however the jury had any doubt, they would acquit the prisoner.

The jury immediately returned a verdict of Guilty.

The prisoner was then addressed in the usual form, and asked what he had to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him. He said, "he had nothing to offer."

Mr. justice Heath then proceeded to pass sentence nearly in the following terms:—"Prisoner, after a minute trial, you have been convicted by a jury of your country of traitorously murdering your master; whom instead of attacking it was your duty to protect at the peril of your life. What was your motive for so atrocious a crime does not appear: it does not seem to have been revenge; you were not intoxicated, nor offended at your master, against whom it was impossible to feel resentment, for his whole life was a series of kindnesses and beneficences, for which he is now gone to receive his reward. You, Nicholson, must soon appear before a tribunal more awful than this; and I solemnly recommend you to employ the short interval which remains to you, in making your peace with heaven. Nothing that I can say can aggravate the sense of your guilt in the minds of this assembly. I shall therefore proceed to discharge my duty in passing upon you the sentence of the law, which is, That you be taken hence to the place from whence you came, and on Monday next be drawn on a sledge to the place of execution, and there hanged till you are dead, and then your body

shall be given to be dissected and anatomized."

Immediately after the sentence, the prisoner put in a paper and desired it to be read. The judge said this was irregular, but looked at the paper, and told the jury that it contained a confession of crime, which was imputed to excessive drinking. The prisoner, during his trial and the sentence, appeared more sorry and ashamed than agitated: his face is of a feeble cast; his manner was at once dejected and firm. He was immediately after the trial re-conveyed to prison.

#### FINAL DECLARATION OF NICHOLSON.

The paper which he put in and desired to be read was as follows:

I acknowledge with the deepest contrition the justice of the sentence unto death which has been just passed upon me. My crimes are indeed most heavy; I feel their weight, but I do not despair—nay, I humbly hope for mercy through the infinite mercy of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who bled and died for me. In order to have a well grounded hope in him, my all-merciful Redeemer, I know that it is my bounden duty not only to grieve from my heart for my dire offences, but also to do my utmost to make satisfaction for them. Yet, alas! what satisfaction can I make to the afflicted family of my master and mistress, whom without any provocation I so barbarously murdered? I can make none beyond the declaration of my guilt, and horror of soul that I could perpetrate deeds so shocking to human nature, and so agonizing to the feelings of that worthy family. I implore their forgiveness for God's sake; and fully sensible of their great goodness, I do hope that, for  
his

his sake, they will forgive me. I freely give up my life as a just forfeit to my country, whose laws I have most scandalously outraged. Departing from this tribunal, I shall soon appear before another tribunal where an eternal sentence will be passed upon me. With this dread sentence full in my view, I do most solemnly declare, and I desire this declaration to be taken as my dying words, that I alone was the base and cruel murderer of my master and mistress; that I had no accomplice; that no one knew, or possibly could suspect, that I intended to perpetrate those barbarities; that I myself had no intention of committing those horrid deeds, save for a short time, so short as scarcely to be computed, before I actually committed them: that booty was not the motive of my fatal cruelties; I am sure the idea of plunder never presented itself to my mind: I can attribute those unnatural murders to no other cause than, at the time of their commission, a temporary fury from excessive drinking; and before that time to the habitual forgetfulness for many years, of the Great God and his judgements; and the too natural consequence of such forgetfulness, the habitual yielding to the worst passions of corrupted nature; so that the evil that I was tempted to do, that I did: the Lord in his mercy has nevertheless spared until now my life—that life which I, in an agony of horror and despair, once most wickedly attempted to destroy: he has most graciously allowed me time for repentance; an humble and contrite heart must be his gift—that gift I hope he has granted to my most ardent supplications: in that hope, and bearing in mind his promise that an hum-

ble and contrite heart he will not despise, I, freely offering up to him my sufferings, and my life itself, look forward, through his most precious blood, to the pardon of all my crimes, my manifold and most enormous crimes, and most humbly trust that the same mercy which he showed to the penitent thief who was crucified with him, he will show me. Thus meekly confiding in Thee, O Jesus! into thy hands I commend my spirit. Amen.

PHILIP NICHOLSON.

This 20th August, 1813.

The signature was in Nicholson's hand-writing: the rest appeared to be written by another hand.

#### EXECUTION OF NICHOLSON.

Nicholson was removed on the 17th instant from the house of correction in Cold-bath-fields; and at the instance of Mr. Bonar, governor Adkins sent down to Maidstone his principal assistant (Joseph Becker), who had very particular instructions respecting the care and treatment of the prisoner. After sentence of death was passed, Nicholson was placed in the condemned cell, which in the Maidstone gaol is under ground, and the approach to it dark and dreary down many steps. In this cell Mr. Bonar had an interview with the prisoner at half past five on Monday morning last. On his approaching the cell he found Nicholson on his knees at prayer.

At about twelve o'clock the preparations for the removal of Nicholson being nearly completed, Mr. Bonar, accompanied by his brother and Mr. Bramston, the catholic clergyman, had another interview with the unfortunate man; soon after which the hurdle or sledge, which was in the shape of a shallow box

box about six feet by three, was drawn up to the gaol door: at each end was a seat just capable of holding two persons. Nicholson, double ironed, was first placed in it, with his back to the horses; he was also pinioned with ropes, and round his shoulders was coiled the fatal cord: by his side sat the executioner; opposite to the prisoner the rev. Mr. Bramston took his seat, and by his side sat one of the Maidstone jailors with a loaded blunderbuss. Every thing being in readiness, the procession advanced at a very slow rate towards Pennenden Heath, which is distant from Maidstone nearly a mile and an half, on which was erected a temporary new drop, which had a platform raised about seven feet from the ground, and was large enough to contain about a dozen persons. A little before two o'clock the hurdle arrived, and stopped immediately under the gallows, when Mr. Bramston and Nicholson knelt down on it, and remained for some time in prayer. Some time previously to this Mr. Bonar arrived on the ground in a post-chaise, and took his stand within twelve yards of the fatal spot, with the front windows full on the gallows, and which he kept open during the whole time; but each of the side windows was closed by blinds. So anxious was Mr. Bonar to get from the unfortunate wretch his very dying words, as to whether he had either motive or accomplice, that a person was deputed to ascend the platform after the cord was round the prisoner's neck, and to ask him the following questions:

Q. Now that you have not many moments to live, is all that you have stated, namely, that you had no motive that you can tell of, nor had

you any accomplice, true?—A. All that I have stated is true.

Then there is no living creature on earth who had any thing to do with the murder but yourself?—No, no one.

You had no accomplices?—None.

Had you any antipathy to either your master or mistress before you committed the horrid murder?—Clasping his hands together as well as his heavy irons would permit him, "As God is in heaven it was a momentary thought, as I have repeatedly declared before."

The above were the last words of this unhappy man: in a few minutes after they were uttered, the bottom of the platform, which, we have before stated, was constructed like one of the new drops, was let fall, and Nicholson was launched into eternity. He died unusually hard, being greatly convulsed. After hanging an hour, the body was put into a post-chaise, which drove off in the direction for Bromley.

#### EXECUTION OF HUFFUM, alias HUFFEY WHITE, AND ROBERT KENDALL.

These unfortunate men were executed at Northampton, pursuant to their sentence at the last assizes. A report had reached town that Huffle attempted to make his escape the night preceding his execution, and that he had so far effected his purpose as to disencumber himself of his irons, and to have made way through two very strong doors, but was detected at the outside gate and conveyed back to his cell and re-ironed. About half past nine o'clock the procession approached the place of execution. Kendall appeared deeply impressed with a sense

sense of the awful sentence he was about to undergo, but uniformly persisted in his innocence, and said that he fell a victim in consequence of unfortunately being in company with his fellow sufferer on the night the robbery was committed. He declared at the gallows that he was a murdered man; he appealed to the populace in a speech of some length, in which he endeavoured to convince them of his perfect innocence. White's general deportment was such as convinced the surrounding multitude that he died without the fear of death: hardihood never forsook him; and he more than once expressed his disapprobation of the chaplain not performing his duty. He declared that Kendall was innocent. They were launched into eternity amidst the greatest crowd of spectators that ever was seen on any occasion in that part. Hufey White was one of the greatest depredators on the town for many years past. He was attached to gangs of robbers, consisting of housebreakers, (among whom he was an expert workman, having first embarked in this system of robbery,) pickpockets, mail robbers, &c. He was a man whose face did not by any means betray his profession, and was remarkable for his silence and easy manner. He was considered a very temperate man, and is said never to have injured the person of any one in his depredatory career, but on the contrary refused to be concerned with any accomplices who indulged in assaults. White is said to have disregarded the scaffold, and it seems he listened but little to the exhortations of the clergyman, who, on asking him if he could administer any sort of comfort to him, was answered,—“Only by getting some other man to be hanged for him.”

## SEPTEMBER,

FRANCE.

*Paris*, Sept. 1.—The military events which follow each other with rapidity not allowing a detailed relation, we are authorised, whilst expecting them, to publish the following letter, addressed by his excellency the duke of Bassano, minister for foreign affairs, to his serene highness the prince arch-chancellor of the empire:

“Monseigneur,—I had the honour to write your excellency yesterday, the 26th, and to announce to your serene highness, that the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian armies had marched to attack Dresden, under the eyes of their sovereigns, and that they had been repulsed at all points. You will easily comprehend that the emperor is occupied in such a manner, that it is impossible, at this moment, to give a detailed account of all the events which have taken place.—Hostilities commenced on the 17th. His majesty entered Bohemia on the 19th, occupying the principal debouches at Rambourg and Gabel, and having marched his troops within twelve leagues of Prague. On the 21st he was in Silesia, beating the Russian and Prussian armies of generals Sacken, Langeron, York, and Blucher, and forcing the fine positions of the Bober. Whilst the enemy still believed his majesty in the depths of Silesia, he left a powerful army there, under the orders of the duke of Tarentum, made his guards march ten leagues a day, and arrived at Dresden, for some days threatened by an imminent attack. His majesty entered the town at nine in the morning, and immediately made his dispositions. At three in the afternoon, the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian army, commanded by generals Wittgenstein,

stein, Klees, and Schwartzenberg, deployed 150,000 men, marching against the town. All the attacks were repulsed by the old and young guard alone, who covered themselves with glory. The enemy left 4000 killed at the foot of our redoubts. We have taken 2000 men, a flag, and several pieces of cannon.—This morning at four o'clock the emperor was upon the ground; the rain fell in torrents; marshals the duke of Ragusa and Belluno passed the bridge with their corps. At eight o'clock our attack commenced by a brisk cannonade. The enemy's extreme left was commanded by the Austrian generals Ignace, Giuley, and Klenau, and separated from the remainder of the army by the valley of Plauen. The emperor ordered it to be attacked by marshal the duke of Belluno, and by general Latour Maubourg's cavalry, under the orders of the king of Naples. We reckon among the trophies of this day 15,000 men, among whom are field-marshal-lieutenant Metzko, two generals of brigade, many superior officers, 20 pieces of cannon, and 10 flags.—During this time, general Vandamme, who had debouched by Koiregolun, seized upon the heights of Pirna, marched on both sides the Peterswalde road, and rendered himself master of the debouches from Bohemia, beating 15,000 men who presented themselves before him, and taking number of prisoners. At this moment all the roads of Peterswalde and Freyberg are intersected; the Russians and Prussians came by the road of Peterswalde, and the Austrians by that of Freyberg. If the enemy's army, which is numerous, as it is composed of the Russian and Prussian corps, and of all the Austrian army, determines to

retreat, it will necessarily suffer considerable losses; if it remains, there will be very destructive events to-morrow.—Since the affairs at Ulm, the French army never experienced worse weather, and more abundant rain. The emperor has been exposed to it all day. He is this moment entering. The numerous columns of prisoners, pieces of cannon, and flags, which have been taken, are traversing the town. The inhabitants evince the most lively joy at the sight of these trophies. The duke of Reggio was to be on the 23d or 24th at Berlin. The duke of Tarentum drove the remains of the army from Silesia upon Breslau.—It is not a bulletin which I address to your serene highness; but I thought it my duty to give you this important intelligence, his majesty not having time to write: he is very well.—One circumstance will excite universal indignation; the ex-general Moreau is with the enemy's army, in the suite of the emperor of Russia, as a privy-counsellor. He has there thrown off the mask which for some years has not concealed him from intelligent persons. I cannot yet, monseigneur, send your serene highness the documents relative to the Austrian declaration of war. In the midst of those events which succeed each other, I have not found a moment to place them before the emperor.—I am, with respect, monseigneur, your serene highness's very humble and very obedient servant,

“The duke of Bassano.”  
Dresden, Aug. 27, six P. M.

#### GERMANY.

4. At the commencement of the present campaign, Bonaparte told the people of France, that in a few months he would have peace. When the armistice took place, he publicly

publicly exulted in the approaching realization of his boast, which was repeated with increased confidence. But let us ask, what have been the results of his pretended decisive victories of Lutzen and Bautzen, and of the armistice itself? They have led, not to a peace advantageous and honourable to his power and his name, but to hostilities on a larger scale; a scale that embraces all Europe. They have acquired him no fresh supporter, but have added to the list of his enemies a power bound to him closely by the ties of blood, and yet compelled, by his unrelenting ambition, to rend them asunder; a power curtailed indeed in territory, and weakened in population, by the disasters of former wars, but entering into the present with renovated means, and a spirit that adds to their efficiency.

The denouncement of the armistice was officially notified by a letter from general in chief Barclay de Tolly to the prince of Neufchatel; and that hostilities would commence on the 5th (17th) of August, on the part of the Russian, Prussian, and Swedish armies.

The crown prince of Sweden, having received formal intimation of the denunciation of the armistice, and of the attendant Austrian declaration of war against France, put his army in full motion, and concentrated not less than 90,000 men between Berlin and Spandau. He had previously addressed to the combined army under his orders the following proclamation:

"Soldiers,—called by the confidence of my king, and of the sovereigns his allies, to lead you in the career which is about to open, I rely for the success of our arms on the divine protection, the justice of our cause, and on your valour and perseverance. Had it not been

for the extraordinary concurrence of events which have given to the last twelve years a dreadful celebrity, you would not have been assembled on the soil of Germany; but your sovereigns have felt that Europe is a great family, and that none of the states of which it is composed can remain indifferent to the evils imposed upon any one of its members by a conquering power. They are also convinced that, when such a power threatens to attack and subjugate every other, there ought to exist only one will among those nations which are determined to escape from shame and slavery. From that moment you were called from the banks of the Wolga and the Don, from the shores of Britain, and the mountains of the north, to unite with the German warriors who defend the cause of Europe. This then is the moment when rivalry, national prejudices, and antipathies, ought to disappear before the grand object of the independence of nations. The emperor Napoleon cannot live in peace with Europe, unless Europe be his slave. His presumption carried 400,000 brave men 700 miles from their country: misfortunes, against which he did not deign to provide, fell upon their heads, and 300,000 Frenchmen perished on the territory of a great empire, the sovereign of which had made every effort to preserve peace with France. It was to be expected that this terrible disaster, the effect of divine vengeance, would have inclined the emperor of France to a less murderous system; and that, instructed at last by the example of the North and of Spain, he would have renounced the idea of subjugating the continent, and have consented to let the world be at peace. But this hope has been disappointed; and that peace which

all governments had desired, and which every government proposed, has been rejected by the emperor Napoleon.—Soldiers! It is to arms then we must have recourse, to conquer repose and independence. The same sentiment which guided the French in 1792, and which prompted them to assemble and to combat the armies which entered their territory, ought to animate your valour against those who, after having invaded the land which gave you birth, still hold in chains your brethren, your wives, and your children.—Soldiers! what a noble prospect is presented to you! the liberty of Europe, the re-establishment of its equilibrium, the end of that convulsive state which has had twenty years' duration; finally, the peace of the world will be the result of your efforts. Render yourselves worthy, by your union, your discipline, and your courage, of the high destiny which awaits you."

(Signed) "CHARLES JEAN.

"From my head-quarters at Oranienburg, Aug. 15, 1813."

The following order of the day was issued by the prince of Schwartzburg on the 17th of August, setting forth the grounds on which Austria had been induced to go to war:—

"The great day is arrived! Brave warriors! our country relies on you. Hitherto every time that she called upon you, you justified her confidence. All the endeavours of our emperor to restore the long-wanted peace to Europe, and to fix the peace and welfare of the empire, which is inseparable from the peace and welfare of our neighbours, on a solid basis, were in vain. Neither constant patience, nor pacific representations, nor the confidential reliance of the other belligerent powers on the emperor's councils

and measures; in short, nothing could bring the minds of the French government to moderation and reason. On that day on which Austria loudly declared herself for the cause of justice and order, she likewise took on herself to combat for the greatest of all blessings. We do not singly undertake this combat. We stand in the same ranks with all that Europe has to oppose of greatness and activity against the powerful opponent of her peace and liberty. Austria, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, England, Spain, all join their united endeavours for the same end, for a well-founded and durable peace, a reasonable distribution of strength among the different states, and the independence of every single power. It is not against France, but against the domineering power of France out of her own borders, that this great alliance has raised itself.—What may be performed, by the resolution and constancy of nations, has been proved to us by Spain and Russia; what may be performed, by the united force of so many powerful states, will be shown in the year 1813!—In such a holy war we must, more than ever, preserve those virtues by which our armies have rendered themselves conspicuous in so many former wars.—Unconditional willingness to sacrifice every thing for our monarch and native country—great equanimity in good or unfavourable times—determination and constancy in the field of battle—moderation and forbearance towards the weak—these qualities must always be found in us.

"Brothers in arms! I have lived in your ranks all those years which I have devoted to my country's service. I know, I honour, in you, the brave men who conquered a glori-



ous peace, and those who are following their footsteps. I rely on you ! I am chosen from amongst you by our monarch, and his gracious favour has placed me at your head. His confidence jointly with yours is my strength. In what manner every individual is to be useful to the whole, will be fixed by the sphere of action allotted to him; but in every appointment, in every situation, in every decisive moment, always to do his duty, and to the utmost of his power; such is the determination which must make us all equal, and elevate us all to the same glorious point. The emperor will remain with us, for he has confided the utmost to us, the honour of the nation; the protection of our native country, and the security and welfare of posterity. Be thankful, warriors, that you are going into battle before God, who will not forsake the just cause, under the eye of a paternal and feeling monarch, under the eyes of your grateful fellow-citizens, and in the sight of all Europe, which expects from you great deeds, and great happiness after long sufferings. Remember, you must conquer; that you may justify this expectation. Combat as it becomes Austria's warriors to do, and you will conquer. (Signed)

CHARLES, prince of Schwartzenberg, field-marshal."

Nothing but skirmishing had taken place down to the 18th of August inclusive (the date of the crown prince's third bulletin), in the whole of which the enemy were worsted, and lost several prisoners. A circumstance of importance is mentioned by his highness in this bulletin,—it is the defection, on the 15th of August, of one of Bonaparte's generals, who has afforded the beneficial example of

leaving the despot to his falling fortunes, and repairing to the standard of the cause of independence and of humanity. His name is Jomini, and he was no less an officer than the chief of marshal Ney's staff. He passed through general Blucher's army, on his way to the Russian head-quarters.

The fourth and fifth bulletins of the crown prince state, that Napoleon having concentrated, on the 21st of August, an army of 80,000 men in the environs of Bayreuth, under the command of Oudinot, to make an attempt on Berlin, they advanced by way of Trebbin on the day following, attacked the Prussian general Thumen with a superior force, and obliged him to evacuate the post. The next morning the French attempted to follow up their success, and the corps of general Bertrand debouched upon the Prussian corps of Tauenzien at Blankenfelde, but was repulsed. The 7th French corps, however, succeeded in taking the village of Gross Beren, and Oudinot advanced upon Ahrendorff. An attempt to drive the enemy from Gross Beren brought on a severe action; and in the course of the day, they having menaced the village of Ruhlsdorff, the crown prince sent a force to take them in flank. The result of these operations is said to have been 26 cannon, 30 chests, much baggage, and 1500 prisoners taken, and many killed and wounded.

From the sixth and seventh bulletins we learn that the crown prince was following up his successes against Oudinot's army. Girard, who had a command under Oudinot, was defeated on the 27th, between Lubnitz and Belzig, by Czernicheff and Hirschfeld, with the loss of 3500 prisoners, eight pieces of cannon, several waggons of ammunition,

tion, and all the baggage. Girard was killed. The French retreated to Luckau, which city surrendered the next day, with nine pieces of cannon, 1000 prisoners, and a considerable quantity of ammunition and stores. The enemy continued their retreat towards the Elbe, pursued by Winzingerode with 8000 cavalry. The whole of the French loss in this quarter, from the opening of the campaign, is estimated at upwards of 12,000 men. Several more French officers had come over to the allies, and this disposition to abandon the cause of the usurper is represented as general.

The eighth, ninth, and tenth bulletins detail the movements of the different armies.

The following is an extract from the eleventh bulletin, dated Juterbock, Sept. 8.

“ BATTLE OF DENNEVITZ.

“ While his royal highness the crown prince, with the Russian and Swedish corps under his command, was moving on the 4th inst. upon Rosla, in order to pass the Elbe there, and march upon Leipsig, intelligence was received that the enemy's army, coming from Wittenberg, was pushing forward on Zahne, with the view to stop his further operations by a movement against Bodin.—As the enemy had succeeded on the 5th, notwithstanding the heroic resistance opposed by the Prussian army posted between Zahne and Juterbock, in penetrating as far as Juterbock, his royal highness, early on the 6th, hastened with 70 battalions of Swedish and Russian infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 150 field-pieces, to assist the Prussian army, which, consisting of about 40,000 men, had held out, without yielding, against the repeated attacks of the  
1813.

enemy's army, 70,000 strong, under the command of the prince of Moskwa.—At sight of these fresh troops the enemy fled, pursued on all sides by the cavalry and light-infantry, and retreated towards Torgau and Dresden. From 16 to 18,000 prisoners, more than 60 pieces of cannon, and 400 ammunition waggons, are the fruits of this victory and the subsequent actions.—The army has covered itself with glory. The remembrance of the bravery of the Prussian army will eternally remain in the recollection of every warrior, and shine forth as a splendid example to all who fight for the independence of Germany.”

These bulletins also state the important fact, that general Bennigsen, with the Russian army under his command, from Poland, arrived at Breslau on the 30th ult.; from whence he proceeded to Leignitz, marching in the same line with general Blucher.

The twelfth bulletin gives a minute and clear account of the military operations of the northern army. The intention of the crown prince of Sweden to cross the Elbe after the defeat of the French corps under Oudinot, was dictated by a knowledge that the allied armies were prepared to advance from Bohemia; while Bonaparte had, for the second time, quitted Dresden to fly to the assistance of Macdonald in Silesia; but the movements of the combined army obliged him to return to Dresden. After the signal victory obtained at Dennevitz, the enemy was pursued by Dahme to Torgau, where, at the *leve de pont*, 800 prisoners were taken. To prevent the allied troops crossing the Elster, he had broken down the bridges. The total loss of the enemy in the battle and re-

treat is now ascertained to be 20,000 men, including 10,000 prisoners, 80 pieces of cannon, and 400 ammunition-waggons.

By dispatches from sir Charles Stewart, we are informed of the nature of the wound of general Moreau. The shot struck one thigh, passed through his horse, and shattered the other leg; so that it was necessary to amputate both considerably above the knee.

#### HAMBURGH.

6. Count Hogendorp, Bonaparte's governor of Hamburgh, issued on the 18th ult. an infamous order, in which it is declared, that as the place must be considered in a state of siege, more than four persons stopping to speak together in the street, are to be deemed an unlawful mob; and, if they do not disperse instantly, are to be taken up and shot. Circulators of disquieting intelligence are to be tried by a military commission. No citizen, in case of a dispute with a soldier, is to revenge his own wrongs; and in a case of violence, when the latter is on duty, he is to be shot.

#### FRANCE.

A private letter from Paris states, that one of the principal objects to which the consideration of the senate would be directed, was the creation of a paper-money, to facilitate the raising of the supplies necessary for the extensive war which France has to maintain.

A long ordinance has been published by cardinal Maury, archbishop of Paris, relative to the *Ten Days* ordered to be chaunted for the retreat of the allies from Dresden. The people are called upon to petition heaven to preserve the life of "that hero who governs France with so much glory;" and

though a little of the old bombast about "the sublime genius of the emperor" is thrown in, yet we find the wonderful efforts of this sublime genius dwindle down to the fortifying of Dresden.

#### HOLLAND.

In consequence of orders given by the procureur-general of the provost court of Valenciennes, English merchandise, to the value, it is said, of three millions, found in the magazines of the douaniers in Amsterdam, was publicly burnt on the 9th of August.

#### SPAIN.

8. Dispatches from the marquis of Wellington, dated Lezaca, 11th of August, stated, that the fort at Zaragoza surrendered on the 30th of July to general Mina. Above 500 prisoners, 47 pieces of cannon, and a vast quantity of ammunition, arms, and clothing, were taken in this place.

Another deadly blow to French usurpation. The town and castle of San Sebastian's have been taken, —the former by assault, the latter by surrender. The batteries were re-opened on the 26th ult.; but during the suspension of the siege, the enemy had prepared every means of defence that art could devise. By the 30th, several practicable breaches were effected; and on the 31st, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the assault was made. The external appearance of the main breach proved fallacious; almost insuperable difficulties occurred in storming it; for a long time the most determined bravery was exerted in vain by successive detachments: "no man (says sir Thomas Graham) outlived the attempt to gain the ridge;" and at last a firm footing for our troops was only obtained

tained by the bold measure of turning our heavy guns against the curtain, and firing only a few feet over the heads of our own men. This admirable manœuvre was executed with a precision of practice beyond example.—The near prospect of losing this strong hold, incited Soult to make a desperate effort for its relief. His principal push was made near the heights of San Marcial, which were occupied by Spanish troops: and it is a mark how little national jealousy exists among the allies, that the discipline, steadiness, and bravery of the Spaniards on this occasion, excited the universal admiration of the whole army, and drew upon them the especial approbation of lord Wellington. The French were repulsed on this and every other point. The total loss of the British, Spaniards, and Portuguese, in the siege and in the battle, was exceedingly heavy, amounting to not less than 5000 put *bors de combat*; but on the enemy's side it was undoubtedly far more considerable.

Convention proposed for the capitulation of the fort of La Motte of San Sebastian by the adjutant-commandant chevalier de Songeon, chief of the staff to the troops stationed in the fort, charged with full powers by general Rey, commanding the said troops, on the one side; and by colonel De Lancey, deputy-quarter-master-general, lieutenant-colonel Dickson, commanding the artillery, and lieutenant-colonel Bouverie, charged with full powers by lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham, on the other side.

The above-named having exchanged their full powers, agreed as follows:

Art. I. The French troops form-

ing the garrison of fort La Motte shall be prisoners of war to his majesty's troops and their allies.—Answer. Agreed.

II. They shall be embarked in his Britannic majesty's ships and conveyed to England direct, without being obliged to go further by land than to the port of Passages.—Answer. Agreed.

III. The general and other superior officers, and the officers of regiments and of the staff, as well as the medical officers, shall preserve their swords and their private baggage, and the non-commissioned officers and soldiers shall preserve their knapsacks.—Answer. Agreed.

IV. The women, the children, and the old men, not being military, shall be sent back to France, as well as the other non-combatants, preserving their private baggage.—Answer. Granted for the women and children. The old men and non-combatants must be examined.

V. The commissaire de guerre, Burbier de Guilly, having with him the wife and the two daughters of his brother, who died at Pamploña, requests sir Thomas Graham to authorise his return to France with the three above-named ladies, as he is their chief support. He is not a military man.—Answer. This article shall be submitted to the marquis of Wellington by sir Thomas Graham.

VI. The sick and wounded shall be treated according to their rank, and taken care of as English officers and soldiers.—Answer. Agreed.

VII. The French troops shall file out to-morrow morning, by the gate of Mirador, with all the honours of war, with arms and baggage, and drums beating, to the outside, where they will lay down their arms; the officers of all ranks

preserving their swords, their servants, horses, and baggage, and the soldiers their knapsacks, as mentioned in the third article.—Answer. Agreed.

VIII. A detachment of the allied army, consisting of one hundred men, shall occupy in the evening the gate of the Mirador, a like detachment shall occupy the gate of the governor's battery. These two posts shall be for that purpose evacuated by the French troops, as soon as the present capitulation shall be accepted and ratified by the commanding generals.—Answer. Agreed.

IX. The plans and all the papers regarding the fortifications shall be given over to an English officer, and officers shall be named equally on each side, to regulate all that concerns the artillery, engineer and commissariat departments.—Answer. Agreed.

X. The general commanding the French troops shall be authorised to send to his excellency marshal Soult an officer of the staff, who shall sign his parole of honour, for his exchange with a British officer of his rank. This officer shall be the bearer of a copy of the present capitulation.—Answer. Submitted for the decision of lord Wellington. The officer to be sent to marshal Soult shall be chosen by the commanding officer of the French troops.

XI. If any difficulties or misunderstanding shall arise in the execution of the articles of this capitulation, they shall be always decided in favour of the French garrison.—Answer. Agreed.

Made and concluded this 8th day of September, 1813.

The college of medicine of Stockholm has discovered that the

leaves of the potatoe-root, dried in a particular manner, give a tobacco far superior, in point of fragrance, to ordinary tobacco. The king has, in consequence, ordered the public authorities to favour by every means in their power the cultivation of this root.

#### AMERICA.

In the American papers it is asserted, that "a gentleman at Norwich U. S. has invented a diving-boat, which, by means of paddles, he can propel under water at the rate of three miles an hour, and ascend and descend at pleasure. He has been three times under the bottom of the Ramilies, off New London. In the first attempt, after remaining under some time, he came to the top of the water like the porpoise for air, and, as luck would have it, came up but a few feet from the stern of the Ramilies. He was observed by the sentinel on deck, who sung out "boat ahoy"—immediately on hearing which, the boat descended without making a reply. Seeing this, an alarm gun was fired on board the ship, and all hands called to quarters—the cable cut and the ship got under weigh with all possible dispatch, expecting to be blown up by a torpedo. In the third attempt he came up directly under the Ramilies, and fastened himself and his boat to her keel, where he remained half an hour, and succeeded in perforating a hole through her copper; but while engaged in screwing a torpedo to her bottom, the screw broke, and defeated his object for that time. So great is the alarm and fear, on board the Ramilies, of some such stratagem being played off upon them, that commodore Hardy has withdrawn his force from before New London, and keeps his ship under weigh all the

the time, instead of lying at anchor as formerly."

By a St. Vincent's paper of the 2d ult. it appears, that there have been several minor eruptions of Mount Souffriere, since the dreadful volcano in 1812. The Rabacca river flows again from its springs, but not in its old direction; it poured its unwelcome torrents through Langley Park, making its own bed in its wild and impetuous progress, and destroying vast quantities of sugar, &c.

#### IRELAND.

12. *Dub'in.* Lord Whitworth entered Dublin Castle on the 26th ult. His lordship was received at the grand portal by several personages of distinction, and conducted to the state apartments. His excellency soon after entered the council-chamber, preceded by the different officers of state, and followed by his suite, the duchess of Dorset, many noblemen, and numerous friends and visitors; and his investiture to the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland immediately took place, when the duke of Richmond resigned into the hands of his successor the high and important trust. The oaths were administered by the lord chief justice of the king's bench.—Next morning the duke of Richmond held an undress levee at the castle, which was most numerous attended, and at half past twelve o'clock left the castle, in order to embark on board his majesty's yacht the William and Mary, on his return to England. His excellency the viscount Whitworth, lord lieutenant, and the duke of Richmond went together from the castle in the state-coach, preceded by the leading coaches, in which were the officers of state, to the south wall, where the yacht lay.

They were escorted by a squadron of dragoons, and attended by a great number of the nobility and persons of distinction; the lord mayor, sheriffs, several of the aldermen and principal citizens, in their carriages, followed by a concourse of people, to the water side. The streets were lined by the regiments of infantry on the Dublin duty. The duke of Richmond received every demonstration of respect, in passing through the streets, from the people, who testified their regard by repeated wishes for his welfare.

#### THE ARMY.

15. *Duelling.*—The commander in chief has signified, in general orders, dated Horse-guards, September 10, 1813, the prince regent's declaration of pardon to lieutenant Dillon, and ensigns M'Guire, Gilchrist, and O'Brien, found guilty, at the Winchester assizes, of the murder of lieutenant Blundell, who fell in a duel by the hand of ensign M'Guire, the others acting as seconds. The commander in chief, however, expresses his high disapprobation of the conduct of lieutenant Dillon and ensigns Gilchrist and O'Brien, who, instead of endeavouring to settle the trivial difference which existed between their brother officers, magnified its importance, and instigated them to the measure which led to the fatal result.—In consequence, the prince regent has ordered that the three last named officers be dismissed the service; but as lieutenant Dillon, who "from his rank and standing in the army ought to have set a different example, has throughout taken the most prominent part in these outrageous proceedings, and greatly influenced the conduct of ensigns Gilchrist and O'Brien,"

O'Brien," his royal highness limits to him the sentence of being incapable of ever again serving his majesty in any capacity. This order his royal highness orders to be read at the head of every regiment; and "he hopes it will prove an useful and impressive lesson to the young officers of the army, and a warning to them of the fatal consequences of allowing themselves to be misled by erroneous notions and false principles of honour; which, when rightly understood, and leading to its legitimate object, is the highest gem in the character of a soldier."

#### WEST INDIES.

18. Most distressing accounts were received on Wednesday from various parts of the West Indies, respecting the dreadful effects of a late hurricane which occurred in that quarter. The following is extracted from a Bermuda paper of the 1st of August:

"Nassau, Sunday, Aug. 1, 1813.

"It falls to our lot to record the most dreadful calamity by which these islands have been ever afflicted in the memory of man, and which was experienced in the tremendous hurricane with which it pleased Providence to visit them on Monday the 26th ult. The dawn of that day exhibited a serenity calculated to lull to sleep the fears of the most wary; and the breeze freshening on the sky, it was hailed by all as a happy relief from the extreme sultry heat of the atmosphere, which had pressed heavily and unnerved us on the preceding days; but no one saw the approaching storm which lowered behind it. At ten o'clock the wind increased, and continued increasing, accompanied by short showers of rain. It gained considerably in the course of an hour; at eleven it

blew a strong gale, and some of the shipping in the harbour appeared uneasy at their anchorage; but it was not until twelve o'clock that it attained the height which constitutes the commencement of an hurricane, and which soon became evident by its destructive effects upon the waters and upon the shore. Some of the vessels in the harbour were driven from their moorings, and houses began to totter upon their foundations. The courts of chancery and admiralty, then sitting, were of necessity adjourned: his excellency the governor, and the members of the council, in chancery and in admiralty, the judge, the lawyers, and officers of court, having for some time awaited an abatement, now anxious for their families' safety, were compelled to literally fight their way on foot through the storm, the use of carriages having already become impracticable. The bay was soon crowded with merchants, ship-owners, mariners, and labourers; all busily employed in endeavouring to save lives and property from the vessels which were driven from their moorings; and every household, with what assistance he had at hand or could obtain, was employed in fortifying his house against the fury of the raging element, by nailing up and battening doors and windows. But alas! how vain the attempts of man to resist the storm of nature! At about half-past two o'clock the hurricane attained its greatest height, and in its acme continued without interval until five, when it suddenly ceased; and in the space of half an hour succeeded a calm, so perfect, that it can be compared only to that of death after the most dreadful convulsions. It was now that the effects became visible.

Lives

Lives were lost in vain attempts to protect themselves or to save. The government-house, the greater part of the other public buildings, a great number of other houses, the wharfs, the orchards, and gardens were found either wholly or partly destroyed; and all the vessels in the harbour, excepting only Mr. Saunders' schooner *Ellena*, and the prize brig *Santa Anna*, were driven on shore or sunk in the harbour. A scene of ruin presented itself to the view of the beholder, distressing beyond measure to all men not totally bereft of the last spark of glimmering humanity. The inhabitants of the colony, well knowing the nature of hurricanes, took every precautionary measure within their reach during the calm, or lull, to prepare for its second part expected from the south-west, and which set in with great fury at about six o'clock and continued until midnight, when it considerably abated, and soon after totally ceased. The south-west storm differed from the north-eastern one by appearing in heavy blasts of a few minutes' duration, repeated after lulls of equal length, and the length of these lulls gradually increasing until it so ceased; whereas the first storm raged without intermission. This last however nearly completed the general ruin, and it is believed that if it had raged another hour scarcely a house would have remained standing in this city, which before the storm was considered, in proportion to its size and population, to be one of the most wealthy and the most flourishing in the world. One third of the houses have been levelled to the ground: and all have received more or less injury. Property of all description has suffered. Years must elapse ere the losses and in-

juries sustained can be repaired. Hundreds of families heretofore comfortable have been reduced to beggary and want. On the morning after the hurricane the governor walked round the city, and having witnessed the destruction and misery it had occasioned, felt it his duty to relieve the sufferers. Immediately upon his return to the government house, his excellency summoned his council, in order, with their advice, to devise the most effectual means to effect his purpose. A meeting was also had of the members of assembly; and all coinciding in the humane views of the governor, it was soon determined to grant a sum of money for that purpose, which they mutually pledged themselves to confirm at the next session, in the three several branches of the legislature in general assembly."

#### EXECUTION OF DANIEL M'CRORY.

24. This character was found guilty at the last Cumberland assizes of a burglary at Bird-house, where he headed a gang of desperadoes, and the charge was clearly proved against him by the testimony of Gavin (an accomplice), and Mrs. Gibson. M'Crory on Saturday fortnight suffered the awful sentence of the law on a drop erected at the south-east angle of the gaol. The unhappy culprit, who we understand is descended of very respectable parents in Ireland, had been for some years past generally known in Carlisle and its neighbourhood: this circumstance, together with his bold and daring conduct subsequent to apprehension, and an expectation that at the place of execution he might make important disclosures, drew together a very great concourse of people. A large body of constables attended to keep order,



order, assisted by a troop of the 2d dragoon guards, and the 74th regiment of foot. About half-past three the criminal appeared upon the scaffold, attired in black, accompanied by the rev. Mr. Marshall, a Roman catholic clergyman, of which communion he himself professed to be. The manner in which he appeared at the fatal tree excited every one's astonishment. He ascended, not only without the slightest degree of trepidation, but with alacrity, bowing around to the assembled multitude in a manner which seemed to impress the idea of a "favourite stage-player about to act his part." He then produced a paper, from which he read a denial of several crimes which had been perpetrated in the neighbourhood for eighteen months last. He however acknowledged his being concerned in the burglary for which he was about to suffer; confessed the justice of his sentence, though in some immaterial points he declared the evidence against him was not altogether correct; and forgave his prosecutors, with whom, and with all men, he died in peace. A distressing scene now ensued. On the drop falling, the rope broke, and the unhappy man was precipitated to the ground, whereby his leg was broken. "I told you," said he, "this rope would never hang a man of my weight." It seems that he had actually handled the rope before coming out of the gaol, and remonstrated against its unsuitness. After some delay, he was borne upon the scaffold in a chair; and another rope being procured, he was again tied up. Notwithstanding the trying scene, he maintained his fortitude; observed that it was providential that the accident of the rope breaking had happened, since

he had forgotten to notice the infamous character of Gavin, the king's evidence, who he said had sworn many men's lives away, and he feared would do the like again. When turned off the second time the rope partly gave way, and it was feared he would come to the ground again: fortunately this was not the case.—A few minutes before being led out of the gaol, the sound of the horn announced the passing by of the London mail: "I have not the least wish," said he, "for a reprieve; I feel myself so well prepared to die, that I should be sorry to live."—M'Crorry was of a very prepossessing appearance, about five feet seven inches high, remarkably robust and well made, of a fair complexion, and his eye sparkled with intelligence. Upon the whole, his appearance and demeanour excited universal commiseration, notwithstanding every one fully justified the sentence of the law. On Monday evening the body was interred in the burying-ground of St. Cuthbert's, attended by an astonishing concourse of his countrymen and others.—*Carlisle Journal*.

## COURT OF CHANCERY.

*Ex-parte Berkhamstead School.*

The lord-chancellor pronounced judgement in this charity cause. It was an endowment made very many years, or augmented by donation, the origin of the establishment having been at a time anterior to the period denominated time out of mind in law (which is limited to the return of king Richard I. from the Crusades.) The estates are situated in Hertfordshire, and were granted or applied to divers charitable uses immemorially. The distribution of the property was under

der the will of the donor, granting the additional endowment in the following ratio—two thirds to the use and maintenance of the master and usher in succession for ever—the remaining third to be appropriated to the disbursement of all taxes, rates, &c. that should be demandable from the two thirds, &c. the surplus of such third part to be distributed for the relief of the indigent poor of Berkhamstead. It was found by the lords commissioners appointed to investigate all charitable institutions throughout England, temp. Henry VIII. that this charity had been long abused, even from its foundation, whereupon letters patent and an act of parliament were passed, containing regulations for the better management and application of the funds. In despite of such regulations the abuse continued, insomuch that it became necessary to file a bill in this court, when lord Thurlow was chancellor, for relief; whereupon a reference was made to a master in chancery, directing him to inquire into, and report upon, the state of the institution. By the report made in 1794, it appeared that this same radical abuse was continued, and that the indigent poor did not receive one farthing from surplus of third; the same having been reported not adequate to defray the incumbances affecting the two-thirds which remained, shared between the master and the usher, the latter taking one-third, and the former two-thirds of profits, in their increased and accumulated state; although they have never since, nor now, one single pupil, rich or poor, to instruct; contending that they are entitled to possess the large income, merely because they, like their predecessors, now are and have been ready on the spot to give

instructions, if any pupils should attend them. The present bill charged the receiver appointed by the court with having made several leases for lives, or thirty-one year leases, partly for fines, with small rents, and partly for rack-rents, but without paying into court, as the former decree directed, any part of the monies arising from such fines and rents, so that the former order of lord Thurlow became nugatory. It further appeared, that a sum not amounting to less than 5,000*l.* of net funds remained now in the receiver's hands, or within his power to collect, of which he admitted, being in court, that he had annually received a sum of between 2 and 3,000*l.* It was charged also against the receiver, that he had granted leases of some of the lands to some of the trustees or their friends, through the influence of such trustees, and that he had not, by his answer, satisfactorily accounted for the considerations received by him for such leases, but which he now submitted to comply with. It was pressed by the petitioner's counsel, that he should yield such compliances, accompanied with a full and satisfactory affidavit. The lord-chancellor desired the affidavit to be produced, and expressed himself in terms of strong indignation upon this most shameful perversion and gross abuse of the charity, that, shocking to relate, had never yielded any of the benefits intended, except to the master and usher. His lordship dictated a most extensive and critical reference to be made to the master, for inquiring into, minutely and specially, the various abuses and nuisances attending this charity, in order that, as an example to the many and lamentable perversions of public charities, he might make such a decree as could neither be evaded

evaded nor baffled. Prayer of the petitioner granted in the terms prayed for.

### OCTOBER.

#### NEW LORD MAYOR.

1. At a common hall, September 29th, Mr. alderman Domville, citizen and stationer, and Mr. alderman Wood, citizen and fishmonger, were returned by the livery of London, as proper persons to fill the important office of lord mayor of London. The court of aldermen having proceeded to a scrutiny, Mr. Domville was declared to be duly and unanimously elected; and, in a very impressive yet unaffected manner, he thus addressed the common hall:

"Gentlemen of the livery; I stand before you, at rather a late period of life, to thank you for the honour you have conferred upon me, in electing me your chief magistrate for the year ensuing; and, gentlemen, a very high honour indeed do I think it, because it is the greatest in the power of subjects to confer. At the same time I am well aware of the arduous and important duties of the office; and how unequal my abilities are to execute those duties in such a manner as you have a right to expect. But, I promise you, justice shall be impartially administered; and that your rights, privileges, and franchises, shall be defended and supported. To accomplish these great ends, under Providence, I look for the advice and assistance of all those able magistrates that have gone before me, as well as those who are looking forward to the civic chair.—Gentlemen, it would be a great consolation to me, if I were addressing you in the midst of a profound peace: and I cannot but indulge a hope that the bril-

liant successes of our arms in the peninsula, and those of our allies on the continent, may give me an opportunity, during my year of service, to announce to you the blessings of an honourable peace.—Gentlemen, I cannot retire from your presence without assuring you that, if at the end of the year my conduct shall have been such as to merit your approbation, it will be one of the proudest days of my life."

#### BERLIN.

2. Bonaparte has, it is said, issued a proclamation, promising his troops winter-quarters in Saxony, previous to which a diversion would be undertaken against the Silesian army; exhorting them to perseverance and confidence in the genius of their great leader. Seventy-five thousand wounded French have been brought into Leipsig alone, from the 17th of August to the 23d of September!!! The churches and public buildings are filled with them.—An intercepted letter from Maret (Bassano) to his wife says, that the emperor is not forsaken, even in so critical a situation, by his great genius, but that his generals are deficient. Another from Berthier to a secretary at Paris describes the miserable state in which the French army is, and declares that nothing but a speedy peace can save France.

#### NEW BISHOP.

Dr. Howley's election to the bishoprick of London was confirmed at Bow-church, Cheapside, being the oldest church in the diocese, by sir W. Scott, the vicar-general of the province of Canterbury, with the usual ceremonies.

3. This morning Dr. Howley was

was consecrated bishop of London at Lambeth chapel. At half past ten, the queen (who had expressed her wish to be present) with the princesses Augusta and Mary, were received at Lambeth palace by the archbishop of Canterbury, who conducted them into the drawing room, where Dr. Howley, the bishop of London elect, the bishops of Oxford, Gloucester, and Salisbury, the vicar-general, in their full robes, and other distinguished characters, paid their respects to them; after which they proceeded to his grace's chapel. The queen and princesses were conducted into Mrs. Sutton's family-gallery. No person was admitted into the body of the chapel except those engaged in the ceremony: among them were the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Salisbury, Gloucester, and Oxford, in their full robes. Dr. Howley, the bishop of London elect, took his seat the last on the right of the altar. The morning service was read by one of the archbishop's chaplains. The bishop of Gloucester read the epistle; the bishop of Oxford the gospel; the sermon was preached by the rev. Dr. Goddard, who took a general view of the established church from the period of the reformation, and in a most impressive manner dwelt upon the divine institution and expediency of the episcopal order.

6. On Monday was found drowned in the river at Millwall, near Poplar, the body of a person unknown; but from his dress, and other indications, apparently a gentleman of the middle age.—On Tuesday a coroner's inquest was held. No evidence, until after the verdict was given, appeared to identify his person.—Two water-

men discovered the body by the falling of the tide. No marks of violence appeared upon his person. He was dressed in a black coat, black silk waistcoat, blue stocking pantaloons, shoes and gaiters; short hair, brown and gray; about forty years of age, and otherwise of respectable appearance. Nothing in his pocket but a pawnbroker's duplicate, "Monitt, 32, York-street, Westminster, 30th September, 1813, a gold box, 2l. 5s. Capt. James Vaughan, Queen-square," which being rather defaced, was first read Manby.—The deceased had been seen the preceding day at the Kings Arm's coffee-house, but nothing thence could lead to his identity, except that he appeared to speak broken English. Verdict, Found drowned. When the inquest was over, the lady of the house at which the deceased had lodged came to inspect the body, when she identified it as that of captain Whorrah, of the king's German legion.—It appeared by her testimony, that the deceased had boarded with her at repeated intervals within these last nine years; and in the course of that time had served in several campaigns, where he was wounded, and in a great degree disabled in consequence, which occasioned his retiring on half-pay. During the time specified, he had lost his wife by death, in her own country, by whom he had five children now living. His brother, a major in the German legion, fell gloriously at the siege of Badajos.—These casualties tended to throw a damp upon his spirits, and subjected him, it is supposed, to occasional melancholy; added to this, his having become somewhat embarrassed in pecuniary matters, being indebted to his landlady about 26l. which, it seems, she requested

quested him once or twice to pay her. About the end of last month, he went out after breakfast, saying he should return with money to pay her that day. She expected him home to dinner, but did not see or hear any thing of him until reading of this accident in the papers, when she came and identified the body.

Deputies have again been sent from Buenos Ayres and the Carracas to this country, to solicit, we suppose, the interposition of the British ministry with the metropolitan government, for the conciliatory adjustment of the differences between them. Whether there be any thing new in the proposals with which they are charged, we have not been informed; but as yet, we believe, they have not obtained an audience from ministers. There are two circumstances rather curious which we learn from those deputies—the one, that the catholic clergyman, who is known to have gained a decided ascendancy in the new government of Buenos Ayres, has become a most strenuous opposer of the celibacy of the clergy; the other, that the deputies are instructed to bring back with them a person duly initiated in the Lancasterian system, who is to superintend a school, to be established and conducted on the principles of that liberal and truly rational plan of education.

#### BONAPARTE.

In the last conference which M. de Metternich had with Bonaparte at Dresden, just before Austria had declared war against him, he took the Austrian minister into his cabinet and locked the door. He then began one of his usual discourses, in which he passed with his usual rapidity from the bitterest invectives to the most

magnificent promises, offering territories, indemnities, every possible temptation, to keep Austria as his ally; now soothing, and now menacing; at one time declaring he would destroy the Austrian name; at another, that he would raise it to a splendour it had never known before. Frequently he broke out into these expressions—*Pour Dieu, laissez-moi finir avec ces Russes!*—After the conference had continued four hours, he went out and locked the door upon M. de Metternich. He remained absent about a quarter of an hour, returned, and continued in the same strain for four hours more; when M. de Metternich, nearly exhausted with fatigue and the passion of the Corsican, was allowed to depart.

#### DOMINICA.

9. The late dreadful hurricane which has visited some of our West India islands, has been most fatal to Dominica. Its plantations and houses have been mostly involved in ruin, and many of its inhabitants killed or wounded.—Previously to the 23d the weather was calm and very hot. At day-light on the 23d of July, the lowering sky, and rapid scud over the hills, announced the storm. The barracks and other buildings at Roseau, &c. soon yielded to its fury, while the fragments of the hospital covered the tops of the hills. The storm was so sudden and violent as to prevent all precautionary measures, and among those that perished some were blown into the sea over the cliffs. The plantations, gardens, &c. were nearly demolished, scarcely an outhouse or a tree being left. Several shocks of earthquakes were felt during the hurricane; the waves curled as high as the second stories, and those vessels

sels only were unwrecked which escaped from their cables being cut. In consequence of this awful catastrophe, the ports have been opened free of duty. Had the storm raged many hours longer, every house in the island, with the inhabitants, must have inevitably perished. Many of the latter have however been reduced to poverty.

## FRANCE.

Paris, October 12.

Intelligence from Saxony of the 4th gives, upon the events which are passing in that country, or which are preparing in it, the following details:—

“The principal armies still occupy the same positions in the neighbourhood of Dresden, and upon the Bohemian frontiers. They continue to receive numerous reinforcements of every description. The town of Leipsic has suddenly become the very important centre of military movements. The number of troops there is so considerable, that it has been found necessary to lodge a part of them in churches. The neighbourhood is filled with cavalry, forming part of the 3d corps of that army commanded by the duke of Padua. Troops which traverse Leipsic, coming from the side of Wurzen, march by Halle and Weissenfels towards Dessau. The duke of Ragusa's corps d'armée supports the operations of the prince of Moskwa, who has driven to the other side of the Elbe all the enemy's corps which endeavoured to attempt the passage of that river. The communication between Dessau and Magdebourg is completely free. Including the duke of Castiglione's corps d'armée, the French forces between Jena and Magdebourg are estimated at 150,000 men.

This imposing force has occasioned irresolution in the enemy's projects, and the partisan corps under general Czernicheff is now endeavouring to regain the right bank of the Elbe, but it is possible his retreat will be cut off from it. In the two attacks previously made against Dessau, the enemy had a great number killed and wounded. He carried off the latter to Jutterbock. Beyond Dresden the French army remains concentrated, ready to act on the first notice. It daily receives reinforcements, especially in cavalry. His majesty the emperor continues to enjoy the best health.—The Prussian army commanded by general Blucher has entirely retired.”

14. A letter from Cassel, dated 9th October, contains the following details:—

“The day before yesterday we saw the troops under general Alexander arrive. On the 8th he himself entered our walls with a numerous infantry. Several columns have proceeded from Fredberg to Cassel. All is now tranquil in that country, and 30,000 men are manœuvring in every direction to protect it.”

14. To-day the conservative senate met under the presidency of the arch-chancellor.—The senator count Segur, in the name of a special committee, made a report of a *projet* of a *senatus consultum*, relative to the island of Guadaloupe;—which was adopted.

## DECREE.

ART. 1. There shall not be concluded any treaty of peace between the French empire and Sweden, till Sweden shall have previously renounced possession of the French island of Guadaloupe.—2. It is forbidden to every Frenchman in the island of Guadaloupe, under pain

pain of dishonour, to take any oath to the Swedish government, to accept any office under it, to afford it any assistance.—3. The present *senatus consultum* shall be transmitted by a message to his majesty the emperor and king.

For the emperor, and in virtue of the powers confided to us,

(Signed) MARIA LOUISA.

#### SHADWELL POLICE OFFICE.

13. Ann Bartran, charged with obtaining various sums of money, on pretence of procuring places at the East India-house, underwent a final examination.

David Sutherland stated, that he was by trade a shoe-maker in the Borough, and that he was particularly desirous of obtaining the place of an elder at the India-house, a situation worth 700*l.* per annum! He had made application to the duke of Kent soliciting his interest, who had returned an answer, purporting that his royal highness's interest was unequal to the task, having experienced a want of success in similar applications in behalf of his own domestics. The witness accidentally fell into company with the prisoner, who represented that her interest was far superior to that of the royal duke, through the medium of friends in the India-house, and she undertook to procure the object of his wishes; in the mean time requesting his royal highness's letter might be put into her hands as a credential; which the witness did. He likewise supplied her at different times with several small sums, which she pretended it was necessary to employ, in order to get access to the gentlemen by whom the business was to be done. He accompanied her several times to the India-house, where she made

him wait outside for her return. She called repeatedly to dine and drink tea with himself and wife pending the negotiation, when she continued to feed their golden dream. She procured from witness's wife several sums of 2*l.* each, saying "that the clerks required to be palmed." The wife asked her, on one occasion, if 10*l.* would do? when she replied, she would only take 2*l.* at that time.—The witness becoming impatient, she consented to his accompanying her for the purpose of being introduced to his patrons. She again desired him to wait, and after some hours returned with a letter in her hand, saying, this was an assurance that the business was effected. The letter was produced, bearing the name of a gentleman at the India-house, who, by his evidence, disclaimed the letter and all knowledge of the prisoner. The prisoner returned to witness's house to dinner, and accepted an invitation to stay all night. She hidited a letter of thanks to the clerk, in which she prevailed on him to give her the additional sum of 5*l.* to inclose in it, which he put into her hand for that purpose. The letter was inscribed, when a knock came to the door, which witness went to answer. On his return, she was in the act of sealing the letter. She then gave it to him to deliver the next day; but first holding it up to the light and saying, "You see it is all right, there is the 5*l.* inclosed." He then put the letter in his pocket. The prisoner engaged that if the place was not procured, the money should be returned, adding that she could dismiss the clerks from office, if they did not act honourably by her.—The prisoner continued as their guest till evening, when the witness had occasion to go

out for some liquor.—The prisoner said to the wife, "You had better follow him for fear he should lose the letter," observing, that he had put it carelessly in his coat pocket.—Upon this she left the prisoner in the house, and returned in about ten minutes, when the prisoner was gone. They set up till one in the morning, vainly expecting her return. At length suspicion aroused them from this golden dream. On opening the letter, they found to their great mortification, instead of 5*l*. a piece of waste paper. Witness's wife corroborated her husband's statement.—The prisoner was fully committed to to take her trial for stealing the 5*l*.

## GERMANY.

22. Every arrival from Germany at this eventful period brings matter of importance, and affords us fresh cause of congratulation. The most formidable armies of the allied powers are now in immediate connexion with each other; and the French are completely circumvented, and cut off from any direct communication with their own country. Bonaparte is evidently embarrassed in the extreme. During the whole month he has had no victory to announce: on the other hand, so eminently successful have been the exertions of the allies, that two or three extraordinary gazettes have been published in London almost weekly: every thing that they attempt seems to prosper.

It is utterly impossible, within the limits to which this department of our publication is necessarily restricted, to give even an abstract of such a vast mass of intelligence as has filled the newspapers during the past month.

During Bonaparte's stay at Dres-

den, the allies harassed his soldiers by incessant advances and retreats from all sides. At length on the 7th inst. he quitted that city, and proceeded, not, as heretofore, to the right bank of the Elbe, but to the side of Leipsic, where the theatre of war seems now to be transferred. That city is described as having suddenly become the centre of very important military movements. The number of troops there is so considerable, that part of them are obliged to be lodged in churches.

The crown prince of Sweden has crossed the Elbe, and is in uninterrupted communication with general Blucher. The head-quarters of the former were on the 7th at Zebitz; and would be moved on the 9th to Zorbig: those of the latter were at Duben, and would be advanced at the same time to Eulenberg. Their movements, it will be observed, are simultaneous; and they are marching by different roads upon Leipsic, with 190,000 men and 600 pieces of cannon. About the same time the Bohemian army made a flank movement by its left, and it was calculated that it would be advanced as far as Chemnitz on the 3d. Bonaparte seems to have hesitated for some days in determining against which of the two menacing forces he should direct his personal efforts; but he at last proceeded for Leipsic; and it is probable a great battle would be fought about the middle of the present month, unless the French armies should continue to retreat. A report from marshal Ney, dated Torgau, Sept. 7, acknowledges a defeat by the crown prince at Dennewitz. He attributes the defeat partly to the 4th corps, which, instead of turning Jutterbock, attacked it—and to the 7th



7th corps, which was some time in coming up, and two divisions of which behaved badly when the battle was nearly won. The 7th corps was composed of Saxons, and was under the orders of general Regnier, whom Mr. Thornton mentions in his dispatch as having exposed himself to so much danger. Ney acknowledges a loss of 8000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners, and 12 pieces of cannon.

The army of general Nugent has taken the strong point of Pola Capo d'Istria, and Monte Maggiore, with 50 pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition. General Nugent was in communication with the English squadron off Fiume, from which he received arms and ammunition for equipping the Istrians, who had cheerfully flocked to the Austrian standard. General Thielman on the 18th September attacked Merseburg, which surrendered after a sharp resistance. The Russian colonel Orloff particularly distinguished himself. More than 2000 prisoners in and about the town fell into our hands. They are on their way to Bohemia.

Advices from Toplitz to the 20th September detail a very gallant enterprise, executed by the Austrian major Schlutberg, who, having received orders to take Friedburg, placed part of his corps in ambush on the 17th, and, appearing unexpectedly before the town the next morning, stormed the Ebersdorff gate; while other detachments of his troops, which had taken circuitous roads, advanced against the Mersner and Dona gates. That of Ebersdorff being forced open, after an obstinate resistance, the garrison, consisting of general Bruno, 20 staff and su-

perior officers, 400 mounted hussars, and 220 infantry, were made prisoners. The Austrian loss was one killed and three wounded.

Our Gottenburgh letters state, that the allies had also taken Pegau. Both Friedburg and Pegau are near Leipsic.

The garrison of Stettin, being in want of provisions, had offered to capitulate; but its terms were rejected.

General Vandamme has been sent prisoner to the interior of Russia; meeting on his journey the execration of all people for his cruelties at Bremen, Hamburg, &c.—The escort with him was scarcely able to protect him from their rage.

Cassel was taken on the 30th September, by general Czernicheff, and the keys of the town were sent to the crown prince. In four days this enterprising general penetrated from the banks of the Elbe to the neighbourhood of Cassel, a distance of 150 miles, dexterously eluding one corps of the enemy, beating another, and taking 400 prisoners and six guns. Alarmed at his approach, Jerome Bonaparte fled towards Frankfort; but Czernicheff pursued him, and annihilated four squadrons of his attendant cavalry, taking 260 of them prisoners, and cutting in pieces the rest. The next day, he reverted to the corps which he had before avoided, attacked, dispersed it, and took two more guns. Of this corps 300 Westphalians joined him, and proceeded on the 30th ult. to attack the city of Cassel. One gate was already carried by storm, when the French commandant capitulated, and evacuated the town. Czernicheff's first care was to liberate the patriots who were confined as state-prisoners: the next

next to call the loyal inhabitants of Hesse and Hanover to his standard. The call was obeyed by a body of 1500, with whom this enterprising general returned to join the ranks of the crown prince; after having given to the mock-kingdom of Westphalia a concussion, the moral effect of which must necessarily operate most beneficially in behalf of the common cause.

We have also to announce the important intelligence of the capture of Bremen by a Russian force under general Tettenborn. The place surrendered by capitulation on the 14th inst.—the garrison to depart with the honours of war, and not to serve against the allies for one year.

Not only is Bonaparte discomfited at every point, but his reluctant vassal allies have begun to desert his standard, and turn their arms against the common oppressor of nations. The king of Bavaria, on whom he placed his greatest reliance, according to the Berlin papers, has made his terms with Austria. An article from Stralsund, of the 5th, states, that 20,000 Bavarians, some say 40,000, are already in co-operation with the allies; and the whole of the Bavarian force will of course be immediately placed in a similar situation. Even the Saxons have begun to abandon the tyrant and his cause. A former account of a Saxon battalion having come over to the crown prince, we find confirmed by a bulletin of his royal highness of September 26. This battalion is the first of the king's regiment; it entered Warletz with fixed bayonets and drums beating; and no doubt is entertained of its example being followed by the whole of the Saxon army, according as opportunity shall serve.

1813.

## FRANCE.

Lord Wellington has at length established his victorious legions within the domestic territory of France. The left of the allied army crossed the Bidassoa on the 7th inst. in front of Andaye, and near the Montagne Verte. The British and Portuguese troops took seven pieces of cannon on this part of the line; and the Spanish troops, who crossed the fords above the bridge, one piece. At the same time major-general baron Alten attacked with the light division at the Puerto de Vera, supported by a Spanish division, and Don P. Giron attacked the enemy's entrenchments on the mountain of La Rhune. These troops carried every thing before them until they arrived at the foot of the rock, which proved inaccessible. On the morning of the 8th the attack was renewed on the right of the enemy's position by the same troops, and was instantly carried in the most gallant style. The enemy then withdrew from all parts of their position. Lord Wellington speaks in the highest terms of the conduct of all the troops engaged, British, Portuguese, and Spanish. The total British and Portuguese loss amounts to about 800 men killed, wounded, and missing; that of the Spaniards to about 750. Sir Thomas Graham, who commanded the invading army in this expedition, resigned his command on the following day to general Hope. This gallant chief, whom we lament to say ill health prevents from gathering fresh laurels, has thus splendidly closed his command by planting the British standard upon the enemy's soil.

The British army now has its right at Zuganamarili; from thence it extends by La Rhune to the

(1) Montagne

Montagne Verte, and from thence to the sea; holding what the French government have invariably considered the strongest line of the Pyrenees, and what cardinal Mazarine is much praised for having induced the Spaniards to abandon to France.

The Paris papers contain extracts of a series of official documents on the subject of the negotiation between France and Austria, Sweden and Denmark. Bonaparte accuses the emperor Francis of treachery and duplicity. He avers, that prince Schwartzberg, by facilitating the advance of admiral Tchichagoff's army, ensured the ruin of the French force in Russia—that an armistice was afterwards concluded with Russia, which was kept secret—that Austria had determined to join the allies last spring, but was prevented by the inefficiency of her military force, and the disorder of her finances—and he concludes by an appeal to the French nation on the necessity of making fresh efforts, equal to those of the allied powers, to oppose what he terms their immeasurable ambition.

#### SWITZERLAND.

Reinhard, the landamman of Switzerland, has, in a late proclamation, declared the neutrality of the cantons. He announces his intention to transmit to the belligerent powers a notification of this event—of his intention to maintain the present constitution—to guard the territory against violation, and to cause this neutrality to be respected, if necessary, by force of arms. As Reinhard is a creature of Bonaparte's, it may be doubted whether this declaration of neutrality has not been suggested by the French government, which is under some apprehension of being invaded on the side of Basle. It is to be hoped, however, that he will be disappoint-

ed, and that when the Swiss are called upon to act in their own name, they will act as all the other brave and independent nations of Europe have done, and not shame the heroic memory of Tell, by basely pandering the cause of their own enslaver.

The diet of Switzerland has voted the landamman 40,000 men, to enforce the decree of neutrality.

#### ANOTHER CONSCRIPTION OF 280,000 MEN.

Maria Louisa went in state to the senate on the 7th inst. and addressed them in a speech remarkable for the vague generality of its expressions, Austria is just mentioned in such a manner as to save her feelings the painful task of uttering hostile threats against her father. The point most relied upon, to rouse the slumbering patriotism of the people, is the dread of invasion, which is held up to them in *terrorem* as a stimulus to the new and unprecedented military exertions they were called upon to make. By the *senatus consultum*, which was proposed and adopted, 280,000 men are ordered to be raised, to recruit the ranks of the French army.

#### AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES.

20. It is asserted in an American paper, that Christophe, on his return to Cape François from his unsuccessful attempt on Port-au-Prince, put to death 1500 persons, including two priests who had headed a grand procession and sung *Te Deum* for the defeat of his party.

It appears from the Quebec papers, and from general orders issued by the commander-in-chief in Canada, that, on the late defeat of general Wilkinson on the banks of the Miami river, the American military

litary chest, containing 15,000*l.* sterling, was among the property captured by the British.

The late dishonourable attempt, made, as there is too much reason to believe, under the sanction of the American executive, to destroy the Ramilies, has induced sir Thomas Hardy to address letters to the public authorities of New London, and to the governor of the state of Connecticut, on the subject. In these sir Thomas states, that "he is fully apprised of the efforts to destroy the Ramilies, and that he should do all in his power to defeat them. But he thinks it right to notify publicly, that, since the late attempt, he had ordered on board from fifty to one hundred American prisoners of war, who, in the event of the efforts to destroy the ship by torpedoes or other infernal inventions being successful, would share the fate of himself and his crew. That in future, whenever a vessel was taken, the crew would be kept on board until it was ascertained that no snare was laid for the destruction of the British seamen; and that this regulation would be observed when a vessel was boarded and abandoned by her crew." Sir Thomas adds, "that his example would be followed by all the commanders of his squadron."—These representations appear to have had some effect on the American public; for, on the contents of the letters being known, a public meeting was held; and as many of the citizens had relatives and friends prisoners of war on board the British squadron, it was determined to present a remonstrance to the American executive against the farther employment of the torpedoes in the ordinary course of warfare, since they would in all likelihood prove fatal to many sub-

jects of the United States as well as to the British."

In June and July, the river Mississippi rose higher than it had been known for 30 years. The consequences were dreadful. The water had burst the mounds, and inundated the country on the west side to the distance of 65 miles. The beautiful and highly cultivated land contiguous to Red River was an ocean. The inhabitants had fled to the heights, where they and their slaves were encamped; but vast crops, plantations of sugar-canes, with an immense number of horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, and deer, were swept away. Mr. Winthrop Sargent had lost 500 head of cattle—many other proprietors of land, from 3 to 400. The loss of neat cattle alone was estimated at 22,000 head. Every little spot of bare ground was crowded with animals. It was not uncommon to find herds of deer intermixed with wolves, and both, from a sense of danger, equally domesticated.

#### LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

*Foreign Office, Oct. 25, 1813.*

Dispatches, of which the following are extracts, have been received by viscount Castlereagh, from his excellency the earl of Aberdeen, and from lieutenant-general the hon. sir C. W. Stewart:—

Extract of a dispatch from the earl of Aberdeen to lord Castlereagh, dated Comotau, Oct. 9, 1813.

The army has advanced in a direct line towards Leipsic, near which town the head-quarters of prince Schwartzemberg are established. The prince royal and gen. Blucher having advanced towards the same point, the allied forces have nearly effected their junction: a *rideau*, therefore, is drawn across

this part of Saxony, extending from Dessau to Marienburgh on the Bohemian frontier. In the mean time gen. Bennigsen, with the corps of Colloredo, has driven the enemy from his entrenchments at Gieshübel, and has advanced towards Dresden on the great road from Toplitz. The actual position and intentions of Bonaparte are entirely unknown. A strong force, not less than fifty thousand men, is opposed to prince Schwartzemberg; and the general belief is, that Bonaparte himself has made a rapid movement with the mass of his army to attack gen. Blücher before his junction with the prince royal is completed. Be this as it may, it is not likely that any partial advantage will materially improve his prospects, or render the ultimate success of the allies more doubtful. His communication with France being totally destroyed—his army in considerable distress—his magazines nearly exhausted, and the country in which he is, utterly without the means of replenishing them, he must shortly find it necessary to break through the circle which has been drawn around him: in this attempt he may probably succeed, but there is every reason to hope that it will be accompanied by the destruction of a great part of his army. Full justice is done to the military talents and able combinations of the prince marshal: had he been less prudent and circumspect in his movements, we should not have been placed in the formidable and commanding attitude which we are now enabled to assume.

P. S.—By intelligence received this morning, it appears that prince Schwartzemberg, with the main body of his army, is at Chemnitz, and in the neighbourhood. Bonaparte left Dresden on the 7th with the

king of Saxony and his family, and is at Rochlitz, where his army is chiefly assembled. Gen. Bennigsen has advanced to Dresden, in which it is said Bonaparte has left but a feeble garrison, consisting, according to report, of not more than three thousand men.

Extract of a dispatch from lieutenant-general the hon. sir Charles Stewart, K.B. dated Head-quarters prince royal of Sweden, Oct. 11, 1813:—

In conformity to your lordship's instructions, being sufficiently recovered from my wound to travel, I left the head-quarters of the allied army at Toplitz on the 3d instant, and arrived at those of the crown prince of Sweden at Radegast, near Zorbig, on the 8th. Mr. Thornton has fully put your lordship in possession of the interesting military intelligence to that period. I have now to inform you, that after the brilliant passage of the Elbe by gen. Blücher at Elster, in which both decision and judgement have been pre-eminently displayed, and the consequent passage of the same river by the prince royal's army at the points of Rosslau and Acken, his royal highness the crown prince conceived a movement of the whole allied force to the left bank of the Saale would force the enemy either to a general battle, or would be the most effectual mode to embarrass and harass his retreat, if he should determine upon a measure which the combined movements of the armies of Bohemia, Silesia, and of the North of Germany on his flanks, and on all his communications, seemed to render so indispensably necessary. Napoleon, it seems, had manœuvred from Dresden, according to reports, with a large corps of cavalry on the right, and all his infantry on the left

left bank of the Elbe, as far down as Archlau : a strong demonstration of twenty or thirty thousand men was made from Torgau towards the point of Elster on the 8th, where gen. Blucher passed, probably with a design of menacing that general, and forcing him to repass the river. The bold determination of the allies was not, however, to be arrested by demonstration ; and the whole army of Blucher, being now in close communication with that of the prince royal, the former marched from Duben on Jesnitz on the 9th, and passed the Mulda ; and the crown prince concentrated his forces between Zorbig, Radegat, and Bitterfeld. The enemy, according to accounts, appeared now to be collected about Eulenberg and Oschatz, between the Mulda and the Elbe. On the 10th, gen. Blucher moved from Jesnitz to Zorbig, and the armies of Silesia and the North of Germany were here assembled. The determination being taken to pass the Saale, orders were issued in the night, and gen. Blucher moved with the Silesian army to pass the river at Wettin, bridges being constructed for that purpose. Gen. Bulow, with his corps d'armée, was in like manner to pass at Wettin ; gen. Winzingerode, with the Russians, at Rothenburg ; and the prince royal, with the Swedes, at Alsleben and Bernburg. The whole allied force was then to place itself in order of battle, with its left on the Saale, waiting the further development of the enemy's movements. Gen. Bulow's corps and gen. Winzingerode's corps, after passing the river, were to form the right of the Silesian army, and the Swedes to be in reserve or second line. Each corps d'armée is to form in three lines ; gen. Woronzoff, who formed gen. Winzingerode's advan-

ced guard at Halle, is to be regulated in his movements by the attempts of the enemy, and fall back on the forces passing at Wettin, if he should be attacked by superior numbers, but otherwise to retain Halle as long as possible. Your lordship will observe by these bold and decided movements, that the points of passage on the Elbe, by which the armies have passed, have been abandoned, and are to be destroyed, if necessary ; and other bridges have been prepared below Magdeburg in case of need. The corps of observation, under gen. Thumen, before Wittenberg, of about six thousand men, in the event of the enemy forcing a passage there for the purpose of *alonging* the right bank of the Elbe, and returning to Magdeburg (in the extremity in which he is placed, or in another improbable but possible event of his pushing with all his forces to Berlin), has orders to retire on gen. Tauenzien, who with ten thousand men is to remain at Dessau, and, according to circumstances, either to manœuvre on the right bank against any possible effort of the enemy's, or by forced marches strengthen, in case of need, the armies assembled on the Saale. Gen. Tauenzien will be assisted by all the landsturm, and some smaller detached corps are also to join him. Information now arrived that Platow with his Cossacks was at Pegau ; generals Kleist and Wittgenstein, with the advance of the grand army of Bohemia, approaching Altenburg ; and our communication seemed to be completely established behind the rear of the French army. Information was still vague of the movements of the enemy ; but accounts were brought in on the evening of the 10th, that he was moving troops from the different points of Lutzen

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and

and Wurzen to Leipsic, and it was added that Bonaparte was expected to arrive there on the 10th. His force between Dresden and Leipsic, exclusive of garrisons, at the highest calculation may be estimated at one hundred and eighty thousand men: that of the Silesian army at sixty-five thousand, and that of the prince royal at sixty thousand, with six hundred pieces of artillery: and it is impossible to see a finer army, or one more fully equipped in all its parts. By the reports received this day, gen. Platow with all his Cossacks has arrived at Lutzen, having taken some hundreds of prisoners at Weissenfels, and is come into complete communication with the advance of gen. Woronzoff's Cossacks from Halle. Platow reports the assembling of the enemy's army round Leipsic. We have certain accounts that the army of Bohemia is now between Altenburg and Chemnitz, and gen. Bennigsen, with the Austrian division of Colloredo, which has been joined to him, is meditating a demonstration towards Dresden.

P.S.—General Blucher was not enabled, by the bridge not being complete, to pass at Wettin, but proceeded to Halle, where he has passed. Gen. Bulow has not passed this day, but the rest of the allied army is on the left bank of the Saale. C. S.

## NOVEMBER.

### BOW-STREET POLICE.

1. For some time past a great number of letters have been complained of as not coming to hand, and particularly those which contained notes and bills remitted from the country, and directed to the Mile-End district. That district being divided among seven letter-carriers, who deliver the letters, and

no suspicion falling on any one of them in particular, whilst the robberies still continued to be committed, it was at length determined to have a general searching of the seven letter-carriers, and Monday morning was the time appointed for the search. Just after they had made up their different parcels of letters for delivery, and were about to leave the post-office, Lavender and Taunton, the Bow-street officers, were introduced to them: the officers informed them the cause of their visit, and that they must be under the disagreeable necessity of searching their persons and their letters. The first man Lavender commenced with was John Plumer, and he found among his letters a double one, directed to Mrs. Davidson, in Mile-End Terrace, on opening which it proved to contain a 10*l.* country note, and which letter he had no right to have in his possession, Mile-End Terrace not being in his delivery. In his coat pocket was a letter very much tumbled and dirtied, dated from Newcastle, and purporting to contain a bill of exchange for 20*l.* 10*s.* and the bill of exchange answering that description was found in his waistcoat pocket. On searching his residence, about 200 letters were found, some opened and some not, but none of them in his own delivery. It is therefore supposed, that when double letters, believed to contain notes or bills, passed through his hands in the deliveries of the other six men, he detained them. He is only about twenty-three years of age. Tuesday morning he underwent an examination, and was committed for further examination.

On Thursday, a female who had lived in high life was brought to this office on a charge of stealing silk

silk stockings, and was locked up in the strong room which has lately been built adjoining the office. Soon after, some dreadful cries were heard, which induced the gaoler to ascertain the cause, when he found the woman extremely ill, and that the dreariness of the place, and the circumstances of her situation, had brought on a premature labour. She requested to have assistance: however, she was with the greatest care and tenderness removed to a private room in the Brown Bear public-house, and an accoucheur was procured. On the medical gentleman's arrival, he gave it as his opinion that it would be twelve hours at least before her delivery, and that she might be removed with safety. A hackney-coach was procured, and she was conveyed to her residence.

Monday morning, some of the pipes for conveying the inflammable gas near the reservoir, in Great Peter-street, Westminster, blew up with a great explosion. Engines arrived immediately, and no serious injury occurred other than the neighbourhood and parts contiguous being shaken by the concussion.

On Wednesday last, Mr. Ferrer, nephew to Mr. Sandeman, a respectable merchant, having some business to transact at the London-docks, unfortunately fell between two vessels, whilst in the act of stepping from one to another: he rose several times, and in the space of about eight minutes he was got into a boat, but it was too late to save his life. A surgeon was sent for, and it appeared that he had received various contusions on his head and body by coming in contact with the mooring-chains in his fall. But it was the opinion of the surgeon, that even had the bruises not taken place, the youth could

not have survived, since it has been proved in numerous cases, that from the pernicious copperas quality of the London docks water, it never fails to prove fatal to such persons as have the misfortune to be immersed in it.

#### LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

*Foreign Office, Nov. 3, 1813.*

Mr. Edward Solly, of the house of Isaac Solly and Co., arrived this morning at the office of viscount Castlereagh, from Leipsic, with duplicates of dispatches from lieut.-gen. the hon. sir C. W. Stewart, K. B. of which the following are copies. The originals, by his aid-de-camp, Mr. James, are not yet received:—

*Schwenditz, Oct. 17, 1813.*

My lord.—The glorious army of Silesia has added another victory to its list, and the brow of its veteran leader is decorated with fresh laurel. Forty pieces of cannon, twelve thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners, one eagle, and many caissons, have been the fruits of the victory of Radefeld and Lindenthal.

To give your lordship the clearest idea in my power of this battle, I must revert to the position of the armies of Silesia and the North of Germany on the 14th inst. When we received certain intelligence that the enemy was withdrawing from the right bank of the Elbe to collect in Leipsic, at this time the prince royal was at Cothen, and gen. Blucher at Halle. The former occupied with the advanced guards the left bank of the Mulda, and the latter Merseburg and Schenditz.

Gen. Blucher moved his headquarters, on the 14th, to Gros Kugel, pushing his advance on the great road to Leipsic, and occupying



ing the villages on each side of it. The enemy was in force in his front, still holding Deblitsch and Bitterfeld, with some troops along the Mulda. The crown prince of Sweden issued orders to march to Halle in the night of the 14th; but when his troops were in march, he took up his head-quarters at Sylbitz, and placed the Swedish army with its right at Wittin, and the left near the Petersberg. General Bulow occupied the centre of his line between Petersberg and Oppin, and the corps of Winzingerode was on the left at Zorbis.

Gen. Blucher found the enemy's forces, consisting of the 4th, 6th, and 7th corps of the French army, and great part of the guard, under marshals Marmont and Ney, and gen. Bertrand, occupying a line with their right at Freyroda, and their left at Lindenthal. The country is open, and very favourable for cavalry around these latter villages; but the enemy was posted strong in front of a wood of some extent, near Radefeld; and behind it the ground is more intersected: generally speaking, however, it is open, and adapted to all arms.

The disposition of attack of the Silesian army was as follows:—The corps of gen. Langeron was to attack and carry Freyroda, and then Radefeld, having the corps of gen. Sacken in reserve. The corps d'armée of gen. D'Yorck was directed to move on the great chaussée, leading to Leipsic, until it reached the village of Sitzchein, when, turning to its left, it was to force the enemy at Lindenthal. The Russian guards and advanced guard were to press on the main road to Leipsic. The corps of gen. St. Priest, arriving from Mersberg, was to follow the corps of gen. Langeron. The formation of

the cavalry, and the different reserves, was made on the open ground between the villages. It was nearly mid-day before the troops were at their stations.

The enemy soon after the first onset gave up the advanced villages, and retired some distance, but tenaciously held the woody ground on their right, and the villages of Gros and Klein Wetteritz, as also the villages of Mockern and Mokau, on their left. At Mockern a most bloody contest ensued; it was taken and retaken by the corps of Yorck five times; the musquetry fire was most galling, and this was the hottest part of the field; many of the superior officers were either killed or wounded; at length the victorious Silesians carried all before them, and drove the enemy beyond the Partha. In the plain there were many brilliant charges of cavalry. The Brandenburg regiment of hussars distinguished itself in a particular manner, and, supported by infantry, charged a battery of eight pieces, which they carried.

The enemy made an obstinate resistance also on their right, in the villages of Great and Little Wetteritz and Ilchhausen, and in the woody ground around them; and when they found we had forced their left, they brought an additional number of troops on count Langeron, who was chiefly engaged with marshal Ney's corps, which arrived from the neighbourhood of Duben. However, the Russians, equally with their brave allies in arms, made the most gallant efforts, and they were fully successful—night only put an end to the action. The Russian cavalry acted in a very brilliant manner. Gen. Kolp's cavalry took a battery of 13 guns, and the Cossacks of gen. Emanuel, five. The enemy drew off towards Siegeritz and Pfosen,

Pfosen, and passed the Partha river. Gen. Sacken's corps; who supported gen. Langeron, very much distinguished itself in the presence of Bonaparte, who, it seems, according to the information of the prisoners, arrived from the other part of his army at five o'clock in the afternoon.

The corps of gen. D'Yorck, which so conspicuously distinguished itself, had many of its most gallant leaders killed or wounded; among the latter are colonels Heinitz, Kutzler, Bouch, Hiller, Lowenthal, and Laurentz; majors Schon and Bismarck. The momentary loss of these officers is serious, as they nearly all commanded brigades, from the reduced state of general officers in the Prussian army; and I have sincere regret in adding that his serene highness the prince of Mecklenberg Strelitz, who was distinguishing himself in a particular manner, having two horses shot under him, and whose gallant corps took five hundred prisoners and an eagle, received a severe, but, I trust, not a dangerous wound. Among the Russians are gen. Chinchin, and several officers of distinction, killed and wounded; and I average gen. Blucher's whole loss between six and seven thousand men hors de combat.

I can add little to the catalogue of the merits of this brave army, in endeavouring feebly, but I hope faithfully, to detail its proceedings. Your lordship will, I am persuaded, justly appreciate the enthusiasm and heroism by which its operations have been guided. It has fought twenty-one combats since hostilities recommenced. Your lordship is so well aware of the distinguished merit and very eminent services of general Gneisenau, that it is

unnecessary for me on this fresh occasion to allude to them.

I attached gen. Lowe to gen. Blucher in the field; and being absent in the early part of the day with the prince royal, it is due to this very deserving officer to inform your lordship, I have derived every assistance from his reports.

My aide-de-camp, captain Düring, an officer of merit, has unfortunately. I fear, fallen into the enemy's hands.

I shall now put your lordship in possession, as far as I am able, of the military movements of the grand army up to the 16th, and the disposition for the attack which was sent to the prince royal of Sweden and general Blucher, by prince Schwartzenberg, and which was to be made this day. The corps of general Guilay, prince Maurice Lichtenstein, Thieleman, and Plattoff, were collected in the neighbourhood of Markrasted, and were to move forward on Leipsig; keeping up the communication on one side with general Blucher's army; and on the other, these corps were to detach to their right, to facilitate the attack of the corps of general Merevelde, and the divisions Bianchi Weissenworf, on Zwackau and Connowitz, at which latter place the bridge across the Pleisse was to be carried. General Nostiltz's cavalry were to form on their right. In case of retreat, these corps were to retire towards Zeitz. The reserves of the Russian and Prussian guards were to move on Rotha, where they were to pass the Pleisse, and form in columns on its right bank. The reserves of the prince of Hesse Homberg, generals Merevelde and Wittgenstein, were also to take post at this station. General Barclay de Tolly

Tolly to command all the columns on the right bank of the Pleisse, generals Wittgenstein, Kleist and Kleinau, were to advance from their respective positions on Leipzig, the Russian guards forming their reserve. General Colloredo advanced from Borne, as reserve to general Kleinau. The retreat of these corps was to be on Chemnitz; generals Wittgenstein, Kleist, and Kleinau's, on Altenberg and Penig. The army of general Bennigsen from Colditz was to push on Grimma and Wurzen. The corps of count Bubna had been relieved before Leipzig by general Tolstoy.

A very heavy firing continued all the day of the 16th from the grand army. A report arrived late at night to general Blucher, that Bonaparte had attacked in person the whole line of the allies, and forming his cavalry in the centre, succeeded in making an opening in the combined army before all its cavalry could come up: he was, however, not able to profit by it, as it appears he retired in the evening, and the allies occupied their position as before the attack.

Of the details of the above I am as yet wholly ignorant.

On the 17th all were ready to renew the attack on this side. The prince royal, who had his headquarters at Landsberg, and his army behind it, marched at two o'clock in the morning, and arrived at Brittenfeld with general Winzingerode's and general Bulow's corps towards mid-day on general Bulow's left. General Winzingerode's cavalry and artillery had moved forward in the night, near the heights of Fancha.

No cannonade being heard on this side of the grand army (though general Blucher's corps was under

arms) and as it was also understood general Bennigsen could not arrive until this day at Grimma, and part of the prince royal's army being still in the rear, it was deemed expedient to wait till the following day to renew the general attack. The enemy showed himself in great force in a good position, on the left of the Partha, on a ridge of some extent, which runs parallel to the river. There was some cannonading in the morning, and the enemy made demonstrations, and the hussars of Mecklenberg charged his advanced parties into the suburbs of Leipsig, and took three cannon and some prisoners of the hussars of the guards.

The state of our affairs is such, that the most sanguine expectations may be justly entertained, under the protection of Divine Providence, which has hitherto so conspicuously favoured us in the glorious cause in which we are engaged.

CHARLES STEWART, lieut. gen.

*Leipsig, October 19, 1813.*

My lord,—Europe at length approaches her deliverance, and England may triumphantly look forward to reap, in conjunction with her allies, that glory her unexampled and steady efforts in the common cause so justly entitle her to receive.

I wish it had fallen to the lot of an abler pen to detail to your lordship the splendid events of these two last days; but in endeavouring to relate the main facts, to send them off without a moment's delay, I shall best do my duty, postponing more detailed accounts until a fresh opportunity.

The victory of general Blucher, upon the 16th, has been followed, on the 18th, by that of the whole  
of

of the combined forces over the army of Bonaparte, in the neighbourhood of Leipsig.

The collective loss of above a hundred pieces of cannon, sixty thousand men, an immense number of prisoners, the desertion of the whole of the Saxon army, also the Bavarian and Wurtemberg troops, consisting of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, many generals, among whom are Regnier, Vallery, Brune, Bertrand, and Lauriston, are some of the first fruits of this glorious day. The capture, by assault, of the town of Leipsig this morning, the magazines, artillery, stores of the place, with the king of Saxony, all his court, the garrison, and rear-guard of the French army, all the enemy's wounded (the number of which exceed thirty thousand), the narrow escape of Bonaparte, who fled from Leipsig at nine o'clock, the allies entering at eleven; the complete deroute of the French army, who are endeavouring to escape in all directions, and who are still surrounded, are the next objects of exultation.

The further result your lordship can best arrive at from an account of our military position.

It will be my endeavour to give you as succinct and clear an account as I am able, first, of the general and combined operations determined upon by the grand army; and, secondly, to describe what immediately came under my own observations, namely, the movements of the prince royal and general Blucher.

My dispatches up to the 17th have detailed the position of the allied armies up to that date. It being announced by prince Schwartzenberg that it was the intention of their majesties, the allied sovereigns, to renew the attack on the 18th,

and the armies of the North and Silesia being directed to co-operate, the following general disposition was made:

I must here observe, that the attack on the 16th, by the grand army, occurred in the neighbourhood of Liebert Wolkowitz. The country being particularly adapted for cavalry, a very sanguinary and hard combat ensued with this arm, and an artillery, exceeding in number six hundred pieces, between the opposed armies. Two solitary buildings, which the enemy had occupied with several battalions of infantry, and which formed nearly the centre of the enemy's position, were attacked by the Russian infantry, and, after several repulses, carried with amazing carnage.

The whole of the enemy's cavalry under Murat, were then brought forward; they made a very desperate push at the centre of the allied position, which for a short period they succeeded in forcing.

To oppose this powerful cavalry, six regiments of Austrian cuirassiers charged in columns. Nothing could surpass either the skill or the desperate bravery of this movement; they overthrew all before them; destroying, I am told, whole regiments, and returned to their ground with many prisoners, having left seven hundred dragoons within the enemy's line.

Many officers were killed and wounded. General Latour Maubourg, who commanded the enemy's cavalry, under Murat, lost his leg. Both armies remained nearly on the ground on which the contest commenced.

While the grand army was to commence their attack on the morning of the 18th, from their different points of assembly, on the principal villages situated on the great roads leading

leading to Leipsig, the armies of the North and Silesia were jointly to attack from the line of the Saale, and upon the enemy's position along the Partha river. General Blucher gave to the prince royal of Sweden thirty thousand men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, of his army, and with this formidable reinforcement the northern army was to attack from the heights of Faucha, while general Blucher was to retain his position before Leipsig, and use his utmost efforts to gain possession of the place. In the event of the whole of the enemy's forces being carried against either of the armies, they were reciprocally to support each other and concert further movements: that part of the enemy's force which for some time had been opposed to the prince royal of Sweden and general Blucher, had taken up a very good position on the left bank of the Partha, having its right at the strong point of Faucha, and its left towards Leipsig. To force the enemy's right, and obtain possession of the heights of Faucha, was the first operation of the prince royal's army. The corps of Russians under general Winzingerode, and the Prussians, under general Bulow, were destined for this purpose, and the Swedish army were directed to force the passage of the river at Plosen and Mockau.

The passage was effected without much opposition; general Winzingerode took about three thousand prisoners at Faucha, and some guns.

General Blucher put his army in motion as soon as he found the grand army engaged very hotly in the neighbourhood of the villages of Stollintz and Probestheyda, and the infantry of the prince royal's army had not sufficient time to

make their flank movement before the enemy's infantry had abandoned the line of the river, and retired over the plain in line and column, towards Leipsig, occupying Somerfeldt, Paunsdorf, and Schonfeldt, in strength, protecting their retreat.

A very heavy cannonade and some brilliant performances of general Winzingerode's cavalry marked chiefly here the events of the day, except towards the close, when general Langeron, who had crossed the river and attacked the village of Schonfeldt, met with considerable resistance, and at first was not able to force his way. He, however, took it, but was driven back; when the most positive orders were sent him by general Blucher, to re-occupy it at the point of the bayonet; which he accomplished before dark. Some Prussian battalions of general Bulow's corps were warmly engaged also at Paunsdorf, and the enemy were retiring from it, when the prince royal directed the rocket brigade, under captain Bogue, to form on the left of a Prussian battery, and open upon the columns retiring. Congreve's formidable weapon had scarce accomplished the point of paralysing a solid square of infantry, which after one fire delivered themselves up (as if panic struck), when that gallant and deserving officer, captain Bogue, alike an ornament to his profession, and a loss to his friends and country, received a shot in the head, which deprived the army of his services. Lieutenant Strangways, who succeeded in the command of the brigade, received the prince royal's thanks for the services they rendered.

During the action, twenty-two guns of Saxon artillery joined us from the enemy, and two Westphalian

lian regiments of hussars and two battalions of Saxons: the former were opportunely made use of on the instant against the enemy, as our artillery and ammunition were not all forward; and the prince royal addressed the latter by an offer, that he would head them immediately against the enemy, which they to a man accepted.

The communication being now established between the grand attacks and that of these two armies, the grand duke Constantine, generals Platoff, Milaradovitch, and other officers of distinction, joined the prince royal, communicating the events carrying on in that direction.

It seems the most desperate resistance was made by the enemy at Probethede, Stelleritz, and Cunevitz; but the different columns bearing on these points, as detailed in my former dispatch, finally carried every thing before them. General Bennigsen taking the villages upon the right bank of the Reutshove, having been joined by general Bubna from Dresden, general Tolstoy having come up and relieved the former in the blockade of that city, and general Guilay manœuvring with twenty-five thousand Austrians upon the left bank of the Elster, general Thielman and prince Maurice Lichtenstein's corps moved upon the same river; and the result of the day was, that the enemy lost above forty thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, sixty-five pieces of artillery, and seventeen battalions of German infantry, with all their staff and generals, which came over en masse during the action.

The armies remained upon the ground, on which they had so bravely conquered, this night. The

prince royal had his bivouac at Paunsdorff; general Blucher's remained at Witteritz, and the emperor's and the king's at Roda.

About the close of the day, it was understood the enemy were retreating by Weissenfels and Naumburg; general Blucher received an order from the king of Prussia to detach in that direction. The movement of the prince royal's army completely excluded the retreat on Wittenberg, that upon Erfurt had long since been lost to them; the line of the Saale alone remains; and as their flanks and rear will be operated upon during their march, it is difficult to say with what portion of their army they may get to the Rhine.

This morning the town of Leipzig was attacked and carried, after a short resistance, by the armies of general Blucher, the prince royal, and general Bennigsen, and the grand army. Marshals Marmont and Macdonald commanded in the town; these, with marshals Augereau and Victor, narrowly escaped with a small escort.

Their majesties the emperor of Russia, and the king of Prussia, and the crown prince of Sweden, each heading their respective troops, entered the town at different points, and met in the Great Square. The acclamations and rejoicings of the people are not to be described.

The multiplicity of brilliant achievements, the impossibility of doing justice to the firmness that has been displayed, the boldness of the conception of the commander-in-chief, field-marshal the prince Schwartzemberg, and of the other experienced leaders; together with the shortness of the time allowed me for making up this dispatch, will plead, I hope, a sufficient excuse

cuse for my not sending a more accurate or perfect detail, which I hope however to do hereafter.

I send this dispatch by my aide-camp, Mr. James, who has been distinguished for his services, since he has been with this army: he has also been with me in all the late events, and will be able to give your lordship all further particulars.—I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES STEWART, lieut. gen.

P. S. On the field of battle this day an officer arrived from general Tettenborn, bringing the information of the surrender of Bremen to the corps under his orders, and the keys of the town, which were presented by the prince royal to the emperor of Russia.

C. S.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE  
LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY  
of Wednesday, November 3.

*Foreign Office, Nov. 6, 1813.*  
Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been this day received from the honourable lieutenant-general sir C. W. Stewart, at the office of viscount Castle-reagh.

Prince royal's head-quarters,  
Cöthen, October 14, 1813.

My lord,—I write but a few lines, as from our present situations I am uncertain if this dispatch may arrive.

I acquainted your lordship, in my dispatch of the 11th, that the army of Silesia and that of the prince royal were *à cheval* on the Saale on the 11th instant.

On the 12th, it appeared that the enemy had collected considerably on the right bank of the Mulda, between Dühen, Eulenberg, and Jesnitz, while at the same time it was believed he remained in force against the grand army; but all his

forces seemed to be concentrated between the Mulda, Leipsig, and Torgau.

The grand army on the 12th, according to advices received here, was posted as follows: The main body at Altenburg: general Wittgenstein's corps at Borna, where it appears he had a successful affair with the enemy; general Kleinau at Fröhberg; generals Guilay and Thielman at Zeitz; prince Maurice Lichtenstein at Pegau; general Bennigsen had advanced from Peterswalde and Dohna to Waldheim; and general Bubna had a very brilliant affair before Dresden on the 10th; he also succeeded in carrying the tête-du-pont at Pirna, destroyed the boats, and took cannon and prisoners. The enemy has only left, according to report, 12,000 men as a garrison in Dresden.

To this general information was added the report, that the enemy had debouched from Wittenberg on the right bank of the Elbe, and had forced the corps of general Thümen to retire on the 11th. It became now of the greatest importance to ascertain the amount of the enemy's force passing at Wittenberg. That Bonaparte should adopt a measure, passing with all his army at Torgau and Wittenberg, which abandons all his communications, and allows all the allied armies to be united and placed between him and France, seems so desperate, and so little in military calculation, that until this interesting crisis develops itself, it is impossible to pronounce an opinion.

The crown prince, upon the above state of affairs, recrossed the Saale on the 13th, and marched to Cöthen, where he has taken post; being thus within march of general Blücher at Halle, each army can reciprocally

procally support each other, and combine their movements; and the grand army may be expected every hour at Leipsig.

The news of this day is, that six divisions of the enemy's army and the guards have passed at Wittenberg, and are directing themselves on Berlin.

Our communications across the Elbe at Rosslau and Acken have been attacked, and the former given up by general Tauentzien, who, to avoid being taken in the rear by the enemy, who had passed at Wittenberg, has joined general Thümen, and is falling back on Zerbst and towards Potsdam.

The momentary loss of our communications across the Elbe, except below Magdeburg, may be a temporary inconvenience; but the annihilation of the French army being the sole object, the crown prince has adopted the resolution of marching to Halle, and joining the corps of general Blücher and the grand army; and when all the armies shall be united, it will be indeed strange if your lordship does not receive a good account of the enemy.

The intelligence of the treaty being signed with Bavaria has arrived from the grand army.

General Walmoden's corps, as well as general Tauentzien's, must act according to circumstances; it is difficult decidedly to say what line they will adopt. I have the honour to be, &c.      CHARLES STEWART,  
lieut. general.

*Halle, October 15, 1813.*

My lord,—The accounts transmitted in my dispatch of the 14th instant, founded on the information then received of six divisions of the enemy's young guards having debouched from Wittenberg, as also troops from Torgau on the

right bank of the Elbe, likewise his having taken possession of Dessau, may cause a momentary anxiety in the public mind. I am anxious therefore as early as possible to remove it, and I now have the honour to inform your lordship, that, according to later intelligence received, the enemy is recalling his troops from the direction of Wittenberg and the Lower Mulda, and seems to be assembling them in the neighbourhood of Leipsig, Taucha, and Eulenberg. This intelligence is in part derived from a lieutenant-colonel of the French staff, taken prisoner, on whom was found a letter addressed to marshal Marmont, enjoining him to put himself in march for Leipsig, and to place himself under the orders of Murat.

The enemy's forces that have been manœuvring on the right bank of the Mulda, and that crossed the Elbe, are commanded by marshals Ney and Marmont; and they have so studiously concealed their movements by marches and counter-marches, and the country is so enclosed and difficult near the conflux of those rivers, that the information is not precise. The intelligence, however, from the grand army is positive as to the enemy's assemblage in the neighbourhood of Leipsig. On the 14th he retired from Zerbst, and withdrew from Acken, where he had shown himself: having destroyed our tête-de-pont at Rosslau, he abandoned it, and the Cossacks of general Winzingerode's corps of the prince royal's army drove him from Dessau, which was re-occupied. These different events confirmed the other intelligence, and appearances denoted the movement from Wittenberg to have been undertaken with a view of alluring the northern army to



to repass the Elbe. Upon general military principles, to have crossed that river without possessing Wittenberg may be considered by many, a doubtful if not an injudicious undertaking; but on the other hand must be balanced the advantages derived from the union of about three hundred thousand men, surrounding the enemy on all points, the state of demoralization in his army, their distress for provisions, which, hemmed in as they are, must necessarily increase; and lastly, the advantage of resorting at once to immediate and vigorous offensive operation in all quarters.

The prince royal of Sweden had detached on the 14th a division of his army, under the orders of the prince of Hesse Homburg, to re-establish his communication at Acken, and to ensure the passage of the river and the town (which is strong), by strengthening it as far as possible: general Hirschfeld had, however, secured this point before the reinforcement arrived. The garrison of Magdeburg made attempts upon the post of Bernburg on the Saale, a point of infinite importance for the passage of that river, in case of need; they were, however, here again checked by another detachment of Cossacks of general Winzingerode's corps, and two battalions and some guns were placed here in garrison. The prince royal's army extended this day with its right in the direction of the mountain of Petersberg, a point which forms a principal feature in this country, from its abrupt rise; his left towards Cöthen and Elsdorf, while his advanced guard was pushed into the villages on the left bank of the Mulda.

The Silesian army were in position near Halle, with their advanced guard at Merseberg and Schenditz.

By intelligence from the grand army, general Wittgenstein made a general reconnoissance from Borna on the 13th, and marched to his left, occupied Pegau with the greatest part of his corps on the 14th, establishing his communications on the left with the Austrian corps of generals Guilay and prince Maurice Lichtenstein, posted at Weissenfels by Naumbourg, and joined with generals Thielman and Platoff, towards Lutzen, and on the right with the corps of general Kleinau, who marched to Borna, and was to detach to Grimma and Colditz. The Russian grenadiers and cuirassiers were at Altenburg. The main body of the grand army, viz. the corps of general Meerveld, the Austrian army of reserve, the Russian and Prussian guards, took post at Zeitz, the corps of Colloredo at Chemnitz and Penig, and detached towards Rocklitz. General Bennigsen had orders to make himself master of the roads leading on Nossen and Meissen, and to push on with all possible expedition.

In this general position the armies are to pass on, hemming in the enemy until they are enabled to make an attack on all sides. It would appear, under these circumstances, if the enemy forces his passage against any one of the corps, the others united will fall on the point attacked. This operation becomes the more easy, in proportion as the communication between the different armies is established, and the circle round the enemy is narrowed. In the event of a retreat, the left bank of the Saale affords a very strong line on the one side, and the positions of Lutzen, Weissenfels, and Altenburg, on the other.

I have also to acquaint your lordship, that the Bavarian corps of general Wrede, and the Austrian corps

corps of prince Reuss, are moving by forced marches on Bamberg.

I feel naturally anxious to keep your lordship in possession of the most constant intelligence: in doing so I am well aware (as information varies every hour) that I may run the risk of inaccuracy, but I must hope in this case for your indulgence.

All the corps of the grand army have moved forward this day. General Blucher has moved to Gros Kugel and Skenditz, and pushed his advance towards Leipsig; and the prince royal has his right in front of Petersberg, and his left at Zorbig, with the Swedes near Wettin, and the advance at Brehna. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES STEWART.

WINDSOR.

The monthly meeting of the queen's council, as directed by the regency act, took place this day. The members of the council, consisting of the archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of Montrose, earl of Winchelsea, and lord Arden, arrived at the lodge, where they were received by the five physicians attending the king, who laid before them their monthly report, which is as follows:—

*Windsor Castle, November 6.*

His majesty has continued unremittingly in the full influence of his disorder for many months past. He has since the last report had a transient increase of it; but this has again subsided into its former state. His majesty's bodily health shows no appearance of decay, and his spirits are generally in a comfortable state.

HENRY SALFORD. J. WILLIS.

M. BAILEY. A. WILLIS.

W. HERBARD.

1813.

*War Department, Nov. 9.*

"Lord Bathurst presents compliments to the lord mayor, and has the satisfaction to acquaint his lordship, that lord A. Hill is arrived with dispatches, dated Vera, Nov. 1, announcing the surrender on the preceding day, by capitulation, of the fortress of Pampeluna."

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

*Downing-street, Nov. 9.*

"Lord Arthur Hill has this morning arrived with dispatches from field marshal the marquis of Wellington, to earl Bathurst, dated Vera, Nov. 1, of which the following are extracts:

"Vera, Nov. 1, 1813.

"Nothing of importance has occurred in the line since I addressed your lordship last.

"The enemy's garrison of Pampeluna made proposals to don Carlos d'Espana to surrender the place on the 26th October, on condition, first, that they should be allowed to march to France with six pieces of cannon: secondly, that they should be allowed to march to France under an engagement not to serve against the allies for a year and a day. Both these conditions were rejected by don Carlos d'Espana, and they were told that he had orders not to give them a capitulation on any terms excepting that they should be prisoners of war; to which they declared they would never submit."

"Vera, Nov. 1, 1812.

"Since I wrote to your lordship this morning, I have received a letter, of which I enclose a copy, from mariscal del campo don Carlos d'Espana, in which he announces the surrender by capitulation of the fortress of Pampeluna,

(K) the

the garrison being prisoners of war; upon which event I beg leave to congratulate your lordship.

"I cannot sufficiently applaud the conduct of don Carlos d'España, and that of the troops under his command during the period that he has commanded the blockade, that is, since the beginning of August.

"In every sortie which the enemy have made, they have been repulsed with loss, and the general and the officers and troops have, on every occasion, conducted themselves well. Don Carlos d'España was severely wounded on the 10th of September, as reported in my dispatch of the 19th of that month; but having reported that he was able to continue to perform his duty, I considered it but justice to allow him to continue in a command to which he had to that moment performed the duties in so satisfactory a manner; and I am happy that it has fallen to his lot to be the instrument of restoring to the Spanish monarchy so important a fortress as Pampeluna.

"Not having yet received the details of the terms of the capitulation, I must delay to forward them till the next occasion.

(Translation.)

"Most excellent sir,

"Glory be to God, and honour to the triumphs of your excellency in this ever memorable campaign!

"I have the honour and the great satisfaction of congratulating your excellency on the surrender of the important fortress of Pampeluna, the capitulation of which, having been signed by the superior officers intrusted with my powers, and by those delegated by the general commanding the place, I

have, by virtue of the authority which you conferred upon me, just ratified. The garrison remain prisoners of war, as your excellency had determined from the beginning that they should, and will march out to-morrow at two in the afternoon, in order to be conducted to the port of Passages.

"Our troops occupy one of the gates of the citadel, and those of France the place.

"May God guard the precious life of your excellency!

"Dated from the camp in front of Pampeluna, 31st October, 1813. (Signed) "CHARLES ESPANA.

"His excellency field marshal the duke of Ciudad Rodrigo."

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

*The king v. Bingham.*

10. Mr. Jekyll began by observing, that the application which he was now about to make to their lordships was one of peculiar interest and importance to his client—of far more interest and importance than such applications generally were even to the parties concerned in them. In this their lordships would readily agree, when he stated that his client had been, for thirteen years, a justice of the peace for the county in which he resided, during the whole of which time he had maintained a pure and unspotted character; that he was, besides, a benefited clergyman of the church of England; and that the application which he had now to make to their lordships was, that a verdict which had been found against him on an indictment charging him with conspiracy and fraud should be set aside, and a new trial be granted. The indictment in question came on to be tried, at the last assizes for the county of Hants, before Mr. baron Graham.

Graham. It consisted of 15 different counts: but he believed he might divide the whole into three distinct charges:—1st, that of conspiracy with one James Cooper to purchase a house for 750*l.* and defrauding the said James Cooper by selling the same house again to him for 2200*l.* 2dly, imposing upon his brother justices, by inducing or suffering them to continue granting for a number of years a floating license to a public-house which had no existence; and 3dly, defrauding the revenue, by stating the consideration money in the deed of conveyance to be only 1900*l.* when it was actually 2200*l.* by which concealment the stamp required for the deed was only 10*l.* whereas it ought to have been 20*l.* that being the amount of the stamp required for any sum above 2000*l.*—To enable their lordships to understand the present case, it would be necessary to inform them, that about eight years ago the defendant Mr. Bingham was proprietor of a public-house situated near the beach at Gosport, under the sign of *The Audacious and Révolutionnaire*; but that the ordnance board having occasion for the ground on which that house stood, the same was purchased by them from the defendant, and pulled down. A person of the name of Beach was then the occupier of that house, and he applied to the defendant, requesting that, if the defendant should become possessed of another house, and procure a license for it, he (Beach) might have the refusal of it as tenant. Beach afterwards, himself, applied annually to the magistrates for a license to a public-house under the sign of *The Audacious and Révolutionnaire*; and the license was from year to

year granted to him; the magistrates knowing that there was no such house. So far, however, from this having been done through the means or influence of the defendant, he never was present at the time of granting such license, but uniformly left the court previous to the application being made.

Lord Ellenborough said, he ought to have done more; he ought to have told all he knew.

Mr. Jekyll observed, that the magistrates were perfectly aware that there was no house under the sign of *The Audacious and Révolutionnaire*.

Lord Ellenborough said, keeping a license thus afloat was a most disgraceful practice. It was thus, however, ascertained, that a floating license, in that part of the country, was worth 1450*l.*; a house which had been purchased for 750*l.* by having this floating license attached to it, became, it appeared in a moment, worth 2200*l.*

Mr. justice Bailey.—“*Plus* the license it is worth 2200*l.*; *minus* the license it is purchased for 750*l.*”

Mr. Jekyll submitted that the defendant was not to be charged as guilty of this offence, he having taken no steps to procure the license to be kept afloat. Taking it, however, for argument's sake, as true, that he had imposed upon Cooper, by selling to him the house in question at too large a price, considering what he had paid for it, still, the learned counsel contended; this could be no ground for charging him with a conspiracy. There must be two or more persons concerned, in order to lay the foundation for a charge of conspiracy; but here, to lay that foundation, the prosecutor had thought proper to charge the defendant as guilty of conspiracy with this very person,

James Cooper, to defraud himself; as if A. and B. could be guilty of conspiring to defraud B. This, he submitted, disposed of the two first heads of the charge; and as to the third, which regarded the fraud on the revenue, that was easily accounted for. When Cooper first applied to the defendant, wishing him to purchase the house in question, and then to sell it and the license to him, the defendant informed him that he must apply to Mr. Beach, and procure his consent. This was done; and the sum agreed to be paid to Beach, for his concurrence, was 150*l*. This sum was to come out of the price of 2200*l*. and, of course, formed a deduction from the consideration money for the conveyance.

Mr. justice Dampier observed, Even then the consideration money would be 2050*l*. whereas in the deed it was stated to be 1900*l*.

Mr. Jekyll said, there were other deductions also agreed to be allowed; and, besides, the defendant was not present at the execution of the deed, which was a conveyance direct from Watts, the original proprietor, to Cooper, the sums having, at the time he saw the deed, stood blank. He submitted, on the whole, that there was nothing so objectionable in the conduct of the defendant, who had not thought it necessary to practise any concealment.

Lord Ellenborough was astonished to hear that Mr. Bingham should think that in a transaction of this kind, carried on among his brother magistrates, no concealment was necessary. Whether they had suffered their minds to be tainted by the sign of the house to which this floating license had been granted, his lordship could not say; but he must say that this was a most

audacious and disgraceful transaction. The defendant had eight years ago sold to the ordnance board a public-house belonging to him, for which, if they treated him as they did every other person with whom they had any dealings, he must have received no penurious consideration. From that time a license had been kept afloat for a house under the same name, no such house being in existence. Having, however, at length purchased a house for 750*l*.; by attaching to it this floating license he raises it in value to 2200*l*. and sells it for that sum. Having done so, it is obvious that the consideration money to be expressed in the deed, and by which the stamp duty is to be ascertained, is 2200*l*. In fraud of the revenue, however, the price specified in the deed is reduced to 1900*l*. and in this manner is the stamp duty reduced from 20*l*. to 10*l*. It was impossible, his lordship conceived, in such circumstances, to say that a fraud had not been practised; and, on the whole, he saw no ground for setting aside the verdict, or granting the defendant a new trial.

Mr. Gazalle said, Mr. Bingham was in court; but he presumed to think their lordships would not think it necessary at present to order him to be committed.

Mr. serjeant Pell said, he had no wish to press the court on this subject.

Lord Ellenborough observed, that the learned serjeant knew his duty, and, he had no doubt, would do it. The court was not in the habit of ordering persons so situated to be committed, if no motion was made to that effect.

No such motion being made, the defendant of course was not committed: he was afterward brought

brought up for judgement, and sentenced to be imprisoned for six months.

## PARIS.

15. On Sunday the 14th Nov. after mass, her majesty the empress being in her apartments in the palace of the Thuilleries, surrounded by her ladies and officers in her service, gave an audience to the minister at war, who presented to her 20 stand of colours taken from the enemy in the battle of Wachau, Leipsic, and Hanau. Each flag was carried by an officer. The minister and these officers were conducted to this audience by a master of ceremonies, and presented to the empress by the duchess of Montebello, lady of honour to her majesty.

In presenting to her majesty, his excellency the minister at war said—

“Madame—I present to your majesty the colours taken at the battle of Wachau, Leipsic, and Hanau, which his majesty the emperor sent me from the field of battle, and ordered me to present to your majesty, with the subjoined letter.

“These colours will attest to posterity the valour of the French armies.

“Treasons without example have procured to our enemies great advantages; they are for them without glory; they cannot support them by similar trophies.

“May I be permitted, madame, to congratulate myself on this honourable mission?

“Her majesty replied—

“Monsieur the minister at war, —I am moved with this new proof of remembrance, and with the sentiments of my august husband.

“All that he can do for me I

merit of him, by my unbounded attachment to him and to France.

“Place, on my part, these trophies in the church of Invalides, that those brave men may see in them a proof of the interest which I have for them; I know all the claims which they have to my protection.”

## IMPERIAL DECREE.

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

*Palace of St. Cloud, Nov. 11, 1813.*

Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the confederation of the Rhine, mediator of the Swiss confederation, &c.

Upon the report of our minister of finances, considering the urgency of circumstances, our council of state agreeing, we have decreed and do decree as follows:—

Art. 1. There shall be collected 30 centimes additional to the contribution on doors, windows, and patents of 1813. The said centimes shall be payable by thirds, in the departments of the months of November and December 1813, and in January 1814.

Art. 2. The personal contribution, and the part of the contribution on property, which is collected by classes, shall be doubled for the year 1813; the additional impost shall be levied at the periods fixed by the preceding article.

Art. 3. The allowance on account of preceptors, and those of receivers, upon the above-mentioned extraordinary contributions, shall only be imposed at this rate; for preceptors a quarter, and for receivers the half, of the rate fixed as the tax on the principal.

Art. 4. Reckoning from this day, there shall be collected two new  
(K 3) decimes,

decimes, by kilogrammes, on salt, and ten centimes in addition, as well as in respect to the receipts of administration of taxes collected, not subject to the war tenth; as to the tariffs of Octroi, other than those of agreement and assesment.

Art. 5. The additional duty upon salt shall be collected upon salt remaining in the warehouses, agreeably to Art. 8 of the law of 8th April 1806, and to the imperial decree of the 11th June following.

Art. 6. Notwithstanding the dispositions of the preceding article, the administration for salt beyond the Alps shall not sell salt above 60 centimes the kilogramme (6 sols the lb.).

Art. 7. The dispositions of the present decree shall not be applicable, except in what relates to the tax upon salt, to the departments of the mouths of the Meuse, of the mouths of the Yssel, of the Upper Yssel, of Frese, of Western Ems, of Eastern Ems, and of the Zuyder Zee, on account of the extraordinary charges which they support.

Art. 8. Our ministers are charged each as far as concerns him with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the bulletin of the laws.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.  
The minister secretary of state  
ad interim,

(Signed) Duke of CADORE.

16. Yesterday the contractors for the old loan waited on the first lord of the treasury, and the chancellor of the exchequer, and they were prepared to deliver a sealed paper containing their offer, when Mr. Manning, governor of the bank, delivered the following message to Mr. Baring, for the information of all the parties:

"I am desired by the first lord of the treasury, and the chancellor of the exchequer, that in case they cannot agree for the loan of 22,000,000*l.* this morning, they cannot consider themselves bound to offer either the same amount of loan, or the same terms to competition afterwards; but they shall consider themselves at liberty to make such arrangements for the public service as they shall judge expedient."

Upon which, after conferring together, they delivered their paper; and the paper which had been put into the hands of the governor of the bank, by the minister, was also opened; when it turned out that the gentleman offered the precise sum under which it had been determined by the minister that the contract should not be made; and we are assured that this coincidence was purely accidental. They were declared the contractors. The terms are as follow:—  
Forevery 100*l.* sterling subscribed, they are to have—

£110—5 p. cent. red. at 56½ is	£62 8 6
67—3 p. cent. consols: 58½ —	39 0 6
Discount . . . . .	2 1 8
	£103 10 8

On the return of the gentlemen to the stock exchange it bore a premium, which in the course of the day, rose to 4 per cent.

THE LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Foreign Office, Nov. 21, 1813.

The baron Perponcher and Mr. James Esqel have arrived this day from Holland, deputed by the provisional government, which has been established in that country, to inform his royal highness the prince regent

regent and his serene highness, the prince of Orange, that a counter-revolution broke out in part of the United Provinces on Monday last, the 15th instant, when the people of Amsterdam rose in a body, proclaiming the house of Orange with the old cry of *Orange boven*, and universally putting up the Orange colours.

This example was immediately followed by the other towns of the provinces of Holland and Utrecht, as Haarlem, Leyden, Utrecht, the Hague, Rotterdam, &c.

The French authorities were dismissed, and a temporary government established and proclaimed in the name of the prince of Orange, and, until his serene highness's arrival, composed of the most respectable members of the old government, and chiefly of those not employed under the French.

Amsterdam, Nov. 16, 1813.

The events of last night have shown the necessity of appointing without delay an administration in this great city, which in its form and composition may insure the confidence of the good citizens. In consequence, the officers of the Schuttery (armed burghers) have agreed to undertake the establishment of such an administration; and a number of the most respectable inhabitants have been called out and invited by them to take upon themselves, at so critical a moment, the honourable and interesting task of effecting every thing that can contribute to prevent or stop the incalculable evils of anarchy.

The following gentlemen have been this day appointed, desired and authorised to regulate and divide among themselves the functions, in the manner they shall judge most expedient :

MR. J. C. VAN DER HOOP.  
MR. P. A. VAN BOETZELAER.  
MR. D. W. ELIAS.  
And twenty others.

Amsterdam, Nov. 16, 1813.

The colonel and chief of the municipal guards, who has the great satisfaction of acquainting the public with the above circumstances, cannot let pass this opportunity, without admonishing his fellow-citizens in the most earnest manner to behave with temper and moderation; and at the same time manifesting his expectation and wishes, that the joy which will be excited by these events may not induce or mislead the inhabitants to improper behaviour towards any persons whatsoever, or to pillage or plunder any private or public buildings; since the officers and all the members composing the municipal guard are strictly resolved to repel with all the powers of which they are in possession, all and any trespasses which may be committed, to the end that the perpetrators receive due punishment for their offences.

(Signed) The colonel and chief of the municipal guard,

G. C. R. R. VON BRIENEN.

IN THE NAME OF HIS HIGHNESS THE  
PRINCE OF ORANGE.

LEOPOLD, count of Limburg  
Stieum, governor of the Hague.

As the blessed restoration is fast approaching, I give notice to all the inhabitants of the Hague, that their wishes will soon be fulfilled, and that a provisional government will immediately be established, to provide for every thing, until his serene highness shall appear among us.

In the mean time I invite all good citizens to watch for the preserva-



tion of peace and order. I promise to the lowest a day of rejoicing, at the public expense; but I warn every one who would pillage and plunder, that the heaviest penalties will be inflicted upon them.

[Circulate this.]

ORANGE BOVEN.

Holland is free!—The allies advance upon Utrecht.—The English are invited.—The French fly on all sides.—The sea is open.—Trade revives.—Party spirit has ceased.—What has been suffered is forgiven and forgotten.—Men of consequence and consideration are called to the government.—The government invites the prince to the sovereignty. We join the allies, and force the enemy to sue for peace.—The people are to have a day of rejoicing, at the public expense, without being allowed to plunder, or to commit any excess.—Every one renders thanks to God.—Old times are returned. ORANGE BOVEN!

Every moment teems with new events of the greatest moment. Last night the following letter was addressed by earl Bathurst to the lord mayor:—

“Downing-street, Nov. 24, 1813.

“I have the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that the marquis of Worcester has arrived with dispatches from the marquis of Wellington, dated St. Pe, the 13th instant, by which it appears that the enemy have been driven from their positions which they had been fortifying with great labour and care for three months; having lost 51 pieces of cannon and near 2000 prisoners. The loss on our side is very inconsiderable.

“To the right honourable the lord mayor, &c.

“BATHURST.”

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY:

Foreign Office, Nov. 24, 1813.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been this day received by viscount Castlereagh, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, from lieutenant-general the honourable sir Charles William Stewart. K.B. dated

Gottingen, Nov. 2, 1813.

My lord,—The intended movement of the main body of the army of the north on Cassel, as detailed in my last dispatch, has been arrested, and the prince royal has been induced to direct his operations towards Hanover and the North, for the following reasons:

Marshal Davoust is still in position on the right bank of the Elbe, and seems very unwilling to separate from the Danes, so long as he can retain his hold; the corps of lieutenant-gen. Walmoden is not of sufficient force to act offensively without considerable aid. The extermination of the enemy in the north of Germany; the possession of Bremen, the mouths of the Weser and the Elbe; the speedy reduction of Hamburg; the advantage of opening an immediate communication with England during the winter; the liberation of his majesty's electoral dominions, and the organization of its civil and military power; the facility that will be afforded to the future operations of the northern army, either in Holland or on the Rhine, when their rear is entirely secure; and lastly, the hope of cutting off marshal Davoust completely from Holland, are the united considerations which have determined his royal highness to alter his proposed movement, and the army of the North is now in march for Bremen and Hanover, from

from whence it will be directed against the remaining forces of the enemy in the north of Germany.

The prince royal transferred his head-quarters from Mühlhausen to Dingelstadt on the 29th, on the 30th to Heiligenstadt, and yesterday to this place. The advanced guard under lieut.-gen. Woronzoff, and the Russians under general Winzingerode, entered Cassel on the 30th. The Swedes and Prussians were in the neighbourhood of Heiligenstadt on that day, when his royal highness determined on a change in his line of movement.

Reports arrived from general Czernicheff, dated from Neuhaus the 27th. He details that having joined gen. Slowiski with another partisan corps from the grand army, he proceeded to Fulda, which town he occupied, making five hundred prisoners; he then destroyed the enemy's magazines, and proceeded to break down the bridges and render the roads as impracticable as possible, having contrived to post himself between the enemy's main body and their advance: the manner gen. Czernicheff harasses them is not to be described. While in his position at Fulda, he perceives the advance of their collected force, consisting of some squadrons of gens d'armes moving towards the town; he immediately advances with his Cossacks, charges and overthrows them, and then returns to follow the advanced guard on the great road towards Frankfort, carrying destruction to all the enemy's means before their arrival. Gen. Czernicheff states that Bonaparte went from Eisenach to Vach, and that he had the intention of going to the Weser; but the march of the prince royal and marshal Blücher prevented him, and he supposes his line will now be Wetz-

lar; he adds, his army is reduced to fifty thousand men, armed and collected; many of the enemy, however, are retiring in different directions, even without arms; the retreat forcibly resembles that from Russia. A party of Cossacks took a French colonel, with a letter from Jerome Bonaparte to Murat; I enclose a copy of it, as it is an interesting document. Many accounts agree that the greatest consternation reigns in France, and interior discontent is manifesting itself very generally.

From the intrepid and dexterous exploits of the partisans we can turn with equal rejoicings to the grand movements of the allies. The emperor's head-quarters were at Melrichstadt on the 31st ultimo, at Munerstadt on the first instant, and they are to be at Heldersheim this day. The grand army continues the march of its columns on Frankfort; on the 7th it will arrive at Aschaffembourg, and on the 9th on the Maine.

By letters from general count Wrede, of the 28th, he announces that he had attacked and carried the town of Hanau on that day with the 1st division of Austrians and Bavarians; he made a large number of prisoners; two more divisions of his army were to join him on the 29th, and on the 30th all the Wurtemberg troops. General Wrede was in communication with Orloff, Mensgikoff, and the partisan light corps of the grand army. General Wrede confirms the report of the enemy having only six thousand men in Frankfort; they will probably retire on Cassel: he mentions also the enemy's retreat by Wetzlar and Coblenz, and adds, he will take measures accordingly.

Marshal Blücher, with the Silesian army, reports from Philipstadt and

and Hunsfeldt, on the 29th, that such is the disorder of the enemy's flight, he cannot a moment desist from the pursuit, however harassed his troops may be. His excellency is daily making prisoners, and is marching on Wetzlar.

Gen. Bennigsen reached Halle on the 29th. It seems the corps of gen. Gouvion St. Cyr, originally stated to have left Dresden for Torgau and Wittenberg, and latterly supposed to be moving to Chemnitz, has nevertheless not left Dresden. A part of general Reginier's corps (probably separated from the French army by the operations of the allies and the battle of Leipsic) has been the corps that has been mistaken for gen. Gouvion St. Cyr's. This corps is now encamped near Torgau on the right bank of the Elbe. General Bennigsen is moving to the Elbe, to act, with all the different corps under his orders there, in the most vigorous manner.

There is a report of a corps of the enemy, about eighteen thousand men, under gen. Molitor, moving from Holland, but I do not believe it has advanced further than Kövesden and Bourtanger. General Carra St. Cyr re-occupied the town of Bremen a few days since with a part of his force, gen. Tettenborn evacuating it. It will, however, again be soon free.

The movements of the prince royal's columns in march are as follow:—The Russians proceed from Cassel by Paderborn to Bremen and Oldenbourg; the Prussians, under gen. Bulow, to Minden; and the Swedes to Hanover.

It is with inexpressible satisfaction I report to your lordship the entrance yesterday of the allied troops into his majesty's electoral dominions. The enthusiasm, loyalty,

and unbounded joy of the people is not to be described; and although ten years have separated this country from their legitimate sovereign, it is obvious he lives in their hearts with the same deep-rooted affection as ever. The reception of the prince royal must have been beyond measure gratifying to his royal highness, while the few English present were greeted with unbounded acclamations.

It is a remarkable and gratifying anecdote, that during the elevation of new authority and the destruction of every ancient memorial, the bust of our revered monarch (which I believe was a present of her majesty to the professors and students) has retained its place in this university, and no sacrilegious hand has ever offered to remove it.

Active measures are taking, under the authority of the regency, for the re-establishment of all the civil authorities; and his royal highness the prince of Sweden, with the utmost attention and care in providing for his troops by requisitions, has made arrangements for payment, and in every thing considers the country and its inhabitants as the most favoured soil.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. STEWART, lieutenant-gen.

Viscount Castlereagh, &c.

*Copy of a letter from Jerome Bonaparte to general Murat.*

My dear brother,—I learn that you are arrived at Vach; this news disquiets me. My situation is horrible—tell me the truth, and whether I should fall back, for I have with me but four or five thousand miserable conscripts—How is the emperor?—Do not make me wait for an answer—You will conceive my anxiety.

I embrace you as I love you,

(Signed) JEROME NAPOLEON.

Hanover,

*Hanover, Nov. 11, 1813.*

My lord,—I have little to detail to your lordship since my last dispatches. I have as yet seen no official account from whence a judgement can be formed of the manner in which Bonaparte, with the remnant of his army, extricated himself by Hanau and Frankfort, and passed the Rhine at Cassel. The sanguinary and hard-fought actions by general Wrede merit unquestionably the highest encomiums. The force of Bonaparte, as he retired on the great line of his communications, was probably augmented by troops at Erfurt and other places on its march, and in his battles with general Wrede he seems to have brought forward seventy or eighty thousand men, a force much beyond what we estimated him to possess, after his various losses. It is quite clear, however, he did not think himself secure with this number, as during the last battle he appears to have sought his safety with an escort of ten thousand cavalry, which gen. Czernicheff very gallantly and a little roughly handled.

Marshal Blucher's army seems to have been directed out of the great line of road on Frankfort, on which they were following the enemy, and they were to march on Wetzlar and Coblentz. It was considered when gen. Wrede occupied Hanau and Frankfort, that Bonaparte would march on Coblentz. But by marshal Blucher being turned into another direction, it appears no part of the grand army could or did arrive in time to take part in the actions with gen. Wrede; which is to be lamented.

The prince royal moved his headquarters to Hanover on the 6th. The Prussians under gen. Bulow are at Minden, and gen. Winzingerode will arrive in a day or two at Bremen. The Swedes are marching towards Hamburg.

The corps of gen. Bennisgen is descending the Elbe, and is arrived at Leutzen. This general, with lieut.-gen. count Walmoden, will operate on the right bank against marshal Davoust's position on the Stecknitz. Generals Winzingerode and Bulow will, however, not be delayed in commencing their march towards Holland. General Bennisgen brings ample force with him. General Bulow will in a few days have recruited his army, in his Prussian majesty's ancient states, to the number it amounted to before the opening of the campaign. The ample, generous, and liberal aid of the prince regent, in arms and clothing, is of an invaluable consequence at this moment to these brave Prussians. The last convoys are all on the road to marshal Blucher's and gen. Bulow's armies; and they are the means of re-equipping and arming these corps d'armée forthwith, nearly to their original establishments. It must be as grateful to the English nation, as creditable to its government, to see how opportunely this aid is at hand. The gratitude of marshal Blucher and general Bulow, as expressed to me, must be agreeable to your lordship.

Marshal Blucher's march route is (I believe) as follows: At Freyburg the 10th, Wegerbush the 11th, Freyburg the 12th, and Muhlheim near Cologne the 13th.

I forbear to recapitulate the enthusiastic demonstrations that have followed the entry of the allies again into this capital.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) C. STEWART, lieut.-gen.

P.S. An account is just received, that a part of the French garrison of Mag-

Magdebourg has been entirely defeated, and driven under the walls of the place. Seven hundred infantry and six cannon have been taken.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE  
LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.  
*Foreign Office, Nov. 25, 1813.*

Dispatches, of which the following are copies and extracts, have been this day received by viscount Castlereagh, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, from his excellency the earl of Aberdeen, K. T. from his excellency general viscount Cathcart, K. T. lieutenant-general the honourable sir Charles William Stewart, K. B. and Edward Thornton, Esq.

Dispatch from the earl of Aberdeen, K. T. dated Frankfort, Nov. 7.

My lord,—His imperial majesty made his public entry into Frankfort yesterday morning. He was met at some distance from the town by the emperor Alexander and his attendants. His majesty received the keys of the city from the chief magistrates at the Hanaugate, and afterwards proceeded on horseback through the principal streets to the cathedral church, where *Te Deum* was performed. As I accompanied his imperial majesty on this occasion, I was an ear witness of the enthusiastic applause with which he was received. The streets, windows, and even the roofs of the houses were crowded with spectators, who appeared to vie with each other in demonstrations of joy; it was impossible to mistake the sincere and heart-felt emotion by which they were produced. The affectionate regard of the inhabitants was loudly testified at seeing the sovereign, who 21 years ago had been crowned with-

in their walls, re-appear in the character of their deliverer. In the evening the two emperors went to the theatre, and were received with acclamations; every sentiment of the piece which had reference to their exertions in the cause of Europe was loudly applauded.

Pleasing as it is to dwell on these circumstances, I am equally happy in being able to inform your lordship of the continued progress of the allies, and of the substantial acquisitions which have been recently made by the accession of different princes to the common cause. The states of Hesse Darmstadt, Nassau, and Baden, have respectively addressed themselves to his imperial majesty. They have renounced the confederation of the Rhine, and in imploring his majesty's mediation with the allied powers have expressed their desire to join the alliance. Other states of less importance have followed the same course, and I may now venture to congratulate your lordship on the complete dissolution of that formidable confederacy, instituted by Bonaparte for the double purpose of proving either an impregnable bulwark to France, in the event of foreign invasion, or the instrument in his hands of the subjugation of the rest of Europe.

(Signed) ABERDEEN.

To the right honourable lord viscount Castlereagh, &c.

Extract of a dispatch from viscount Cathcart, K. T. dated Frankfort on the Maine, Nov. 8, 1813.

The emperor Alexander made his entry into the city of Frankfort on the Maine at noon on the 8th inst. at the head of the horse artillery and about fifty squadrons of the cavalry of the Russian imperial guard and reserve, and some squadrons

squadrons of the Prussian guard, amidst the loudest acclamations of many thousand inhabitants.

His imperial majesty stopped near the quarter prepared for him to see his cavalry pass, which they did in the most perfect parade order, after a march of one hundred English miles (cantoning and assembling from cantonments included), which they performed in forty-eight hours; viz. from Schwinfurth, by Wurtzburg and Aschaffembourg, to this place.

On the following day the emperor Francis arrived. The emperor of Russia met his imperial and royal apostolic majesty at some distance from Frankfort, and both sovereigns proceeded to the cathedral, where divine service was performed, and *Te Deum* was sung.

The last dispatch I had the honour to address to your lordship was dated the 30th ult. from Meiningen. Napoleon has escaped from the Cossacks and his other pursuers, and has carried the remains of his guard, and some other corps, to the left bank of the Rhine, leaving but few troops here.

The possession of a fortress at Erfurth has been the great instrument by which this retreat has been effected. It was thought possible he would make some stand behind this post, while, on the contrary, he redoubled his speed; and having possession of the best road, while the cross roads by which the allies endeavoured to intercept him were scarcely passable, he gained several marches.

General count Wrede gallantly arrested his progress for two days at Hanau; on the first of which, particularly, the French fought with great obstinacy, and the loss has been considerable on both sides. There is one small spot, where an

officer of rank, who saw it, assures me, that the carnage of men and horses was most extraordinary.

The efforts of this Austrian and Bavarian army, though they stopped the enemy for two days, could not prevent his arrival at Mayence before the columns under the orders of the field marshal prince Schwartzenberg could overtake him.

There are different accounts of the enemy's force; but considering the numbers left on the field of battle at Leipsig, and in that city, the number of prisoners sent to the rear during the retreat by all the corps which came up with the enemy, and the losses inseparable from all retreats of so difficult and so protracted a nature, it seems impossible that he can have carried fifty thousand men with him, though there are persons who estimate the force still higher.

Bonaparte was present in the battle of Hanau, and his officers are said to have displayed more military talents on that occasion than they have lately shown.

The main army is assembling here, and will immediately be ready for ulterior operations.

Field-marshal Blucher's army is moving to the Rhine, in the direction of Ehrenbreitstein. His head-quarters are this day at Limbourg.

The king of Prussia has been at Berlin and Breslau since the battle of Leipsig. His majesty is expected here immediately.

Dispatch from viscount Cathcart, K. T. dated Frankfort on the Maine, November 10, 1813.

My lord—The enemy had retained a position at Hockheim, and was employed in restoring the old lines, which passed from the tete-de-pont at Cassel round that position, and back to the Rhine.

Marshal

Marshal prince Schwartzenberg determined to put a stop to this work, and to occupy the position himself. With this view an attack was made yesterday, in which the lines were carried by assault, and the enemy was driven into the works of Cassel, with the loss of several hundred prisoners and four pieces of cannon.

I have the honour to inclose herewith the report I have this moment received of this gallant affair from major-general sir Robert Wilson. It has been the constant practice of the major-general, throughout this and the last campaign, to accompany every attack of consequence that has taken place within his reach, and on this occasion he was with one of the storming parties.

In adverting to this circumstance it is but justice to this officer to state, that the zeal, activity, and intrepidity, which he has displayed on every occasion, have conciliated for him the esteem of all officers of every rank and nation who have been witnesses of them, and have certainly done great credit to his majesty's service.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CATHCART.

The viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c.

Frankfort, Nov. 10, 1813.

My lord—I have the honour to acquaint you, that the corps of the count Guilay and general Meerveldt, with the Austrian reserve cavalry, moved to dislodge the enemy from Hockheim, which town and position it was understood he was fortifying.

Count Guilay marched upon the chaussée from Hockst. General Meerveldt's corps, commanded by prince Louis Lichtenstein, was directed on the Donner Mühl, between Hockst and Cassel.

The attack commenced about two o'clock P. M. The enemy fired vigorously from the cannon at Hockst upon six pieces of cannon, in a work which headed the column of prince Louis, and threw many shells from their mortars at Cassel.

The Austrian artillery, however, advanced with so much courage and rapidity, that the enemy's fire was soon slackened, when the columns of infantry rushed forward, and carried the entrenchment and town, which was surrounded by a high wall, and double palisado at the entrances.

The entrenchments had not been completed, but were traced on a considerable scale.

Four pieces of cannon were taken, and the commander of the town, the aide-de-camp of general Guilemeau, various officers, and several hundred men, were made prisoners.

The remainder of the enemy (the corps of general Bertram) retreated upon Costheim and Cassel, and, occupying the intervening wooded ground, maintained for the rest of the day a sharp tirailleur fire, but in which they must have suffered much, as the Austrian cannon played on them from a height above their position, and other guns on the left bank of the Maine threw their fire in flank.

The Austrian loss is not considerable; but several officers are much regretted.

The prince marshal has ordered the heights above Cassel to be fortified: until the works are completed, the corps engaged yesterday will occupy the ground.

The sight of the Austrian flag again waving victorious over the Rhine, and of the enemy's great military dépôt, whence issued those

armies

armies that have caused so much desolation and misery in Germany, excited an interest in yesterday's operations which every individual felt, and which was finally expressed by peals of enthusiastic acclamations as the prince marshal passed.

ROBERT WILSON, major-gen.

Dispatch from lieutenant-general the honourable sir Charles Stewart, K. B. dated Hanover, November 16, 1813.

My lord,—It is with sincere satisfaction I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that accounts were received this morning at this place, by his royal highness the crown prince of Sweden, from general Thielman, commanding the Saxon troops on the Elbe, which state, that general Gouvion St. Cyr and the French garrison of Dresden (consisting of near sixteen thousand men), after ineffectually attempting to obtain a capitulation, surrendered as prisoners of war to general Kleinau, commanding the allied forces before the place. I congratulate your lordship on this good intelligence, and have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES STEWART, lieutenant-gen.  
To viscount Castlereagh.

Extract of a dispatch from Edward Thornton, esq. dated Bremen, 19th Nov. 1813.

I have the honour of informing your lordship, that I arrived in this city yesterday afternoon, the prince royal having reached it early in the morning of the preceding day. I found here the messenger Daniels, whom sir Charles Stewart dispatched from Hanover, and who, after having made an unsuccessful attempt to go down the Weser, returned to this place. He proceeds again to-day. He gives me the opportunity of informing

your lordship that the prince royal has received information, that the Russian troops belonging to the corps of general Winzingerode are in possession of Groeningen, and have advanced as far as the Yessel, where they occupy Zwol, Zutphen, and are in the neighbourhood of Deventer. The corps d'armée, under the command of general Bulow, is marching upon Arnheim; but the fatiguing marches which it has had to sustain have rendered it necessary to give the troops a few days repose between Munster and that place.

This intelligence appears to have determined his royal highness to proceed in person to Holland, at the head of the Russian and Prussian troops, leaving the conduct of the affairs in the North, Davoust, and the re-capture of Hamburg, to general baron Adlercrentz, with the Swedish troops and the corps of count Walmoden, and the Russian troops under the command of general Bennigsen.

30. Thomas Rhodes, a nephew of Messrs. Haigh and Son, Manchester warehousemen, of Aldermanbury, who had twelve months ago shown symptoms of mental derangement, and had been confined in St. Luke's, contrived to make his escape, and at eight on Tuesday morning made his appearance at the counting-house in Aldermanbury. On being informed that Mr. Haigh was from home, he went away, and called again about eleven, when Mr. H. dispatched a messenger to St. Luke's. Two persons from thence soon after attended; but the young man by that time had become very outrageous, and they declined taking hold of him without further assistance. Mr. Presto, the constable of the



the night for the ward of Cripple-gate Within, was sent for; and on his arrival, the unfortunate maniac mounted upon a small desk, and swore he would not be taken. Mr. Presto rushed up the two steps that led to the place where the lunatic had placed himself, struck him on the legs, and received the contents of a pistol in his head. The unfortunate man died in less than two minutes. On the lunatic being seized, another loaded pistol, some powder, nine bullets, and a bullet mould, were found in his pocket. [He was fully committed to prison; and tried at the Old Bailey, on Monday, Dec. 6, when evidence was produced to prove his insanity. The prisoner in his defence complained of ill usage. The judge (sir S. Le Blanc) said, that if the prisoner was insane, he must of course be acquitted. If he were insane, yet as he had not broke the peace either before or after the constable coming, the deceased had no right to seize him, there being no process against him; the offence therefore would be but manslaughter. The jury acquitted the prisoner on the ground of insanity, and he will in consequence be confined for life as a lunatic.]

## DECEMBER.

### FRANCE.

#### MINISTRY OF JUSTICE.

The grand judge, minister of justice, to the judges and tribunals of the empire.

From the minister's cabinet.

(Circular).

*Paris, Nov. 19.*—In this moment of alarm, when every French heart must be deeply affected by the dangers of the country, I make this communication to you, who being honoured with the public con-

fidence, can exercise a powerful influence over the minds and feelings of your fellow citizens.—The frontiers of the empire on the side of the Pyrenees and on the north have been forced—those of the Rhine and the Alps are threatened—and it must not be concealed that the interior of France will soon become the prey of the enemy, if means equally prompt and vigorous be not adopted to frustrate his plans and disappoint his expectations.

The deliverance of the country depends upon the speedy and complete execution of the decree of the 16th of this month, by which 350,000 men are placed at the disposal of the minister of war. When this great and salutary measure shall be fully carried into operation, we shall have nothing more to fear: but it must be observed that this object is most indispensable; for, if it be not accomplished, France must become the theatre of war, and be delivered up to all the horrors which follow in its train.

It is well known that our enemy, embittered by former defeats, advances against us, stimulated by the thirst of revenge: you may judge, then, the lot which would await us, were he to become master of our lives and properties. This is not a question respecting glory, which has always had so much power over the French nation: but our integrity as a people is in danger, and with it the existence of all that is dear to us. And is even death the worst we should have to fear? Fire, devastation, and the total destruction of our unhappy country—such is the spectacle which will infallibly be exhibited, if France be subdued by her enemy. We have to add to this frightful picture scoffings of every kind, which are far more difficult

to be endured by an honourable mind than death itself, and which the abhorrence the idea excites does not permit me to describe. These are the terrible misfortunes which threaten us, and which we can avoid only by a generous sacrifice.

The North has poured forth its population, in order to bring us under the yoke. Let us oppose it with the flower of ours, in order to avert the horrible fate which is preparing for us. We have for us the courage of our troops and the genius of the great commanders who lead them. But it is not enough. We ought not to expose our champions to a struggle too unequal in point of numbers, and must, therefore, put forth a force corresponding to that which attacks us. What an encouragement for our veterans, to see themselves reinforced by gallant youths, who, incorporated in their ranks, will enable them again to carry terror into the enemy's camp, to drive him back, to deliver France, and to conquer that peace which is the want of the whole world!

The high spirited youths, on whom the voice of the country now calls, will be proud of their high destination. When they are convinced that the fate of France is in their hands, they will render their noble efforts equal to the glorious task which they are called upon to fulfil. The sacred flame of honour and patriotism glows in their youthful breasts; encourage and strengthen it, gentlemen, by your example. Your distinguished rank in society; and the general respect and confidence of the people, have given you influence; be it your endeavour to exercise it in these most important and imperious circumstances.

1818.

In all periods of the monarchy, the judicial authorities of France have invariably displayed the most noble attachment to their prince and country. You, I doubt not, will prove that this respectable body is not degenerated, and to the veneration which you have won by your honourable administration of justice, you will add universal gratitude for the anxious care shown for the interests of your country in her day of peril.

(Signed) The duke of MASSA.

OLD BAILEY.  
FORGERY.

Yesterday John Drew May, late a bill-broker in the city, was indicted for forging, altering and publishing as true a navy bill drawn by the commissioners for 732*l*. 13*s*. 8*d*. which was altered to 1732*l*. by adding the first figure of 1 thereto, with intent to defraud the commissioners of the navy board.

This case occupied nearly the whole day, but the facts lie in a very narrow compass. Mr. Ford, clerk at the victualling-office, proved that the bill was drawn under his inspection, and was made payable at nine months to a Mr. Kingsforth, for value received. Witness delivered it to Elliot and co. agents to Mr. Kingsforth, and he proved the signatures of the commissioners. The bill was traced through different hands until it found its way to the prisoner on the first of July, when it bore its real value 732*l*. The prisoner personally presented the bill altered to 1732*l*. to Bruce and Warren, bill-brokers, to get it discounted. The bill was discounted at the house of Bruce, Simpson and co. bankers. The prisoner was proved to have received money for the bill, a part of which he paid into his bankers. The bill at length

(L)

found

found its way back to the drawer, when the alteration was discovered. It was next proved that the prisoner's clerk (Lathey), his brother-in-law, was high in his confidence, and that he had cheques with the prisoner's signature not filled up, and in the prisoner's absence he was accustomed to fill them up. Some stress was laid on this circumstance by the prisoner's counsel, to show the probability of Lathey having made the alteration in the bill.

In defence the prisoner addressed the jury at some length, and dwelt upon the improbability of a man in his situation having committed the forgery. The latter part of his address was an appeal to the feelings of the jury.

The judge, in summing up, observed, that it could be of no advantage to Lathey to alter the bill. He, it appeared, was not to be found; and it was proved that the bill was left in the prisoner's hands in its original state, and that it had been altered whilst in his possession.

The jury retired nearly three hours, and returned a verdict, Guilty—Death.

#### FORGED BANK NOTES.

Hatton Garden. — Yesterday Stephen Underwood was brought up in the custody of Mathews the officer, for examination, on a charge of having forged bank notes to a large amount in his possession.

Mr. William Ward, of Wood-street, Cheapside, stated, that on Sunday evening about five o'clock, he, in company with other gentlemen, was going along Goswell-street, when they observed a crowd, and, on going to see what was the matter, found the prisoner lying on his back in a fit, in the midst of the crowd. They proposed to take him to the next public-house, in order

that he might be taken care of; previous to which they proposed to search his pockets to see what property he had about him; when they found six Bank of England notes, four for 50*l.* each, one for 500*l.* and another for 25*l.* which a person of the name of Clarke, who accompanied the prisoner, put in his pocket. They took the prisoner to the next public-house; but being refused admission, they brought him to the house of Mr. Lyster, a respectable bookseller in the neighbourhood, where he and his property would be taken proper care of, when the notes were given up by Clarke, but Mr. Lyster requested witness to take the number and date of the notes, which witness did. In copying the third note for 50*l.* he observed the number and date corresponded with the second note for the same sum; which created suspicion, and the result was, that they sent for a constable, and the notes were copied and lodged with Mr. Lyster. When the prisoner recovered, and learned that the constable was sent for, he expressed a wish to be permitted to depart, stating that he would leave the notes, as they were of no service to him, he had them only for curiosity, and got them from one Denton in the Fleet prison, who made them, and that he gave a 50*l.* note away on Saturday last. He made a very violent resistance to the officer, and strove to effect his escape; and being a powerful man, they were under the necessity of tying his hands and feet, to prevent his escape.

Mr. Thomas Lyster, of Spencer-row, Goswell-street, corroborated this evidence; as did also John Turner, the constable, of Bury-street, Clerkenwell.

Mr. John Lees, inspector of notes to the Bank of England, examined the

the notes, which he said were a forgery, being in imitation of Bank of England notes, with white letters on a black ground.

The prisoner was committed for another examination.

COURT OF CHANCERY, December 4.

LITERARY PROPERTY.

*Brady v. Sherwood, Neely and Jones.*

Sir Samuel Romilly said, in a case in which Mr. John Brady was the plaintiff, and Messrs. Sherwood, Neely and Jones, booksellers in Paternoster-row, were defendants, he had to move his lordship for an injunction restraining the defendants from publishing, selling, or offering for sale, a work entitled "Time's Telescope," so far as the same was copied or stolen from a larger work, in two volumes, of which the plaintiff was the author, and which had been published by him under the title of "Clavis Kalendariana," being an historical account of all the different festivals, saints' days, holydays, &c. notices of obsolete rights and customs, &c. "Time's Telescope," the publication against the sale of which the present injunction was prayed, contained only a part of the plaintiff's work; but of that part so liberal a use had been made, that in almost every page whole passages would be found exactly in the same words, and others with only colourable alterations from the plaintiff's work. The question, whether this injunction ought or ought not to be granted, would depend very much on a view of the defendants' publication, which should be handed up to his lordship, and in which his lordship would find those passages which were wholly copied from the plaintiff's work underscored; and those passages which were colour-

ably altered, pointed out by the references on the margin of the publication. The introduction to the plaintiff's work was an historical account of the mode of marking time previously to the invention of dials, and of clocks and time-pieces. This was introduced into the defendants' publication with very little variation. He did not indeed say that the latter was in every respect a copy of the former, but passages, in almost every page, were word for word the same, and in most other parts of it were only colourably altered. The defendants' work consisted of three parts: two parts of the work, the learned counsel admitted, were original; at least they were not stolen from the plaintiff's work; but these two parts were by much the least considerable and important part of the defendants' publication. These two parts the defendants were at full liberty to publish, for any thing that the plaintiff had to say to the contrary; but the learned counsel submitted, that as to that part of the work entitled "Time's Telescope," which was copied, or adopted with colourable alterations, from the plaintiff's work entitled "Clavis Kalendariana," the plaintiff was entitled to an injunction restraining the defendants from selling it, or from publishing it, or offering it to sale.

Mr. Bell said, the part of the work as to which the plaintiff prayed for an injunction, was that which contained an "account of saints' days and holydays, and their different customs, and notices of obsolete rights and customs, &c."

The lord chancellor, after comparing the two works together, said, the plaintiff might take an injunction against the publishing so much of the defendants' work as was copied

pied from the work of the plaintiff. The plaintiff could not, in the circumstances of the present case, take his injunction generally against the publication of the whole of the matter contained even in that particular part, the greater part of which was charged to be copied from the prior publication of the plaintiff. The court was not in the habit, where it did not all appear to be a copy, of saying that the injunction must be granted against all the publication complained of, but only against so much of it as is a copy of the work upon which the piracy is charged to have been committed. Neither would an injunction pointing out the particular parts from the publication of which the defendants were to be restrained, be practicable in the present instance; as from the number of passages under-scored in the copy handed to his lordship, and which were stated to be copied from the plaintiff's work, an injunction pointing out all those particular passages would go to the length of ten volumes such as the smaller volume now lying before his lordship, being the defendants' work.

Mr. Horn, also for the plaintiff, contended that it would be impossible for the compiler of the publication sought to be enjoined, himself, to separate those parts of that particular head of the publication which were stolen from the plaintiff's work, and then to retain anything which could be published.

The lord chancellor said, some parts he might.

Mr. Horn submitted that in such a case the injunction ought to go to the whole of that part, the matter of which throughout had been taken from the plaintiff's work, the greater part of which had been copied, and the whole of which it

would be almost impossible to separate from the defendants' publication. The difficulty had been created by the defendants themselves, and on them, therefore, should the inconvenience arising from their own act fall.

The lord chancellor said, that he could not help. The rule of the court had been, not to grant an injunction against the whole of a publication where the whole of it was not a copy of some prior work. Let the injunction in this case be against the publication of the work in question, so far as it was a copy of the plaintiff's work, and also so far as it consisted only of colourable alterations from it.

Mr. Bell said some of the alterations consisted of changing young lady into young woman, and in other respects copying the work of the plaintiff.

The lord chancellor said, lady and woman were so much like each other, that he would not advise the defendants to risk a breach of the injunction on the idea that that would be esteemed such an essential variation as the court could hold as an excuse for the breach of it. Let the injunction go against so much of the work in question as was copied or colourably varied from the plaintiff's work. His lordship also ordered that the injunction should be served as soon as it could be got from the office, that the defendants might have an opportunity of showing cause as speedily as they chose.

#### HOLLAND.

4. On the 26th of November, the prince of Orange, accompanied by lord Clanarty, the British minister, embarked at Deal on board the Warrior, captain lord Torrington, and landed at Scheveling on the

the 30th. His serene highness was received on his landing by an immense concourse of people, with acclamations of the greatest joy, and every possible mark of affection and respect; and proceeded immediately for the Hague, having upon his landing issued the following proclamation:

William Frederick, by the grace of God, prince of Orange and Nassau, &c.

Dear countrymen!—After nineteen years of absence and suffering, I have received with heartfelt joy your unanimous invitation to come among you. I am now arrived; and, I trust, under Divine Providence, that I shall be the means of restoring you to your ancient independence and prosperity. This is my sole object, and I have the satisfaction to assure you, that it is equally the object of the allied powers. It is in particular the wish of the prince regent of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of his government. Of this you will be convinced, by the unanimous assistance which that powerful country is immediately going to give you, and which, I trust, will lay the foundation of those old and intimate ties of friendship and alliance which so long made the happiness of both states. I am come, disposed and determined to forgive and forget every thing that has passed. We have all but one common object; which is, to heal the wounds of our native country, and to restore it to its rank and splendour among nations. The revival of trade and commerce will, I trust, be the immediate consequence of my return. All party-spirit must be for ever banished from amongst us. No effort shall be wanting on my part, and on that of my family, to assert and se-

cure your independence, and to promote your happiness and welfare. My eldest son, who, under the immortal lord Wellington, has proved himself not unworthy of the fame of his ancestors, is on his way to join me. Unite, therefore, dear countrymen, with heart and soul with me, and our common country will flourish again as in the days of old; and we shall transmit unimpaired to our posterity the blessings which we have received from our ancestors.

Given under my seal and signature, Dec. 1, 1813,

(Signed) W. F. Pr. of ORANGE.  
By command of his highness,  
H. FAGEL.

*Amsterdam, Dec. 2.*

Yesterday, about three o'clock, his serene highness the prince of Orange made his solemn entry into this capital, through the gate of Haerlem, under the roar of artillery, and with the ringing of all the bells. The joy was general among all classes of the inhabitants; the numbers of the populace that were assembled, and flew to every part where his highness passed, were past description; the joyful acclamations of Huzza! Orange Boven! and Long live prince William the First, sovereign prince of the Netherlands! were uninterrupted. The whole city will be illuminated this evening.

*Utrecht, Dec. 1, 7 o'clock in the morning.*

The provisional government of the city of Utrecht informs the good inhabitants of this city, that they have this day received the following letter:

“General Von Bulow, who is advancing, yesterday evening took the town of Arnheim by storm.

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The garrison were put to the sword. A small number of them had retired in the greatest disorder, being pursued by the cavalry. I request that you will give information to the public of this happy and important event, as it may be very gratifying to many of them.

"The major and commandant of the regiment of black hussars, (Signed) "SANDRART."

The general commissaries of the national government, residing at Amsterdam, to the inhabitants of the said city :

"Countrymen!—The moment is at length arrived which puts an end to all your insecurity. The storms of change are past ; and the work commenced two centuries ago, by our great forefathers, under great disorders, is at length concluded by us under still greater difficulties. No foreign prince, unacquainted with your constitution and manners, shall hereafter direct your dearest privileges at his pleasure ; no longer shall the fruit of your industry be the prey of foreigners ; no longer shall your children be dragged away to foreign parts, to fight for strangers, and in a cause foreign to your happiness ; no longer shall the incertitude concerning the supreme government weaken your force, and unsinew your strength. It is not William the Sixth whom the people of the Netherlands have recalled, without knowing what they might have to hope or expect from him. It is William the First, who, as sovereign prince by the wish of the Netherlands, appears as sovereign among that people, which once before has been delivered by another William the First from the slavery of a disgraceful foreign despotism. Your civil liberty shall be secured by laws, by a constitution grounding

your freedom, and be better founded than ever. But the external occurrences, the changes among nations, whose political government has partly been the occasion, the cause of the wonderful events at which Europe for a while was astonished, shall likewise be kept in balance by a similar arrangement: it requires but a few more sacrifices, and the name of Holland shall again be honoured as heretofore, and the flag of the Netherlands again seen flying on all seas. The great birth is effected ; the Netherlands are free; and William the First is sovereign prince of the free Netherlands.

"Given at Amsterdam, the first of December, 1813,  
(Signed) "J. M. KEMPER.  
FANNIUS SCHOLTEN."

#### MURDER AT VAUXMALL.

10. During the night of Tuesday last, a murder was committed in the house of the misses Gompertz, under the following circumstances : It appears that three ladies of that name reside nearly opposite to the principal entrance to Vauxhall-gardens ; that their household consisted of three female servants and a footman ; and a gentleman, their cousin, also resided in the house. The man servant's usual practice was every night to fire off a musket at eleven o'clock, and to reload it. He slept in the kitchen, where his musket was always kept. At about four o'clock on Tuesday morning, one of the misses Gompertz heard the report of a gun, and instantly rang the bell which communicated to the kitchen, but received no answer. On this she woke her cousin and sisters, and the female servants, and they went down stairs, and found the kitchen-door fast : they knocked ; but receiving

ceiving no answer, they at length broke it open, and found the man servant lying dead by the window. On further inspection, it appeared that the house had been attempted by robbers, who had by great force with an iron crow pulled down the window-shutters, and afterward taken out a pane of glass, which lay on the ground unbroken. It is supposed they were at this time heard by the footman, who in opposing their entrance was fired upon, and killed on the spot.—Two men are in custody for the murder: one of them has turned king's evidence.

By his royal highness the prince of Wales, regent of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty.

A PROCLAMATION FOR A GENERAL  
THANKSGIVING.

George P. R.—We do most devoutly and thankfully acknowledge the great goodness and mercy of Almighty God, who, in addition to the manifold and inestimable benefits which this kingdom has received at his hands, has continued to us his protection and assistance in the war, in which for the common safety of his majesty's dominions, and for disappointing the boundless ambition of France, we are now engaged, and has given to the arms of his majesty, and to those of his allies, a series of signal and glorious victories over the forces of the enemy; and therefore, duly considering that such great and public blessings call for public and solemn acknowledgements, we have thought fit, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, and by and with the advice of his majesty's privy council, to issue this proclamation, hereby ap-

pointing and commanding that a general thanksgiving to Almighty God, for these his mercies, be observed throughout those parts of the united kingdom called England and Ireland, on Thursday the 13th day of January next; and for the better and most orderly solemnizing the same, we have given directions to the most reverend the archbishops and right reverend the bishops of England to compose a form of prayer suitable to the occasion, to be used in all churches and chapels, and other places of public worship; and to take care for the timely dispersing of the same throughout their respective dioceses. And we do strictly charge and command, that the said public day of thanksgiving be religiously observed by all his majesty's loving subjects, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and upon pain of suffering such punishment as may be justly inflicted upon all such who shall contemn or neglect the same.

Given at the court at Carlton-house, the 7th day of December, 1813, in the 54th year of his majesty's reign.—God save the king.

[Here follows another proclamation for a public thanksgiving, to be observed in Scotland, on the same day.]

CITY ADDRESS TO THE PRINCE  
REGENT.

The humble, dutiful, and loyal address of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled.

May it please your royal highness, We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled,



bled, contemplating with peculiar exultation and gratitude the successes with which it has pleased the sovereign disposer of events to crown the arms of his majesty and his allies, should feel deficient in that duty which we owe to your royal highness, were we not to avail ourselves of so prominent an occasion of tendering to your royal highness our warmest congratulations on the present glorious prospects, and our renewed assurances of affectionate attachment to your royal highness and his majesty's illustrious house.

Painful as have been the feelings which during the present arduous conflict have been excited in our minds, by the success which for a long period attended the efforts of the ruler of France against the rights and liberties of other countries, it has ever been our consolation, that Britain, unawed and unmoved, has firmly opposed his ambitious projects, and thereby laid the foundation of that glorious resistance of the nations of the peninsula, which, aided by the consummate skill of British generals, and the irresistible valour of British troops, has expelled an usurper from the throne of Spain, and, planting the standard of the allies within the boundaries of ancient France, has manifested that Britain is alike the example and the champion of liberty to surrounding nations.

To the same great cause may be attributed the ardour and enthusiasm of the Russian, Swedish, and German nations, and the consequent triumphs which, led on by their respective sovereigns, their armies have gained over the common enemy. In reflecting on these great events, we are called to mingled sensations of gratitude and

honest pride, that the occasions of our present appearance before your royal highness are the triumphs of justice and humanity.

We should be unworthy of the many privileges of which in common with the rest of his majesty's subjects we are the partakers, were we not to declare to your royal highness, that while the convulsions, by which the empires of Europe have of late years been agitated, have most sensibly affected us with a conviction of the instability of human greatness, they have tended to impress more deeply than ever upon our minds, that (under Providence) the best security for the stability of the crown, and the happiness of the people, is to be found under the protection of a constitution and government like those of this united kingdom, where the monarch is enthroned in the hearts of his people, and where the laws, wisely calculated to promote, are executed with a regard to, the welfare of all ranks of the community.

We cannot depart from your royal presence, without expressing our admiration of the declaration of your royal highness to the legislature, that no disposition to require from France sacrifices inconsistent with her honour or just pretensions as a nation, will ever on the part of your royal highness, or on that of his majesty's allies, be an obstacle to peace; and we beg leave most dutifully to assure your royal highness, that the citizens of London will not be exceeded by any of his majesty's subjects, in their readiness to make such sacrifices as shall be necessary to enable your royal highness to crown with final and complete success, in the attainment of a safe and honourable peace, those efforts which  
have

have already been productive of such great and glorious results.

Signed, by order of court,

HENRY WOODTHORPE.

To which address his royal highness was pleased to return the following most gracious answer:

I receive with great satisfaction this loyal and dutiful address.

The unexampled successes with which it has pleased divine Providence to bless the arms of his majesty, and of his allies, afford the fairest prospect of the restoration of that independence and security to the continent of Europe, of which it has been so long deprived

by the domineering ambition of the ruler of France.

Great and unremitting exertions are, however, still indispensably necessary; and I am fully persuaded, that the continued and further sacrifices which they may require, will be made by the citizens of London, and by all descriptions of his majesty's subjects, with the same fortitude and perseverance which have eminently distinguished this country throughout the whole of the present contest, and of which we may now, with increased confidence, expect a reward in an honourable and lasting peace.

### The LONDON GENERAL BILL of

CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS from December 15, 1812, to December 14, 1813.

Christened	{	Males 10608	In all,	{	Buried	{	Males 8993	In all,	{	Decreased in
		Females 9920					20,528			

Died under 2 years	5167	20 and 30	1108	60 and 70	1559	100 - 1	109 - 2
Between 2 and 5	1733	30 and 40	1501	70 and 80	1211	101 - 1	113 - 1
5 and 10	604	40 and 50	1751	80 and 90	489	102 - 1	
10 and 20	526	50 and 60	1606	90 and 100	61		

#### DISEASES.

Abortive, Still born	630	Dropsy	698
Abscess	57	Evil	4
Aged	1571	Fevers of all kinds	714
Ague	2	Fistula	6
Apoplexy and sud	2	Flux	7
denly	292	French Pox	11
Asthma	574	Gout	84
Bedridden	5	Gravel, Stone, and	
Bleeding	50	Strangury	11
Bursten & Rupture	19	Grief	5
Cancer	83	Leadmoldshot, Horse-	
Canker	186	shoe-head, & Water	
Childbed	1	in the Head	297
Colds	12	Inflammation	741
Colick, Gripes, &c.	8	Inoculation	2
Consumption	4736	Itch	1
Convulsions	3239	Influenza	2
Cough, and Hooping-		Jaundice	54
Cough	389	Jaw Locked	2
Cow Pox	1	Leprosy	1
Cramp	9	Livergrown	45
Croup	85	Lunatic	207
Diabetes	2	Measles	550
		Mortification	205

Palpitation of the	
Heart	6
Palsy	144
Pleurisy	19
Piles	1
Quinsy	5
Rash	1
Rheumatism	8
Scurvy	3
Small Pox	898
Sore Throat	4
Sores and Ulcers	15
Spasm	24
St. Anthony's Fire	4
Stoppage in the Sto-	
mach	25
Surfeit	2
St. Vitus's Dance	2
Swine Pox	1
Teeth	286
Thrush	44
Tumor	2
Water in the Chest	27
Worms	1

#### CASUALTIES.

By the Explosion of	
Gunpowder	1
Bis by a mad Dog	1
Broken Heart	0
Broken Limbs	1
Burnt	35
Drowned	101
Excessive Drink-	
ing	4
Executed	12
Found Dead	9
Frighted	4
Killed by Falls and	
several other Ac-	
cidents	80
Killed themselves	35
Murdered	4
Poisoned	3
Scalded	3
Suffocated	5
Total	298

\* There have been executed in the city of London and county of Surrey 28; of which number 12 only have been reported to be buried within the bills of mortality.

*Births in the year 1813.*

*Jan.* 1. Lady Mordaunt of a daughter.

3. The lady of sir G. Bowyer, bart. of a son.

6. The lady of W. Dickinson, esq. M.P. of a son.

10. The lady of major-gen. Graham of a son.

11. Madame Lucien Bonaparte of a son.

17. Lady Caroline Anne Macdonald of a son.

20. The lady of J. Finch Simpson, esq. of a daughter.

25. The wife of Dr. Sutherland of a daughter.

— Mrs. Bunning of twin daughters, who with their mother died in a few days.

28. The wife of the rev. Dr. Hall of a son.

*Feb.* 1. The lady of the hon. Archibald Macdonald of a son.

— The marchioness of Queensberry of a daughter.

12. Lady Mary Long of a daughter.

14. Right hon. lady Augusta Cotton of a daughter.

15. The lady of sir William Pole of a daughter.

17. Right hon. lady Isabella Anne Brydges of a daughter.

23. Viscountess Pollington of a daughter.

27. The lady of Thomas Peregrine Courtenay, esq. M.P. of a son.

28. The lady of sir Joseph Mawbey of a still-born child.

*March* 2. Hon. Mrs. Blackwood of a daughter.

8. Countess of Northesk of a son.

10. Mrs. Fuller Maitland of a son.

18. Mrs. Charles Hammersley of a daughter.

23. The wife of George Baring, esq. of a daughter.

27. The countess of Chichester of a daughter.

31. Countess Grey of her eighth son and fourteenth child.

*April* 3. The lady of sir William Blackett of a son.

5. The wife of John Bowyer Nichols, esq. of a son.

7. The wife of John Cator, esq. of a son and heir.

18. Lady Walpole of a son.

19. Lady Catharine Forrester of a son.

21. The wife of T. T. Berney, esq. of a son and heir.

28. The wife of major Hannerfield of a daughter.

*May* 2. The lady of John Smith, esq. of a daughter.

4. The duchess of St. Alban's of a still-born child.

15. The wife of Mr. Alderman Magnay of a son.

16. Lady Louvaine of a daughter.

26. The lady of the Knight of Glin of a son and heir.

Lately the countess of Moray of a daughter.

The lady of sir R. K. Porter of a son.

*June* 5. The lady of sir Benj. Hobhouse of a son; since dead.

— The lady of the hon. and rev. Hugh Percy of a son.

7. The lady of sir Henry Rivers, bart. of a daughter.

8. Countess Enniskillen of a son.

16. The right hon. lady Forbes of a daughter.

19. Lady Owen of a daughter.

26. The wife of Sam. Comyn, esq. of a son.

28. Lady Caroline Capel of her third son and twelfth child.

*July* 13. The right hon. lady Anne Wardlow of a son.

17. The lady of the hon. J. Thornton Leslie Melville of a daughter.

*July* 17.

*July 17.* The lady of the hon. Edw. Harbord of a son and heir.

— The lady of sir Oswald Mosley of a daughter.

— Lady Harriet Bagot of a son.

27. Viscountess Hamilton of a son.

*Aug. 4.* Viscountess Fitzharris of a son.

— Hon. Mrs. Codrington of a son.

9. Hon. Mrs. Vanneck of a son and heir.

— The lady of sir Robert Graham of a son and heir.

20. The duchess of Rutland of a son and heir.

23. Lady Arthur Somerset of a son.

— Viscountess Grimstone of a son.

*Sept. 5.* The lady of sir Arscott Ourry Molesworth, bart. of a son and daughter.

9. The lady of the hon. J. Bridgeman Simpson of a son.

14. Viscountess Mountjoy of a son.

16. The lady of lieutenant-col. Foulkes of a son and heir.

25. The lady of rear-admiral Scott of a son.

27. The right hon. lady Brownlow of a son.

*Oct. 5.* The duchess of Bedford of a son, who lived a few hours only.

7. Mrs. Tilney Long Pole Wellesley of a son and heir.

14. The lady of E. J. Littleton, esq. M.P. of a daughter.

17. The lady of sir Howard Douglas, bart. of a son.

29. Lady Milton of a daughter.

31. The lady of the hon. and rev. Alfred Harris of a son.

*Nov. 3.* The wife of the rev. S. Birch, rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, of a son.

11. Viscountess Bertrand of a daughter.

17. The lady of Isaac Solly, esq. of a son.

18. The wife of Dr. Yelloly of a son.

— The countess of Rosse of a daughter.

*Dec. 3.* The duchess of Newcastle of two sons.

4. Viscountess Hawarden of a daughter.

8. The lady of Matthew White, esq. M. P. of a son.

9. The lady of S. Shaen, esq. of a son and heir.

13. Viscountess Joscelyn of a daughter.

14. At St. Helen's, the wife of captain Southey, R. N. brother of the poet laureat, of a son and heir.

15. The lady of alderman Atkins, M. P. of a daughter.

16. The lady of sir John Thomas Stanley Alderley, of a daughter.

18. The lady of colonel Bunbury of a son.

23. The wife of the rev. Dr. Hall of a daughter.

Lately, viscountess Powerscourt of a daughter.

The lady of sir J. Shelley of a son.

The wife of lieutenant-col. W. Napier of a daughter.

### MARRIAGES in the year 1813.

*Jan. 1.* At Gretna Green, lieutenant B. Ronald, to miss M. Macauley of Glasgow.

5. P. D. Pouncefort Duncombe, esq. to lady Alicia Lambert, youngest daughter of the earl of Cavan.

9. Lord viscount Joselyn, to Maria, daughter of lord Le Despencer.

11. John H. Tremayne, esq. M. P. to Caroline Matilda, daughter of sir William Lemon.

12. Frederick Booth, esq. to Anna Maria, daughter of the late Robert Bristow, esq.

19. Rev.

19. Rev. T. Whateley, to Isabella Sophia, daughter of sir W. W. Pepys, bart.

21. Henry Clifford, esq. to Anne Theresa, youngest daughter of the late Edward Ferrers, esq.

22. Thomas Welmer, esq. to Charlotte Margaret, third daughter of Gerard Noel Noel, esq.

23. S. F. Milford, esq. to Juliana, eldest daughter of the late William Ainge, esq.

28. Mr. A. Vestris, to miss Bartolozzi, grand-daughter of the celebrated engraver.

*Feb. 2.* Viscount Neville, to miss Mary Anne Bruce Elcock.

6. Viscount Powerscourt, to lady Frances Joselyn, eldest daughter of the earl of Roden.

15. David Scott, esq. to Mary, the eldest daughter of the late William Seddon, esq.

18. James Alexander, esq. M.P. to the hon. Mrs. Bruce.

20. Lord Blantyre, to Fanny, the second daughter of the hon. John Rodney.

24. Thomas Somers Cocks, esq. to Agnetta, fifth daughter of the right hon. Pole Carew.

*March 4.* W. H. Lyttleton, esq. M.P. to lady Sarah, eldest daughter of earl Spencer.

8. Viscount Gage, to miss Poley, eldest daughter of the late hon. E. E. P.

11. Edward Ferrers, esq. to lady Harriet Anne Ferrers Townshend, eldest surviving daughter of the late marquis Townshend.

16. J. Goss, esq. to lady Harrington, widow of the late sir Edw. Harrington.

25. Lieut.-col. D. Rattray, to Marian, only daughter of lieutenant Hamilton.

30. Capt. Fellowes, to the eldest daughter of the late R. Benyon, esq.

*April 2.* Sir Morris Ximenes, to

Mrs. Cotsford, relict of the late E. Cotsford, esq.

5. C. P. Meyer, esq. to Louisa, third daughter of the late Rawson Hart Boddam, esq.

8. Rev. J. B. Jenkinson, to Frances Augusta, third daughter of Augustus Pechell, esq.

10. Sir William Scott, to the marchioness of Sligo.

13. James William Croft, esq. to Anne Eliza, daughter of the hon. sir Edw. Hyde East.

20. A. Pell, esq. to the hon. Margaret Letitia Matilda St. John.

26. R. Morris, esq. to Sophia Catharine, second daughter of the late Dr. James.

*May 4.* The hon. and rev. Henry David Erskine, second son of lord Erskine, to lady Harriet Dawson, sister to the earl of Portarlington.

6. Rev. Richard Budd, to Harriet Anne, second daughter of the rev. Jeremiah Trist.

14. Rev. William Wood, to Charlotte, second daughter of the late Jos. Attersoll, esq.

17. Rev. Frederick Ricketts, to Mary Anne, eldest daughter of the late Charles Street, esq.

22. Sir Joseph Yorke, knt. to the marchioness of Clanricade.

28. Rev. T. Randolph, to C. D. Macdonald, youngest daughter of the chief baron.

*June 1.* Right hon. W. Dundas, to miss Stuart Wortley, daughter of the hon. Stuart Wortley Mackenzie.

5. Sir L. Worsley Holmes, bart. M.P. to Anne, daughter of J. Delgarno, esq.

9. Henry Partington, esq. to Frances, eldest daughter of George Tate, esq.

21. The earl of Delaware, to lady Elizabeth Sackville, youngest daughter of the late duke of Dorset.

24. Henry

24. Henry S. H. Wollaston, esq. to Frances, eldest daughter of the rev. Dr. Buchanan.

26. Lord Frederick Beauclerc, to Charlotte, daughter of viscount Dillon.

29. Lord William Geo. Hen. Somerset, brother to the duke of Beaufort, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of major-gen. Molyneux.

*July 2.* Sir David H. Blair, to Dorothy Hay, second daughter of E. H. Mackenzie, esq.

5. Rev. Mr. Roberts, of Up-  
pingham, to the daughter of the  
rev. Mr. Pochin.

10. Hart Davis, esq. M. P. to  
Charlotte, fourth daughter of the  
late gen. Dundas.

15. Rev. L. Hird, prebendary of  
York, to the eldest daughter of the  
late rev. L. S. Lascelles.

19. Rev. F. B. Astley, to Mary  
Anne, youngest daughter of J. N.  
Ludford, esq.

20. Rev. T. Bedford, to Barbara,  
youngest daughter of lord St. John.

22. Sir Charles Colville, to miss  
Bonell.

28. George Corry, esq. to Eliza-  
beth Mary, daughter of John Ald-  
ridge, esq.

29. Francis Forrester, esq. to  
lady Louisa Vane, eldest daughter  
of the earl of Darlington.

*Aug. 2.* Capt. Carrol, R. N. to  
Martha Milligen, eldest daughter  
of capt. Dacres.

5. George Cocks, esq. R. N. to  
Mrs. Robertson, daughter of the late  
admiral sir William Parker, bart.

— Hon. Ed. Stourton, to Maria,  
only daughter of James Lane Fox,  
esq.

11. Rev. John King Martyn, to  
Emma, fourth daughter of the  
late alderman Macaulay of London.

12. W. T. Gordon, esq. to miss  
W. Wood, having been married  
ten years before at Gretna Green.

18. Right hon. James Hay, to  
the daughter of J. Forbes, esq.

19. J. D. Norton, esq. to Helen,  
daughter of major-gen. Bruce.

21. Edward Wigan, esq. to  
Elizabeth, only child of James  
Costar, esq.

24. Sir Charles Knightley, bart.  
to the daughter of the late Felton  
Hervey, esq.

26. J. Monson, esq. to Elizabeth  
Anne, second daughter of the rev.  
Christ. Wyvill.

30. Molyneux Hyde Nepean,  
esq. to miss C. Tilghman.

*Sept. 2.* Charles Sneyd Edge-  
worth, esq. to miss Broadhurst,  
sister of J. B. esq. M. P.

6. Lord Nugent, to the daughter  
of the hon. gen. Paulett.

7. Hon. R. Quin, to Emily, sis-  
ter of sir John Wyldbore Smith,  
bart.

— J. J. H. Vere, esq. to lady  
Elizabeth Hay, fourth daughter of  
the marquis of Tweeddale.

10. Rev. J. Spencer Knox, eldest  
son of the bishop of Derry, to  
Clara, youngest daughter of the  
late right hon. J. Beresford.

14. Morton Kelly, esq. son of  
the late admiral K. to Anne Lind-  
sey de Cardonnel.

21. R. W. Newman, esq. M. P.  
to Mary Jane, daughter of Richard  
Denne, esq.

23. Horace Mann, esq. to  
Louisa, eldest daughter of the rev.  
Walter Trevelyan.

28. George Cobb, esq. to Sophia,  
only daughter of John Wheatley,  
esq.

— Rev. B. Collyer, D. D. to  
miss Mary Hawkes.

*Oct. 5.* G. G. Graves, esq. to Eliza-  
beth, the only daughter of the rev.  
Dr. Graves.

11. John Ward, esq. to Frances,  
daughter of the late hon. John  
Leveson Gower.

14. Dr.

14. Dr. Powell, to Mrs. Garnett.

19. J. H. Butterworth, esq. to Mary Anne, only child of T. Stock, esq.

20. Captain Clifford, R. N. to Elizabeth, second daughter of lord John Townshend.

26. The right hon. rear-admiral lord Henry Paulet, to Maria, youngest daughter of E. Ravenscroft, esq.

30. Henry Karslake, esq. to E. M. Preston, eldest daughter of R. Preston, esq. M. P.

*Nov.* 1. R. R. Ternan, esq. to Helena, eldest daughter of the late col. Alex. Read.

5. Rev. W. Penny, to Sophia, youngest daughter of the bishop of Carlisle.

9. Rich. Mee Raikes, esq. to Jane, third daughter of S. Thornton, esq. of St. James's square.

11. Rev. Henry Plimley, to the daughter of the late admiral Buckner.

13. The right hon. Edward lord Thurlow, to Mary Catherine, eldest daughter of James Bolton, esq.

23. Lord Berrendale, to the youngest daughter and co-heiress of the late rev. W. Leigh.

24. John Macgueen, esq. to Jane Anne, second daughter of sir James Nasmyth.

*Dec.* 4. Rev. Wm. Chaly, D.D. master of Sidney-Sussex college, Cambridge, and vice-chancellor of that university, to Mary, youngest daughter and co-heiress of the late John Westwood, esq.

6. George Ick, esq. to Frances Sophia Badcock, grand-daughter of the late Richard Cumberland, esq.

7. Rev. Francis Fox, to the daughter of the late rev. Jemmet Browne.

9. T. D. Aubrey, esq. to miss Wright.

11. Hon. Edw. Law, M. P. to lady Octavia Stewart, daughter of the earl of Londonderry.

— The marquis of Huntley, to the only daughter of A. Brodie, esq.

14. H. Unwin Heathcote, esq. to Eleanor, third daughter of sir Robert Wigram, bart.

21. Major Drake, to the eldest daughter of J. Fane, esq. M. P.

28. Lieut.-col. J. P. Hamilton, to Charlotte, second daughter of J. Fane, esq. M. P.

29. Robert Spankie, esq. to the daughter of J. Inglis, esq.

### DEATHS in the year 1813.

*Jan.* 1. Wm. Goodhew, esq. a deputy-lieutenant of the county of Kent.

3. Mr. John Marshall, called Crutchy Jack. Though only 36 inches in height, he was the father of eight children.

5. Sir Philip Gibbes, bart. aged 85.

— Hon. A. Frazer Tytler, lord Woodhouselee, a judge of the court of session.

7. Trevor Hull, esq. gentleman usher of the privy chamber, aged 79. He had greatly distinguished himself in the army, in all the great battles of the seven years war.

8. The countess of Aylesbury, in her 60th year.

— John Byng, viscount Torrington.

13. John Bell, esq. an eminent solicitor of Gray's inn.

— In his 96th year, W. Brereton, esq. formerly master of the ceremonies at Bath.

14. In his 22d year, the rev. Joseph.

Joseph Gregory, vicar of St. Martin's and All Saints, Leicester.

20. Isaac Schomberg, esq. an able naval commander, and author of an excellent work connected with his profession.

— Anna Eliza, duchess of Chandos, mother to the present marchioness of Buckingham.

— Rev. R. Nicoll, D. D. aged 80, rector of Drayton, and chancellor of Wells.

24. Miss Cornwallis, daughter of the bishop of Litchfield.

26. In his 63d year, Francis-Augustus Elliot, lord Heathfield, baron of Gibraltar.

— Wm. Hussey, esq. aged 87.

28. Henry Redhead Yorke, one of the most violent of all politicians, first on the side of liberty and afterwards against it.

29. In his 84th year, viscount Molesworth.

— The countess of Portarlington, sister to the marquis of Bute.

Feb. 1. In his 72d year, rev. W. Wyatt, rector of Framlingham-cum-Saxsted.

3. Wm. Hoskins, esq. receiver-general of the county of Somerset, and brother-in-law to viscount Sidmouth.

11. The right hon. George Grenville, marquis of Buckingham.

14. Sir John Wentworth.

17. Thos. Ramaden, esq. a very eminent surgeon.

21. Henry Baldwin, esq. an eminent printer and bookseller.

— In her 97th year, lady Mary Bowlby, grandmother to the duchess of Buccleugh, lord Sidney, countess of Chatham, and lady Dinevor.

— In his 81st year, Mr. John Stephen, celebrated for his skill as a chirapodist.

25. James Parkinson, esq. late

proprietor of sir Ashton Lever's museum.

25. At the age of 107, M. Bertrand de Lille, who had been first valet de chambre to Louis XV.

March 2. In his 88th year, Thomas lord viscount and baron Cremorne.

5. The right hon. Anne countess dowager of Chichester, at the age of 79.

6. William Jervis, esq. elder brother of the earl of St. Vincent.

8. Sophia, daughter of the hon. and rev. Dr. Masham.

13. Edward Long, esq. author of the History of Jamaica.

21. John Pinkerton, esq. a considerable civil engineer.

23. In her 76th year, her royal highness the duchess of Brunswick, sister of his present majesty.

24. The able, faithful and zealous vicar of St. Mary's Leicester, the rev. Thomas Robinson.

26. Lady Augusta Phipps, daughter of the earl of Mulgrave.

27. Lady Emma, third daughter of the earl of Tankerville.

28. Aged 75, the princess of Conde.

April 1. In his 71st year, Andrew Marshall, M. D.

— In his 107th year, at Falkirk, Daniel M'Kinnon.

7. Jane, widow of the hon. Frederick Vane, son of the first earl of Darlington.

10. Rev. George Holbrooke, M. A. of Trinity college, Cambridge.

21. Henry Clifford, esq. a celebrated barrister, having been married only 3 months.

23. S. F. Simmons, M. D. physician extraordinary to the king.

— The right rev. Claudius Crigan, D. D. bishop of Sodor and Man.

25. The



25. The right hon. Richard Fitzpatrick, younger brother to the earl of Upper Ossory.

27. His highness the illustrious prince Kutusoff Smolensko, who took a distinguished part in driving Bonaparte from Russia.

May 2. William lord Hotham, admiral of his majesty's fleet.

— In the battle of Lutzen, his serene highness the prince of Mecklenburg Strelitz, nephew of her majesty the queen of England.

4. In her 106th year, Eliz. Bell of Whitehaven.

6. Thomas Pomeroy, esq. whose family came over with the Conqueror, and who possessed the spurs and spoon given by William to his ancestor.

11. Samuel Gambier, esq. a commissioner of the navy.

16. The hon. E. E. A. De Courcy, at the age of 79.

20. John lord Elphinstone.

21. Sir John Anderson, bart.

22. Dr. J. Ossory, bishop of Ossory.

24. The countess of Findlater and Seafield.

27. Josiah Tattnall, esq. one of the council for the Bahama islands.

31. The right hon. the countess of Chesterfield.

June 4. Hon. John de Courcy, eldest son of lord Kingsale, while pursuing the French in Spain.

7. Maria Hester, wife of Thomas Park, esq.

12. At the age of 94, Edw. Rowland, whose father lived to the age of 97, and grandfather to that of 103.

17. In his 87th year, the right hon. Charles Middleton, baron Barmham, for some years an able commander of his majesty's fleets, and first lord of the admiralty.

18. In his 78th year, the right

hon. George Venables, lord Vernon.

— Sir Charles Pole, bart.

20. Sir Laurence Palk, aged 47.

21. At the memorable battle of Vittoria, captain Henry Anderson.

— At the same time, lieut.-col. Fane. He had been severely wounded at Corunna, under sir John Moore.

28. Rev. Wm. Severn, minister of the Unitarian chapel, Hull.

— Arthur Annesly Powell, esq. who some years ago killed lord Falkland in a duel.

29. Valentine Green, esq. A.R.A. late keeper of the British Institution.

July 1. William Huntington, author of the Bank of Faith, and other works, a great enthusiast or something not so good.

— Rev. John Venn, vicar of Clapham, a clergyman of high respectability.

2. In the very prime of life, rev. Thos. Morgan, rector of Bridell, and master of the grammar school, Cardiganshire. He was carried to his grave by six of his senior pupils.

8. Lady Campbell, relict of the late sir Arch. Campbell.

— William, lord Craig, one of the judges of session.

11. In her 88th year, lady Charlotte Finch, the last surviving daughter of Thomas, first earl of Pomfret: she had been the superintendant of the nursery of their present majesties.

14. The dowager lady Heathcote, relict of the late sir Gilbert H.

20. The right hon. H. T. Butler, earl of Carrick.

22. George Shaw, M. D. F.R.S. celebrated for his very popular works on Natural History.

23. Aged.

23. Aged 90, James Pilgrim, esq.

26. Rev. Henry Ford, doctor of civil law, principal of Magdalene hall, Oxford: a very profound scholar in the Oriental languages.

— The rev. Hugh Worthington, minister of Salters Hall, who maintained his popularity forty years.

28. The right rev. John Randolph, bishop of London.

August 1. Sir Henry Vane Tempest, M.P. for the county of Durham.

Rev. Joseph Bealey, a distinguished Unitarian minister.

2. Fighting in Spain, captain Brownlow, son of the late right hon. W. B. and brother of the countess of Darnley.

4. The hon. R. H. Monckton, son of the late and brother of the present viscount Galway.

7. Wm. Pierrepont, esq. rear-admiral of the blue.

11. H. J. Pye, esq. poet laureat, to which very *honourable* office Robert Southey, esq. has succeeded.

13. At the age of 77, the right rev. Dr. Joseph Stock, bishop of Waterford.

18. Rev. John Simpson, highly distinguished as a profound scripture critic.

19. Dr. Vaughan, an eminent physician at Leicester, father of sir Henry Halford.

21. At the age of 89, of the small-pox, Mr. Joseph Wotton.

25. The rev. T. Hill, formerly the classical and resident tutor in the Old College, Homerton.

27. Dr. Rudolph Rhode, fifty years physician in the British army.

— Baron de Rolle, the friend and adherent to the *soi-disant* king of France.

30. Daniel Adams, esq. many years secretary to the Society for 1812.

Constitutional Information, who for his *services* in the State trials in 1794 was rewarded with a pension of 300*l.* in the name of his wife.

Sept. 2. In her 92<sup>d</sup> year, Mrs. Buchan Achmachoy, only granddaughter and descendant of Wm. the last lord Bargeny.

5. W. W. Moncrieff, LL.D., and advocate for the admiralty in the island of Malta, eldest son of sir H. M.

9. In his 84<sup>th</sup> year, E. Lock, esq. alderman of Oxford.

15. B. A. Goldsmid, esq., who was taken ill in his gig, and died in a few hours.

19. Rev. W. Pemberton, rector of Rushbury, Salop.

21. Robert Mann, esq. admiral of the red.

26. Mr. John Colston Doyle, a celebrated professional bass-singer.

29. William Gretton, D.D. master of Magdalen-college.

Oct. 2. John Touchett, esq. attorney-general of Carmarthen circuit.

6. The hon. Mrs. Strode, relict of W. S. esq.

8. John Pennington, lord Mun-caster: the representative of a long line of ancestors from the time of the conquest.

— At the early age of 39, the rev. Robert Young, D.D. minister of the Scots church, London Wall.

11. The hon. F. J. Lygon, eldest daughter of the right hon. lord Beauchamp.

13. Rev. J. Campbell, rector of St. Andrew's, Jamaica.

14. Aged 64, sir Barry Colles Meredyth, bart. father of sir Joshua M. of Cheltenham: and on the day following the lady of sir Joshua.

17. Lieut.-gen. sir Harry Burrard.

18. In his 31<sup>st</sup> year, at the famous

famous battle of Leipsic, captain Richard Bogue.

19. In her 85th year, the right hon. lady Eliz. Chaplin, great aunt to the present marquis of Exeter.

23. In her 94th year, Mrs. Stain, fourth relict of the late G. S. esq.

Nov. 1. Within the rules of the King's Bench, the rev. Francis Stone, who was prosecuted and deprived of his living by Dr. Porteus, bishop of London, on account of having preached and published a sermon on the miraculous conception.

— Lady Fenn, relict of the late sir John Fenn, and author of many books for children, under the feigned names of Lovewell and Teachwell.

3. R. A. Harrison, esq. collector of the customs at Hull.

8. At the age of 85, Dr. Spencer Madan, bishop of Peterborough.

9. Viscount Dillon, governor of the counties of Roscommon and Mayo.

13. Rev. Joseph Jowett, LL. D. professor of civil law at Oxford.

15. Mrs. Krumpholtz, the celebrated performer on the harp.

— The right hon. Grace, countess of Portsmouth.

17. Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe.

18. The right hon. Cassandra, lady Hawke.

20. Of an apoplectic fit, G. Johnstone, esq.

23. The right hon. Caroline viscountess Clifden, eldest daughter of the duke of Marlborough.

25. Aged 79, sir Wm. Bennett.

26. Lady Harriet Gill, relict of the late W. G. esq.

28. The rev. Sam. Palmer, fifty years minister of the independent

congregation at Hackney, and author of many excellent works.

Dec. 2. Mr. John Robinson, bookseller of Paternoster Row, highly respected for his integrity.

4. John Gregory, esq. many years treasurer of the Whig-club, and an active magistrate of the county of Middlesex.

5. The rev. Sam. Herbert, D. D. rector of Croxton Kerial.

8. George Wilbraham, esq. formerly member of parliament for Bodmin.

9. Mr. John Doddridge Humphries, grandson of the celebrated Dr. Philip Doddridge.

10. The lady of the right hon. lord Charles Bentinck.

— The lady of Walter Fawkes, esq.

13. Mary, the eldest daughter of Wm. Schreiber, esq.

14. Chevalier Ruspini, surgeon dentist to his royal highness the prince regent.

16. William Bosville, esq. of Thorpe-Hall, in the county of York.

18. Charles Todd, esq. on the Bengal establishment.

— In his 80th year, Mr. George Sanderson, an eminent mathematician.

19. Aged 84, Mr. Robert Lemon, 47 years chief clerk of the record office in the Tower of London.

— David Hartley, esq. son of the celebrated philosopher, and author of several literary works, and some useful inventions.

22. George White, esq. clerk of the election committees in the house of commons.

30. John Augustus Bonney, esq. solicitor.

## PROMOTIONS in the year 1813.

General Floyd, governor of Gravesend and Tilbury, *vice* Musgrave deceased.

*Foreign-office, Jan. 27.* George Foy, esq. consul at the city and port of Stockholm.

*Jan. 30.* Lieutenant-general Frederick Maitland, lieutenant-governor of Dominica.

*Whitehall, Feb. 2.* The prince regent has conferred the dignities of viscount and earl of the united kingdom on the right hon. Gilbert baron Minto, and his heirs male, by the style and title of viscount Melgund, of Melgund, co. Angus, and earl of Minto, co. Roxburgh.

*Foreign-office, Feb. 6.* William A'Court, esq. envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Barbary states.

*Feb. 6.* David Money Penny, esq. advocate, a lord of session, and one of the lords of justiciary, in Scotland, *vice* Tytler deceased.

*Whitehall, Feb. 13.* Alexander Maconochie, esq. advocate, his majesty's solicitor-general in Scotland.

*Foreign-office, Feb. 20.* W. Laird, esq. consul at Malaga. Bernard Athy, esq. consul at Alicant.

*Whitehall, Feb. 23.* Richard Chandos, marquis of Buckingham, lord lieutenant of the county of Buckingham.

*Colonial-department, Feb. 27.* Major-general sir Charles Shipley, knt. governor of the island of Grenada.—Major-general George William Ramsay, governor of the island of St. Croix.

*Feb. 27.* The honour of knighthood conferred on E. Hyde East, esq. chief justice at Fort William in Bengal.

*Carlton-house, March 2.* Lord Whitworth, K. B. a lord of his majesty's bed-chamber.

*Carlton-house, March 4.* William Pugh, of Car Howell, esq. sheriff of the county of Montgomery, *vice* Corbett.—And the following amendments on the roll: Pembroke, Gwynne Gill Vaughan, of Jordanston, esq. Cardigan, Roderick Richardes, of Pentglais, esq. Merioneth, Thomas Edwards, of Ty Issa, esq.

*Downing-street, March 9.* Sir Richard Goodwin Keats, governor and commander-in-chief of Newfoundland.

*Carlton-house, March 13.* Viscount Lake, a lord of his majesty's bed-chamber.

*April 3.* James Hope, esq. conjunct clerk to the bills in the office of registers and rolls in Scotland, *vice* Smith dec.

*Whitehall, April 10.* Sir Thomas Plomer, knt. his majesty's attorney-general, *vice*-chancellor of England.

Francis lord Napier, his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

Lord viscount Sidmouth, high steward of Westminster, *vice* marquis of Buckingham deceased.

*Whitehall, April 30.* Henry Richmond, esq. 2<sup>d</sup> commissioner of the customs, *vice* Frewin retired.

*Whitehall, May 1.* Archibald Campbell, esq. one of the lords of session, a lord of justiciary in Scotland, *vice* sir William Honeyman, bart. resigned.—David Cathcart, esq. advocate, one of the lords of session, also *vice* Honeyman.

*Westminster, May 4.* Sir Wm. Garrow, knt. his majesty's late solicitor general, to be his majesty's attorney general—Robert  
(M 2) Dallas,

Dallas, esq. one of his majesty's counsel, and late chief justice of Chester, to be his majesty's solicitor general—and Richard Richards, esq. one of his majesty's counsel, to be chief justice of Chester.

*Whitehall, May 11.* Viscount Melville, admiral Domett, sir J. S. Yorke, right hon. W. Dundas, sir G. Warrender, J. Osborn, esq. and lord H. Paulet, commissioners for the office of lord high admiral.

*Carlton-house, May 17.* Major-general the honourable sir Charles Stewart, K. B. envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the king of Prussia.

*Carlton-house, May 17.* George Jackson, esq. secretary of legation at the court of Prussia.

Sir T. Plomer, knt. vice-chancellor, to be a member of the privy council.

Major-Gen. sir Charles Stewart, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the king of Prussia.

*Whitehall, June 1.* The prince regent has granted the dignity of a viscount of the united kingdom to Charles baron Whitworth, by the title of viscount Whitworth, of Adbaston, Staffordshire.

*Carlton-house, June 3.* Viscount Whitworth, lieutenant-general and general governor of Ireland.

*Whitehall, June 12.* James earl of Fife, lieutenant and sheriff-principal of the shire of Banff.

George Ross, esq. one of the four commissaries of Edinburgh, vice Bruce dec.

Mr. Charles Grace, commissary clerk of St. Andrew's in Scotland, vice Stuart Grace.

*Downing-street, June 18.* Right honourable T. Maitland, governor and commander-in-chief of Malta and its dependencies.

*Carlton-house, June 29.* Lieut.-gen. the honourable Alexander Hope, knighted and invested with the ensign of the order of the bath.

*Whitehall, June 29.* Major-gen. H. Clinton, colonel of 1st batt. 60th reg. an extra knight of the bath.

*July 1.* Charles Cavendish Fulke Greville, esq. one of the clerks of the privy council in extraordinary.

*Foreign-office, July 3.* Andrew Snape Douglas, esq. secretary of legation to the court of Palermo.

*Whitehall, July 3.* Marquis of Wellington, K. G. to be a field marshal.

*July 5.* E. H. Lushington, esq. barrister, coroner and attorney in the court of king's bench.

*Carlton-house, July 13.* Earl of Delaware, and right hon. lord Graves, lords of his majesty's bed-chamber.

*July 17.* Right hon. Thomas Maitland, lieut.-general of his majesty's forces, governor and commander-in-chief in and over Malta and its dependencies.

*July 31.* Lord Cathcart, F. Townsend, esq. Windsor herald, (as deputy to sir Isaac Heard, garter principal king of arms,) and sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, plenipotentiaries for investing the emperor Alexander with the order of the garter.

*Aug. 7.* This gazette contains his majesty's permission to John Dimsdale, esq. of Hampstead, to assume the dignity of baron, conferred by the late empress of Russia on his father.

*Aug. 14.* Thomas Tombs, esq. water bailiff and verger of Sandwich, vice Harvey deceased.

*Whitehall, Aug. 25.* J. Cathrow, esq. late rouge dragon poursuivant of

of arms, Somerset herald, vice Atkinson deceased.

*Foreign-office, Sept. 4.* Earl of Aberdeen, K. T. plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna.—Frederick Wise, esq. consul-general in Sweden.

*Whitehall, Sept. 11.* Lieut.-gen. earl of Dalhousie, lieut.-gen. hon. W. Stewart, major-gen. G. Murray, and major-gen. hon. E. M. Pakenham, extra knights of the bath.—D. Douglas, esq. one of the lords of session, vice Craig deceased.

*Whitehall, Sept. 15.* Sir Rupert George, bart. James Brown, esq. hon. John Douglas, John Harness, M. D. hon. Courtenay Boyle, and John Forbes, esq. commissioners for conducting the transport service, &c.

*Whitehall, Sept. 21.* A. Palmer, esq. one of his majesty's serjeants-at-law, commissioner for the relief of insolvent debtors.

*Foreign-office, Sept. 23.* The prince regent approves of the renewal of the appointment of Mr. Emanuel Viale to be consul for the emperor of all the Russias at Gibraltar.

*Whitehall, Sept. 25.* The prince regent has been pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to grant the dignity of a baronet of the united kingdom to the following gentlemen and their respective heirs male. viz: Sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. adm. of the blue.—George Hewitt, esq. general in the army.—Hildebrand Oakes, esq. lieut.-gen. in the army.—Thomas Hislop, esq. lieut.-gen. in the army.—Josias Rowley, esq. capt. R. N.—Philip-Bowes-Vere Broke, esq. capt. R. N.—Richard Puleston, of Emral, co. Flint, esq.—Joseph Radcliffe, of Milns-bridge-house, co. York, esq.—John Beck,

ett. of Leeds, co. York, and of Somerby-park, co. Lincoln, esq.—Brydges-Trecothick Henneker, of Newton-hall, Essex, esq.—Horace-David-Cholwell St. Paul, of Ewart-park, Northumberland, esq. with remainder to his brothers, Henry-Heneage St. Paul and Chas. Maximilian St. Paul, of Ewart-park, esqrs.—Richard Borough, of Baseldon park, Berks. esq.—James Duff, esq. consul at Cadiz, with remainder to his nephew, Wm. Gordon of Stanhope-street and his heirs male.—Rev. Samuel-Clarke Jervoise, of Hanover-square, of Idsworth-park, Hants, and of Woodford, Essex.—Nathaniel Wm. Wraxall, of Wraxall, Somerset, esq.—Geo. Wm. Denys, of Stratford-place, Middlesex, esq.—Samuel Young, of Formosa-place, Berks, esq.—Frederick-Gustavus Fowke, of Sowerby, Leicestershire, esq.

*Whitehall, Sept. 28.* Earl of Aberdeen, K. T. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Vienna.—Hon. Fred. Lambe, secretary to the embassy.

*Whitehall, Oct. 12.* Viscount Melville, rear-admiral sir J. S. Yorke, knight, right honourable W. Dundas, rear-admiral G. J. Hope, sir G. Warrender, bart. John Osborne, esq. and rear-adm. lord Henry Paulet, commissioners for the office of lord high admiral.

*Foreign-office, Oct. 19.* Mr. Andrew Dubatschefskey, approved of as consul-general for Russia; and Mr. Jozé Manoel de Couto Garrido, consul for Portugal at Dublin.

*Whitehall, Nov. 6.* The dignity of a baronet of the united kingdom to the right honourable sir Archibald Macdonald, of East Sheen, Surrey, knight, late chief baron of the exchequer, and his heirs male.

*Whitehall, Nov. 9.* Right hon. (M 3) Charles

Charles Long, and right hon. Fred. John Robinson, to the office of receiver and paymaster-general of the forces.

*Downing-street, Nov. 13.* Lieut.-gen. lord Charles Henry Somerset, governor and commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope.—[The gazette also notices the honour of knighthood having been conferred upon col. G. Elder; and on Nathaniel Conant, esq. on being appointed chief magistrate at Bowstreet;—the appointment of H. Savage Yeames, esq. to be consul-general at the Russian ports in the Black sea;—and of R. Southey, esq. to be poet laureat.

*Whitehall, Nov. 20.* Earl of Liverpool, right honourable N. Vansittart, right hon. W. Fitzgerald, B. Paget, and J. Brogden, esqs. and viscount Lowther, commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of the exchequer.

*War-office, Nov. 27.* Their royal highnesses the dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge, field marshals in the army.

*Admiralty-office, Dec. 4.* The following flag officers were promoted; viz.

Admirals of the white—Richard Rodney Bligh, esq. and Alexander Græme, esq.—to be *admirals of the red*.

Admirals of the blue—Arthur Kempe, esq. sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B. and Sir R. Calder, bart.—to be *admirals of the white*.

Vice-admirals of the red—Robert McDouall, esq. Billy Douglas, esq. John. Wickey, esq. John Fish, esq. John Knight, esq. and Edward Thornborough, esq.—to be *admirals of the blue*.

Vice-admirals of the white—William Domett, esq. William Wolseley, esq. John Manley, esq. George Murray, esq. John Sutton,

esq. Robert Murray, esq. hon. sir Alexander Cochrane, K. B. and John Markham, esq.—to be *vice-admirals of the red*.

Vice-admirals of the blue—Nathan Brunton, esq. John Schanck, esq. hon. Michael de Courcy, Philip D'Auvergne, prince of Bouillon, and John Hunter, esq.—to be *vice-admirals of the white*.

Rear-admirals of the red.—Charles Tyler, esq. Robert Watson, esq. right hon. Alan lord Gardner, Manley Dixon, esq. George Losack, esq. William Mitchell, esq. and sir Thomas Bertie, knight,—to be *vice-admirals of the blue*.

Rear-admirals of the white—Sir Charles Hamilton, bart. hon. Henry Curzon, Wm. Bligh, esq. Laurence W. Halstead, esq. Edward Oliver Osborn, esq. sir Harry Neale, bart. sir Joseph Sydney Yorke, knt. hon. Arthur Kaye Legge—to be *rear-admirals of the red*.

Rear-admirals of the blue—John Lawford, esq. Frank Sotherton, esq. Thomas Wolley, esq. William Johnstone Hope, esq. right hon. lord Henry Paulet, C. W. Paterson, esq. George Cockburn, esq. Thomas Surridge, esq. Samuel Hood Linzee, esq.—to be *rear-admirals of the white*.

And the under-mentioned captains were also appointed flag officers of his majesty's fleet; viz.—Philip Wilkinson, esq. hon. Charles Elphinstone Fleming, Charles Vinicombe Penrose, esq. William Hotham, esq. George Hopewell Stephens, esq. Pulteney Malcolm, esq. William Nowell, esq. James Bissett, esq. John Clements, esq. sir John Gore, knt. and John Harvey, esq.—to be *rear-admirals of the blue*.

Hon. Henry Hotham, George Burlton, esq. sir Josias Rowley, bart. and Edward Codrington, esq.

esq. colonels in his majesty's royal marine forces, vice hon. C. E. Fleming, C. V. Penrose, J. Bissett, and P. Malcolm, esq. flag-officers.

*Downing-street, Dec. 4.* John Hunter, esq. his majesty's consul-general in Spain.

*Foreign-office, Dec. 11.* Earl of Clancarty, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the prince of Orange Nassau, sovereign prince of the Netherlands.—Robert Gordon, esq. secretary to that embassy.

*War-office, Dec. 14.* Colonel his serene highness William Frederick Henry, hereditary prince of Orange, a major-general in the army.

*Whitehall, Dec. 18.* Earl of Liverpool, right hon. Nicholas Vansittart, right hon. Wm. Fitzgerald, Berkeley Paget, esq. viscount Lother, and Charles Grant, jun. esq. commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of the exchequer.

Major-gen. Barnes, lieut.-gen. of the Leeward islands, vice R. H. Losack, esq.

G. Warre, esq. consul for Biscay and Guipuscoa.

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**SHERIFFS** *appointed by the prince regent in council for the year 1813.*

Bedfordshire, Richard Parks, of Luton, esq.

Berkshire, W. Y. Mills, of Wadley, esq.

Buckinghamshire, Thomas Sheppard Cotton, of Thornton-hall, esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, Charles M. Chere, of Papworth Everard, esq.

Cheshire, Fra. Jodrell, of Henbury, esq.

Cumberland, Sir Wastel Briscoe, of Crofton-place, bart.

Derbyshire, Robert Holden, of Darley Abbey, esq.

Devonshire, Richard Hippisley Tuckfield, of Fulford, esq.

Dorsetshire, Robert Ratcliffe, of Winterborne Zelston, esq.

Essex, R. J. Brassey, of Great Ilford, esq.

Gloucestershire, C. Pole, of Wick-Hill, esq.

Herefordshire, Sir Hungerford Hoskins, of Harewood, bart.

Hertfordshire, John Farn Timmins, of Aldenham, esq.

Kent, John Cater, of Beckenham, esq.

Lancashire, William Farington, of Shawe-hall, esq.

Leicestershire, R. Hames, of Great Glenn, esq.

Lincolnshire, G. R. Heneage, of Hainton, esq.

Monmouthshire, Samuel Homfray, of Penderren, esq.

Norfolk, T. T. Berney, of Braccon Ash, esq.

Northamptonshire, George Rush, of Farthinghoe, esq.

Northumberland, J. Carr, of Hedgeley, esq.

Nottinghamshire, John Need, of Shirewood-Hall, esq.

Oxfordshire, William Wilson, of Nether Worton, esq.

Rutlandshire, S. O'Brien, of Glaiston, esq.

Shropshire, William Church Norcop, of Belton-House, esq.

Somersetshire, P. P. Ackland, of Fairfield, esq.

Staffordshire, Walter Sneyd, of Keel, esq.

Southampton, J. Hornby, of Hooke, esq.

Suffolk, Harry Spencer Waddington, of Cavenham, esq.

Surrey, Henry Bridges, of Ewell, esq.

Sussex, Edward Napper, of Ifold, esq.

(M 4) Warwick.



(184) P R O M O T I O N S. [1819.]

Warwickshire, E. J. Shirley, of  
Eatington, esq.

Wiltshire, William Fowle, of  
Chute, esq.

Worcestershire, Edmund Lech-  
mere Charlton, of Handley, esq.

Yorkshire, R. Crowe, of Kip-  
ling, esq.

SOUTH WALES.

Cardiganshire, T. Phillips, of  
Aberglasney, esq.

Pembrokeshire, G. G. Vaughan,  
of Jordanstoun, esq.

Cardiganshire, R. Richards, of  
Pantglaes, esq.

Glamorgan, W. Jones, of Corn-  
town, esq.

Brecon, E. Thomas, of Llwyn  
Madock, esq.

Radnor, D. Read, of Cornell,  
esq.

NORTH WALES.

Merioneth, T. Edwards, of  
Llanfau, esq.

Carnarvonshire, J. Griffith, of  
Llanfair, esq.

Anglesey, J. H. Hampton, of  
Henllys, esq.

Montgomery, R. Leeke, of Crig-  
gion, esq.

Denbighshire, T. Griffith, of  
Wrexham, esq.

Flint, C. B. T. Roper, of Plas-  
teg, esq.

*Appointed by the prince regent.*

Cornwall, J. C. Rashleigh, of  
Prideaux, esq.

## PUBLIC PAPERS.

PRINCE REGENT'S SPEECH,  
NOV. 30, 1812.

My lords, and gentlemen,

**I**T is with the deepest concern that I am obliged to announce to you, at the opening of this parliament, the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition, and the diminution of the hopes which I have most anxiously entertained of his recovery.

The situation of public affairs has induced me to take the earliest opportunity of meeting you after the late elections. I am persuaded you will cordially participate in the satisfaction which I derive from the improvement of our prospects during the course of the present year.

The valour and intrepidity displayed by his majesty's forces and those of his allies in the peninsula, on so many occasions during this campaign, and the consummate skill and judgement with which the operations have been conducted by general the marquis of Wellington, have led to consequences of the utmost importance to the common cause.

By transferring the war into the interior of Spain, and by the glorious and ever-memorable victory obtained at Salamanca, he has compelled the enemy to raise the siege of Cadiz; and the southern provinces of that kingdom have been delivered from the power and arms of France.

Although I cannot but regret that the efforts of the enemy, combined with a view to one great operation, have rendered it necessary to withdraw from the siege of Burgos, and to evacuate Madrid, for the purpose of concentrating the main body of the allied forces; these efforts of the enemy have, nevertheless, been attended with important sacrifices on their part, which must materially contribute to extend the resources and facilitate the exertions of the Spanish nation.

I am confident I may rely on your determination to continue to afford every aid, in support of a contest which has first given to the continent of Europe the example of persevering and successful resistance to the power of France, and on which not only the independence of the nations of the peninsula, but the best interests of his majesty's dominions essentially depend.

I have great pleasure in communicating to you, that the relations of peace and friendship have been restored between his majesty and the courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm.

I have directed copies of the treaties to be laid before you.

In a contest for his own sovereign rights, and for the independence of his dominions, the emperor of Russia has had to oppose a large

large proportion of the military power of the French government, assisted by its allies, and by the tributary states dependent upon it.

The resistance which he has opposed to so formidable a combination, cannot fail to excite sentiments of lasting admiration.

By his own magnanimity and perseverance, by the zeal and disinterestedness of all ranks of his subjects, and by the gallantry, firmness, and intrepidity of his forces, the presumptuous expectations of the enemy have been signally disappointed.

The enthusiasm of the Russian nation has increased with the difficulties of the contest, and with the dangers with which they were surrounded. They have submitted to sacrifices of which there are few examples in the history of the world; and I indulge the confident hope, that the determined perseverance of his imperial majesty will be crowned with ultimate success; and that this contest, in its result, will have the effect of establishing, upon a foundation never to be shaken, the security and independence of the Russian empire.

The proof of confidence which I have received from his imperial majesty, in the measure which he has adopted of sending his fleets to the ports of this country, is in the highest degree gratifying to me; and his imperial majesty may most fully rely on my fixed determination to afford him the most cordial support in the great contest in which he is engaged.

I have the satisfaction further to acquaint you, that I have concluded a treaty with his Sicilian majesty, supplementary to the treaties of 1808 and 1809.

As soon as the ratifications shall

have been exchanged, I will direct a copy of this treaty to be laid before you.

My object has been, to provide for the more extensive application of the military force of the Sicilian government to offensive operations; a measure which, combined with the liberal and enlightened principles which happily prevail in the councils of his Sicilian majesty, is calculated, I trust, to augment his power and resources, and at the same time to render them essentially serviceable to the common cause.

The declaration of war by the government of the United States of America was made under circumstances which might have afforded a reasonable expectation that the amicable relations between the two nations would not long be interrupted. It is with sincere regret that I am obliged to acquaint you, that the conduct and pretensions of that government have hitherto prevented the conclusion of any pacific arrangement.

Their measures of hostility have been principally directed against the adjoining British provinces, and every effort has been made to seduce the inhabitants of them from their allegiance to his majesty.

The proofs, however, which I have received of loyalty and attachment from his majesty's subjects in North America are highly satisfactory.

The attempts of the enemy to invade Upper Canada, have not only proved abortive, but, by the judicious arrangements of the governor general, and by the skill and decision with which the military operations have been conducted, the forces of the enemy assembled for that purpose in one quarter have been compelled to capitulate.

late, and in another have been completely defeated.

My best efforts are not wanting for the restoration of the relations of peace and amity between the two countries; but, until this object can be attained without sacrificing the maritime rights of Great Britain, I shall rely upon your cordial support in a vigorous prosecution of the war.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have directed the estimates for the services of the ensuing year to be laid before you; and I entertain no doubt of your readiness to furnish such supplies as may enable me to provide for the great interests committed to my charge, and afford the best prospect of bringing the contest in which his majesty is engaged to a successful termination.

My lords, and gentlemen,

The approaching expiration of the charter of the East India company renders it necessary that I should call your early attention to the propriety of providing effectually for the future government of the provinces of India.

In considering the variety of interests which are connected with this important subject, I rely on your wisdom, for making such an arrangement as may best promote the prosperity of the British possessions in that quarter, and at the same time secure the greatest advantages to the commerce and revenue of his majesty's dominions.

I have derived great satisfaction from the success of the measures which have been adopted for suppressing the spirit of outrage and insubordination which had appeared in some parts of the country, and from the disposition which has been manifested to take advantage

of the indemnity held out to the deluded by the wisdom and benevolence of parliament.

I trust I shall never have occasion to lament the recurrence of atrocities so repugnant to the British character; and that all his majesty's subjects will be impressed with the conviction, that the happiness of individuals and the welfare of the state equally depend upon a strict obedience to the laws, and an attachment to our excellent constitution.

In the loyalty of his majesty's people, and in the wisdom of parliament, I have reason to place the fullest confidence. The same firmness and perseverance which have been manifested on so many and such trying occasions will not, I am persuaded, be wanting, at a time when the eyes of all Europe, and of the world, are fixed upon you. I can assure you, that in the exercise of the great trust reposed in me, I have no sentiments so near my heart as the desire to promote, by every means in my power, the real prosperity and lasting happiness of his majesty's subjects.

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LETTER FROM THE PRINCESS OF WALES TO THE PRINCE REGENT.

"Sir,—It is with great reluctance that I presume to obtrude myself upon your royal highness, and to solicit your attention to matters which may, at first, appear rather of a personal than a public nature. If I could think them so—if they related merely to myself—I should abstain from a proceeding which might give uneasiness, or interrupt the more weighty occupations of your royal highness's time. I should continue, in silence and retirement, to lead the life which has been

been prescribed to me, and console myself for the loss of that society and those domestic comforts to which I have so long been a stranger, by the reflection that it has been deemed proper I should be afflicted without any fault of my own—and that your royal highness knows.

“But, sir, there are considerations of a higher nature than any regard to my own happiness, which render this address a duty both to myself and my daughter. May I venture to say—a duty also to my husband, and the people committed to his care? There is a point beyond which a guiltless woman cannot with safety carry her forbearance. If her honour is invaded, the defence of her reputation is no longer a matter of choice; and it signifies not whether the attack be made openly, manfully, and directly—or by secret insinuation, and by holding such conduct towards her as countenances all the suspicions that malice can suggest. If these ought to be the feelings of every woman in England who is conscious that she deserves no reproach, your royal highness has too sound a judgment, and too nice a sense of honour, not to perceive, how much more justly they belong to the mother of your daughter—the mother of her who is destined, I trust at a very distant period, to reign over the British empire.

“It may be known to your royal highness, that during the continuance of the restrictions upon your royal authority, I purposely refrained from making any representations which might then augment the painful difficulties of your exalted station. At the expiration of the restrictions, I still was inclined to delay taking this step, in the hope that I might owe the redress

I sought to your gracious and unsolicited condescension. I have waited, in the fond indulgence of this expectation, until, to my inexpressible mortification, I find that my unwillingness to complain, has only produced fresh grounds of complaint; and I am at length compelled, either to abandon all regard for the two dearest objects which I possess on earth, mine own honour, and my beloved child, or to throw myself at the feet of your royal highness, the natural protector of both.

“I presume, sir, to represent to your royal highness, that the separation, which every succeeding month is making wider, of the mother and the daughter, is equally injurious to my character and to her education. I say nothing of the deep wounds which so cruel an arrangement inflicts upon my feelings, although I would fain hope that few persons will be found of a disposition to think lightly of these. To see myself cut off from one of the few domestic enjoyments left me—certainly the only one upon which I set any value, the society of my child—involves me in such misery, as I well know your royal highness could never inflict upon me if you were aware of its bitterness. Our intercourse has been gradually diminished. A single interview, weekly, seemed sufficiently hard allowance for a mother’s affections. That, however, was reduced to our meeting once a fortnight; and I now learn that even this most rigorous interdiction is to be still more rigidly enforced.

“But while I do not venture to intrude my feelings as a mother upon your royal highness’s notice, I must be allowed to say, that in the eyes of an observing and jealous world, this separation of a daughter  
from

from her mother, will only admit of one construction—a construction fatal to the mother's reputation. Your royal highness will also pardon me for adding, that there is no less inconsistency than injustice in this treatment. He who dares advise your royal highness to overlook the evidence of my innocence, and disregard the sentence of complete acquittal which it produced; or is wicked and false enough still to whisper suspicions in your ear, betrays his duty to you, sir, to your daughter, and to your people, if he counsels you to permit a day to pass without a further investigation of my conduct. I know that no such calumniator will venture to recommend a measure which must speedily end in his utter confusion. Then let me implore you to reflect on the situation in which I am placed: without the shadow of a charge against me—without even an accuser—after an inquiry that led to my ample vindication—yet treated as if I were still more culpable than the perjuries of my suborned traducers represented me, and held up to the world as a mother who may not enjoy the society of her only child.

“The feelings, sir, which are natural to my unexampled situation, might justify me in the gracious judgment of your royal highness, had I no other motives for addressing you but such as relate to myself. But I will not disguise from your royal highness what I cannot for a moment conceal from myself, that the serious, and it soon may be, the irreparable injury which my daughter sustains from the plan at present pursued, has done more in overcoming my reluctance to intrude upon your royal highness, than any sufferings of my own could accomplish; and if for

her sake I presume to call away your royal highness's attention from the other cares of your exalted station, I feel confident I am not claiming it for a matter of inferior importance either to yourself or your people.

“The powers with which the constitution of these realms vests your royal highness in the regulation of the royal family, I know, because I am so advised, are ample and unquestionable. My appeal, sir, is made to your excellent sense and liberality of mind in the exercise of those powers; and I willingly hope that your own parental feelings will lead you to excuse the anxiety of mine for impelling me to represent the unhappy consequences which the present system must entail upon our beloved child.

“It is impossible, sir, that any one can have attempted to persuade your royal highness, that her character will not be injured by the perpetual violence offered to her strongest affections—the studied care taken to estrange her from my society, and even to interrupt all communication between us! That her love for me, with whom, by his majesty's wise and gracious arrangements, she passed the years of her infancy and childhood, never can be extinguished, I well know, and the knowledge of it forms the greatest blessing of my existence.

“But let me implore your royal highness to reflect how inevitably all attempts to abate this attachment, by forcibly separating us, if they succeed, must injure my child's principles—if they fail, must destroy her happiness.

“The plan of excluding my daughter from all intercourse with the world, appears to my humble judgment peculiarly unfortunate. She who is destined to be the sovereign

reign of this great country, enjoys none of those advantages of society which are deemed necessary for imparting a knowledge of mankind to persons who have infinitely less occasion to learn that important lesson; and it may so happen, by a chance which I trust is very remote, that she should be called upon to exercise the powers of the crown, with an experience of the world more confined than that of the most private individual. To the extraordinary talents with which she is blessed, and which accompany a disposition as singularly amiable, frank, and decided, I willingly trust much; but beyond a certain point the greatest natural endowments cannot struggle against the disadvantages of circumstances and situation. It is my earnest prayer, for her own sake, as well as her country's, that your royal highness may be induced to pause before this point be reached.

"Those who have advised you, sir, to delay so long the period of my daughter's commencing her intercourse with the world, and for that purpose to make Windsor her residence, appear not to have regarded the interruptions to her education which this arrangement occasions; both by the impossibility of obtaining the attendance of proper teachers, and the time unavoidably consumed in the frequent journeys to town which she must make, unless she is to be secluded from all intercourse even with your royal highness and the rest of the royal family. To the same unfortunate counsels I ascribe a circumstance in every way so distressing both to my parental and religious feelings, that my daughter has never yet enjoyed the benefit of confirmation, although above a year older than the age at which all the other

branches of the royal family have partaken of that solemnity: May I earnestly conjure you, sir, to hear my entreaties upon this serious matter, even if you should listen to other advisers on things of less near concernment to the welfare of our child?

"The pain with which I have at length formed the resolution of addressing myself to your royal highness is such as I should in vain attempt to express. If I could adequately describe it, you might be enabled, sir, to estimate the strength of the motives which have made me submit to it. They are the most powerful feelings of affection, and the deepest impressions of duty towards your royal highness, my beloved child, and the country, which I devotedly hope she may be preserved to govern, and to show, by a new example, the liberal affection of a free and generous people to a virtuous and constitutional monarch.

"I am, sir, with profound respect, and an attachment which nothing can alter,  
Your royal highness's most devoted  
and most affectionate

Consort, cousin, and subject,  
(Signed) CAROLINE LOUISA:  
"Montague-house,  
Jan. 14, 1813."

A copy of the report of the honourable the privy council, having been laid before the prince regent, was transmitted to her royal highness by viscount Sidmouth on the evening of the day on which the above letter was sent;—and lord Harrowby replied to her royal highness, by letter, to this effect:

"The report is as follows:—  
To his royal highness the prince regent.—The members of his majesty's most honourable privy council:

council: viz. his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, &c. &c.; having been summoned by command of your royal highness, on the 19th of February, to meet at the office of viscount Sidmouth, secretary of state for the home department, a communication was made by his lordship to the lords then present, in the following terms:—

“My lords,—I have it in command from his royal highness the prince regent, to acquaint your lordships, that a copy of a letter from the princess of Wales to the prince regent having appeared in a public paper, which letter refers to the proceedings that took place in an inquiry instituted by command of his majesty, in the year 1806, and contains among other matters, certain animadversions upon the manner in which the prince regent has exercised his undoubted right of regulating the conduct and education of his daughter the princess Charlotte; and his royal highness having taken into his consideration the said letter so published, and adverted to the directions heretofore given by his majesty, that the documents relating to the said inquiry should be sealed up, and deposited in the office of his majesty’s principal secretary of state, in order that his majesty’s government should possess the means of resorting to them if necessary: his royal highness has been pleased to direct, that the said letter of the princess of Wales, and the whole of the said documents, together with the copies of other letters and papers, of which a schedule is annexed, should be referred to your lordships, being members of his majesty’s most honourable privy council, for your consideration: and that you should report to his royal

highness your opinion, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it be fit and proper that the intercourse between the princess of Wales, and her daughter the princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulations and restrictions.”

“Their lordships adjourned their meetings to Tuesday, the 23d of February; and the intermediate days having been employed in perusing the documents referred to them, by command of your royal highness, they proceeded on that and the following day to the further consideration of the said documents, and have agreed to report to your royal highness as follows:—

“In obedience to the commands of your royal highness, we have taken into our most serious consideration the letter from her royal highness the princess of Wales to your royal highness, which has appeared in the public papers, and has been referred to us by your royal highness, in which letter the princess of Wales, amongst other matters, complains that the intercourse between her royal highness, and her royal highness the princess Charlotte, has been subjected to certain restrictions.

“We have also taken into our most serious consideration, together with the other papers referred to us by your royal highness, all the documents relative to the inquiry instituted in 1806, by command of his majesty, into the truth of certain representations, respecting the conduct of her royal highness the princess of Wales, which appear to have been pressed upon the attention of your royal highness, in consequence of the advice of lord Thurlow, and upon grounds of public duty; by whom they were transmitted to his majesty’s consideration;



deration; and your royal highness having been graciously pleased to command us to report our opinions to your royal highness, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it be fit and proper, that the intercourse between the princess of Wales and her daughter, the princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint:

"We beg leave humbly to report to your royal highness, that after a full examination of all the documents before us, we are of opinion, that under all the circumstances of the case, it is highly fit and proper, with a view to the welfare of her royal highness the princess Charlotte, in which are equally involved the happiness of your royal highness, in your parental and royal character, and the most important interests of the state,—that the intercourse between her royal highness the princess of Wales, and her royal highness the princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint.

"We humbly trust that we may be permitted, without being thought to exceed the limits of the duty imposed on us, respectfully to express the just sense we entertain of the motives by which your royal highness has been actuated in the postponement of the confirmation of her royal highness the princess Charlotte; as it appears, by a statement under the hand of her majesty the queen, that your royal highness has conformed in this respect to the declared will of his majesty; who had been pleased to direct, that such ceremony should not take place till her royal highness should have completed her eighteenth year.

"We also humbly trust that we may be further permitted to notice

some expressions in the letter of her royal highness the princess of Wales, which may possibly be construed as implying a charge of too serious a nature to be passed over without observation. We refer to the words—"suborned traducers." As this expression, from the manner it is introduced, may, perhaps, be liable to misconstruction (however impossible it may be to suppose that it can have been so intended) to have reference to some part of the conduct of your royal highness; we feel it our bounden duty not to omit this opportunity of declaring, that the documents laid before us, afford the most ample proof, that there is not the slightest foundation for such an aspersion.

(Signed)

C. CANTUAR.	MELVILLE,
ELDON,	SIDMOUTH,
E. EBOR.	J. LONDON,
W. ARMAGH,	ELLENBOROUGH,
HARROWBY, P. C. CHAS. ABBOT,	
WESTMORELAND, N. VANSITTART,	
G. P. S.	C. BATHURST,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, W. GRANT,	
BATHURST,	A. MACDONALD,
LIVERPOOL,	W. SCOTT,
MULGRAVE,	J. NICHOL,

A true copy, SIDMOUTH."

#### REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

May it please your majesty,

Your majesty having been graciously pleased, by an instrument under your majesty's royal sign manual, a copy of which is annexed to this report, to "authorize, empower, and direct us to inquire into the truth of certain written declarations, touching the conduct of her royal highness the princess of Wales, an abstract of which had been laid before your majesty, and to examine upon oath such persons as we should see fit, touching and concerning the same, and to report to

to your majesty the result of such examinations." We have, in dutiful obedience to your majesty's commands, proceeded to examine the several witnesses, the copies of whose depositions we have hereunto annexed; and, in further execution of the said commands, we now most respectfully submit to your majesty the report of these examinations as it has appeared to us: but we beg leave at the same time humbly to refer your majesty, for more complete information, to the examinations themselves, in order to correct any error of judgment, into which we may have unintentionally fallen, with respect to any part of this business. On a reference to the above-mentioned declarations, as the necessary foundation of all our proceedings, we found that they consisted in certain statements, which had been laid before his royal highness the prince of Wales, respecting the conduct of her royal highness the princess. That these statements, not only, imputed to her royal highness great impropriety and indecency of behaviour, but expressly asserted, partly on the ground of certain alleged declarations from the princess's own mouth, and partly on the personal observation of the informants, the following most important facts: viz. That her royal highness had been pregnant in the year 1802, in consequence of an illicit intercourse, and that she had in the same year been secretly delivered of a male child, which child had ever since that period been brought up by her royal highness in her own house, and under her immediate inspection.

These allegations thus made, had, as we found, been followed by declarations from other persons, who had not indeed spoken to the

important facts of the pregnancy or delivery of her royal highness, but had related other particulars, in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so when connected with the assertions already mentioned.

In the painful situation, in which his royal highness was placed, by these communications, we learnt that his royal highness had adopted the only course which could, in our judgment, with propriety be followed. When informations such as these, had been thus confidently alleged, and particularly detailed, and had been in some degree supported by collateral evidence, applying to other points of the same nature (though going to a far less extent), one line only could be pursued.

Every sentiment of duty to your majesty, and of concern for the public welfare, required that these particulars should not be withheld from your majesty, to whom more particularly belonged the cognizance of a matter of state, so nearly touching the honour of your majesty's royal family, and, by possibility, affecting the succession of your majesty's crown.

Your majesty had been pleased, on your part, to view the subject in the same light. Considering it as a matter which, on every account, demanded the most immediate investigation, your majesty had thought fit to commit into our hands the duty of ascertaining, in the first instance, what degree of credit was due to the informations, and thereby enabling your majesty to decide what further conduct to adopt concerning them.

On this review, therefore, of the matters thus alleged, and of the course hitherto pursued upon them, we deemed it proper in the first

place, to examine those persons in whose declarations the occasion for this inquiry had originated. Because if they, on being examined upon oath, had retracted or varied their assertions, all necessity for further investigation might possibly have been precluded.

We accordingly first examined on oath the principal informants, sir John Douglas, and Charlotte his wife: who both positively swore, the former to his having observed the fact of the pregnancy of her royal highness, and the latter to all the important particulars contained in her former declaration, and above referred to. Their examinations are annexed to this report, and are circumstantial and positive.

The most material of those allegations, into the truth of which we had been directed to inquire, being thus far supported by the oath of the parties from whom they had proceeded, we then felt it our duty to follow up the inquiry by the examination of such other persons as we judged best able to afford us information, as to the facts in question.

We thought it beyond all doubt that, in this course of inquiry, many particulars must be learnt which would be necessarily conclusive on the truth or falsehood of these declarations. So many persons must have been witnesses to the appearances of an actually existing pregnancy; so many circumstances must have been attendant upon a real delivery; and difficulties so numerous and insurmountable must have been involved in any attempt to account for the infant in question, as the child of another woman, if it had been in fact the child of the princess; that we entertained a full and confident expectation of

arriving at complete proof, either in the affirmative or negative, on this part of the subject.

This expectation was not disappointed. We are happy to declare to your majesty our perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the princess is the child of her royal highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802; nor has any thing appeared to us which would warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of our inquiries.

The identity of the child, now with the princess, its parentage, the place and the date of its birth, the time and the circumstances of its being first taken under her royal highness's protection, are all established by such a concurrence both of positive and circumstantial evidence, as can, in our judgment, leave no question on this part of the subject. The child was, beyond all doubt, born in the Brownlow-street hospital, on the 11th day of July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austin, and was first brought to the princess's house in the month of November following. Neither should we be more warranted in expressing any doubt respecting the alleged pregnancy of the princess, as stated in the original declarations;—a fact so fully contradicted, and by so many witnesses, to whom, if true, it must in various ways have been known, that we cannot think it entitled to the smallest credit. The testimonies on these two points are contained in the annexed depositions and letters. We have not partially abstracted them in this report, lest, by any unintentional omission, we might weaken their effect; but we humbly offer to  
your

your majesty this our clear and unanimous judgment upon them, formed on full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation, on the result of the whole inquiry.

We do not, however, feel ourselves at liberty, much as we should wish it, to close our report here. Besides the allegations of the pregnancy and delivery of the princess, those declarations, on the whole of which your majesty has been pleased to command us to inquire and report, contain, as we have already remarked, other particulars respecting the conduct of her royal highness, such as must, especially considering her exalted rank and station, necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable interpretations.

From the various depositions and proofs annexed to this report, particularly from the examinations of Robert Bidgood, William Cole, Frances Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle, your majesty will perceive that several strong circumstances of this description have been positively sworn to by witnesses, who cannot, in our judgment, be suspected of any unfavourable bias, and whose veracity, in this respect, we have seen no ground to question.

On the precise bearing and effect of the facts thus appearing, it is not for us to decide; these we submit to your majesty's wisdom: but we conceive it to be our duty to report on this part of the inquiry, as distinctly as on the former facts: that, as on the one hand, the facts of pregnancy and delivery are to our minds satisfactorily disproved, so on the other hand we think, that the circumstances to which we now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between her royal highness and captain Manby, must be credited until they

shall receive some decisive contradiction; and, if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration.

We cannot close this report, without humbly assuring your majesty, that it was, on every account, our anxious wish, to have executed this delicate trust, with as little publicity as the nature of the case would possibly allow; and we entreat your majesty's permission to express our full persuasion, that if this wish has been disappointed, the failure is not imputable to any thing unnecessarily said or done by us.

All which is most humbly submitted to your majesty.

(Signed) **ERSKINE,  
SPENCER,  
GRENVILLE,**

July 14, 1806. **ELLENBOROUGH.**  
A true copy,  
(*J. Becket.*)

*Blackheath, Aug. 12, 1806.*

Sire,—With the deepest feelings of gratitude to your majesty, I take the first opportunity to acknowledge having received, as yesterday only, the report from the lords commissioners, which was dated from the 14th of July. It was brought by lord Erskine's footman, directed to the princess of Wales; besides a note enclosed, the contents of which were, that lord Erskine sent the evidences and report by commands of his majesty. I had reason to flatter myself that the lords commissioners would not have given in the report, before they had been properly informed of various circumstances, which must for a feeling, and delicate-minded woman, be very unpleasant to have spread, without having the means to exculpate herself. But I can

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in the face of the almighty assure your majesty that your daughter-in-law is innocent; and her conduct unquestionable; free from all the indecorums, and improprieties, which are imputed to her at present by the lords commissiouers, upon the evidence of persons, who speak as falsely as sir John and lady Douglas themselves. Your majesty can be sure that I shall be anxious to give the most solemn denial in my power to all the scandalous stories of Bidgood, and Cole; to make my conduct be cleared in the most satisfactory way, for the tranquillity of your majesty, for the honour of your illustrious family, and the gratification of your afflicted daughter-in-law. In the mean time I can safely trust your majesty's gracious justice to recollect, that the whole of the evidence on which the commissioners have given credit to the infamous stories charged against me, was taken behind my back, without my having any opportunity to contradict or explain any thing, or even to point out those persons, who might have been called; to prove the little credit which was due to some of the witnesses, from their connection with sir John and lady Douglas; and the absolute falsehood of parts of the evidence, which could have been completely contradicted. Oh! gracious king, I now look for that happy moment, when I may be allowed to appear again before your majesty's eyes, and receive once more the assurance from your majesty's own mouth that I have your gracious protection; and that you will not discard me from your friendship, of which your majesty has been so condescending to give me so many marks of kindness; and which must be my only sup-

port, and my only consolation, in this country. I remain with sentiments of the highest esteem, veneration, and unfeigned attachment,

Sire,

Your majesty's most dutiful,  
submissive, and humble

daughter-in-law and subject,

(Signed) CAROLINE.

To the king.

Aug. 17, 1806.

Sire,—Upon receiving the copy of the report, made to your majesty, by the commissioners, appointed to inquire into certain charges against my conduct, I lost no time, in returning to your majesty, my heartfelt thanks, for your majesty's goodness in commanding that copy to be communicated to me.

I wanted no adviser, but my own heart, to express my gratitude for the kindness and protection which I have uniformly received from your majesty. I needed no caution or reserve, in expressing my confident reliance, that that kindness and protection would not be withdrawn from me, on this trying occasion; and that your majesty's justice would not suffer your mind to be affected, to my disadvantage, by any part of a report, founded upon partial evidence, taken in my absence, upon charges, not yet communicated to me, until your majesty had heard, what might be alleged, in my behalf, in answer to it. But your majesty will not be surprised, nor displeased, that I, a woman, a stranger to the laws and usages of your majesty's kingdom, under charges, aimed, originally, at my life, and honour, should hesitate to determine, in what manner I ought to act, even under the present circumstances, with respect to such accusations, without

without the assistance of advice in which I could confide. And I have had submitted to me the following observations, respecting the copies of the papers with which I have been furnished. And I humbly solicit from your majesty's gracious condescension and justice, a compliance with the requests, which arise out of them.

In the first place, it has been observed to me, that these copies of the report, and of the accompanying papers, have come unauthenticated by the signature of any person, high, or low, whose veracity, or even accuracy, is pledged for their correctness, or to whom resort might be had, if it should be necessary, hereafter, to establish, that these papers are correct copies of the originals. I am far from insinuating that the want of such attestations was intentional. No doubt it was omitted through inadvertence; but its importance is particularly confirmed by the state, in which the copy of Mrs. Lisle's examination has been transmitted to me. For in the third page of that examination there have been two erasures; on one of which, some words have been, subsequently, introduced apparently in a different hand writing from the body of the examination; and the passage as it stands, is probably incorrect, because the phrase is unintelligible. And this occurs in an important part of her examination.

The humble, but earnest request, which I have to make to your majesty, which is suggested by this observation, is, that your majesty would be graciously pleased to direct, that the report, and the papers which accompany it, and which, for that purpose, I venture to transmit to your majesty with this letter, may be examined, and then

returned to me, authenticated as correct, under the signature of some person, who, having attested their accuracy, may be able to prove it.

In the second place, it has been observed to me, that the report proceeds, by reference to certain written declarations, which the commissioners describe as the necessary foundation of all their proceedings, and which contain, as I presume, the charge or information against my conduct. Yet copies of these written declarations have not been given to me. They are described indeed, in the report, as consisting in certain statements, respecting my conduct, imputing not only, gross impropriety of behaviour, but expressly asserting facts of the most confirmed, and abandoned criminality, for which, if true, my life might be forfeited. These are stated to have been followed by declarations from other persons, who, though not speaking to the same facts, had related other particulars, in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so, as connected with the assertions already mentioned.

On this, it is observed to me, that it is most important that I should know the extent, and the particulars of the charges or informations against me, and by what accusers they have been made; whether I am answering the charges of one set of accusers, or more. Whether the authors of the original declarations, who may be collected from the report to be sir John and lady Douglas, are my only accusers; and the declarations which are said to have followed, are the declarations of persons adduced as witnesses by sir John and lady Douglas to confirm their accusation; or whether such declarations are the charges of persons, who

have made themselves also, the authors of distinct accusations against me.

The requests, which, I humbly hope, your majesty will think reasonable, and just to grant, and which are suggested by these further observations are,

*First*, That your majesty would be graciously pleased to direct, that I should be furnished with copies of these declarations; and, if they are rightly described in the report, as the necessary foundation of all the proceedings of the commissioners, your majesty could not, I am persuaded, but have graciously intended, in directing that I should be furnished with a copy of the report, that I should also see this essential part of the proceeding, the foundation on which it rests.

*Secondly*, That I may be informed whether I have one or more, and how many accusers; and who they are; as the weight and credit of the accusation cannot but be much affected by the quarter from whence it originates.

*Thirdly*, That I may be informed of the time when the declarations were made. For the weight and credit of the accusation must, also, be much affected, by the length of time, which my accusers may have been contented to have been the silent depositories of those heavy matters of guilt, and charge; and,

*Lastly*, That your majesty's goodness will secure to me a speedy return of these papers, accompanied, I trust, with the further information which I have solicited; but at all events a speedy return of them. And your majesty will see, that it is not without reason, that I make this last request, when your majesty is informed, that though the report appears to have been made upon the 14th of July, yet it

was not sent to me, till the 11th of the present month. A similar delay, I should, of all things, deplore. For it is with reluctance, that I yield to those suggestions, which have induced me to lay, these my humble requests, before your majesty, since they must, at all events, in some degree, delay the arrival of that moment, to which, I look forward, with so earnest and eager an impatience; when I confidently feel, I shall completely satisfy your majesty, that the whole of these charges are alike unfounded; and are all parts of the same conspiracy against me. Your majesty, so satisfied, will, I can have no doubt, be as anxious as myself, to secure to me that redress, which the laws of your kingdom (administering under your majesty's just dispensation, equal protection, and justice, to every description of your majesty's subjects,) are prepared to afford to those who are so deeply injured as I have been. That I have in this case the strongest claim to your majesty's justice, I am confident I shall prove; but I cannot, as I am advised, so satisfactorily establish that claim, till your majesty's goodness shall have directed me, to be furnished with an authentic statement of the actual charges against me, and that additional information, which it is the object of this letter most humbly, yet earnestly, to implore.

I am, sire,

Your majesty's most dutiful,  
submissive, and humble  
daughter-in-law,

*Montague-bouse.* (Signed) C. P.  
*To the king.*

*Montague-bouse, Dec. 8, 1806.*

Sire,—I trust your majesty, who knows my constant affection, loyalty, and duty, and the sure confidence

dence with which I readily repose my honour, my character, my happiness in your majesty's hands, will not think me guilty of any disrespectful or undutious impatience, when I thus again address myself to your royal grace and justice.

It is, sire, nine weeks to-day, since my counsel presented to the lord high chancellor my letter to your majesty, containing my observations, in vindication of my honour and innocence, upon the report, presented to your majesty by the commissioners, who had been appointed to examine into my conduct. The lord chancellor informed my counsel, that the letter should be conveyed to your majesty on that very day; and further, was pleased, in about a week or ten days afterwards, to communicate to my solicitor, that your majesty had read my letter, and that it had been transmitted to his lordship with directions that it should be copied for the commissioners, and that when such copy had been taken, the original should be returned to your majesty.

Your majesty's own gracious and royal mind will easily conceive what must have been my state of anxiety and suspense, whilst I have been fondly indulging in the hope, that every day, as it passed, would bring me the happy tidings, that your majesty was satisfied of my innocence; and convinced of the unfounded malice of my enemies, in every part of their charge. Nine long weeks of daily expectation and suspense have now elapsed; and they have brought me nothing but disappointment. I have remained in total ignorance of what has been done, what is doing, or what is intended upon this subject. Your majesty's goodness will therefore pardon me, if in the step which I

now take, I act upon a mistaken conjecture with respect to the fact. But from the lord chancellor's communication to my solicitor, and from the time which has elapsed, I am led to conclude, that your majesty had directed the copy of my letter to be laid before the commissioners, requiring their advice upon the subject; and, possibly, their official occupations, and their other duties to the state, may not have, as yet, allowed them the opportunity of attending to it. But your majesty will permit me to observe that, however excusable this delay may be on their parts, yet it operates most injuriously upon me; my feelings are severely tortured by the suspense, while my character is sinking in the opinion of the public.

It is known that a report, though acquitting me of crime, yet imputing matters highly disreputable to my honour, has been made to your majesty;—that that report has been communicated to me;—that I have endeavoured to answer it; and that I still remain, at the end of nine weeks from the delivery of my answer, unacquainted with the judgment which is formed upon it. May I be permitted to observe upon the extreme prejudice which this delay, however to be accounted for by the numerous important occupations of the commissioners, produces to my honour? The world, in total ignorance of the real state of the facts, begin to infer my guilt from it. I feel myself already sinking, in the estimation of your majesty's subjects, as well as of what remains to me of my own family, into (a state intolerable to a mind conscious of its purity and innocence) a state in which my honour appears at least equivocal, and my virtue is suspected.



spected. From this state I humbly entreat your majesty to perceive that I can have no hope of being restored, until either your majesty's favourable opinion shall be graciously notified to the world, by receiving me again into the royal presence, or until the full disclosure of the facts shall expose the malice of my accusers, and do away every possible ground for unfavourable inference and conjecture.

The various calamities with which it has pleased God of late to afflict me, I have endeavoured to bear, and I trust I have borne, with humble resignation to the Divine will. But the effect of this infamous charge, and the delay which has suspended its final termination, by depriving me of the consolation which I should have received from your majesty's presence and kindness, have given a heavy addition to them all; and surely my bitterest enemies could hardly wish that they should be increased. But on this topic, as possibly not much affecting the justice, though it does the hardship, of my case, I forbear to dwell.

Your majesty will be graciously pleased to recollect, that an occasion of assembling the royal family and your subjects, in dutiful and happy commemoration of her majesty's birth-day, is now near at hand. If the increased occupations which the approach of parliament may occasion, or any other cause, should prevent the commissioners from enabling your majesty to communicate your pleasure to me before that time; the world will infallibly conclude, (in their present state of ignorance,) that my answer must have proved unsatisfactory, and that the infamous charges have been thought to be but too true.

These considerations, sire, will, I

trust, in your majesty's gracious opinion, rescue this address from all imputation of impatience. For, your majesty's sense of honourable feeling will naturally suggest, how utterly impossible it is that I, conscious of my own innocence, and believing that the malice of my enemies has been completely detected, can, without abandoning all regard to my interests, my happiness, and my honour, possibly be contented to perceive the approach of such utter ruin to my character, and yet wait, with patience, and in silence, till it overwhelms me. I therefore take this liberty of throwing myself again at your majesty's feet, and entreating and imploring of your majesty's goodness and justice, in pity for my miseries, which this delay so severely aggravates, and in justice to my innocence and character, to urge the commissioners to an early communication of their advice.

To save your majesty and the commissioners all unnecessary trouble, as well as to obviate all probability of further delay, I have directed a duplicate of this letter to be prepared, and have sent one copy of it through the lord chancellor, and another through colonel Taylor, to your majesty.

I am, &c.

(Signed) C. P.

*To the king.*

Jan. 28, 1807.

The lord chancellor has the honour to present his most humble duty to the princess of Wales, and to transmit to her royal highness the accompanying message from the king; which her royal highness will observe, he has his majesty's commands to communicate to her royal highness.

The lord chancellor would have done himself the honour to have waited

waited personally upon her royal highness, and have delivered it himself; but he considered the sending it sealed, as more respectful and acceptable to her royal highness. The lord chancellor received the original paper from the king yesterday, and made the copy now sent in his own hand.

*To her royal highness the  
princess of Wales.*

The king having referred to his confidential servants the proceeding and papers relative to the written declarations, which had been before his majesty, respecting the conduct of the princess of Wales, has been apprized by them, that, after the fullest consideration of the examinations taken on the subject, and of the observations and affidavits brought forward by the princess of Wales's legal advisers, they agree in the opinions, submitted to his majesty in the original report of the four lords, by whom his majesty directed that the matter should in the first instance be inquired into; and that, in the present stage of the business, upon a mature and deliberate view of this most important subject in all its parts and bearings, it is their opinion, that the facts of this case do not warrant their advising that any further step should be taken in the business by his majesty's government, or any other proceedings instituted upon it, except such only as his majesty's law servants may, on reference to them, think fit to recommend, for the prosecution of lady Douglas, on those parts of her depositions which may appear to them to be justly liable thereto.

In this situation, his majesty is advised, that it is no longer necessary for him to decline receiving the princess into his royal presence.

The king sees, with great satisfaction, the agreement of his confidential servants, in the decided opinion expressed by the four lords, upon the falsehood of the accusations of pregnancy and delivery, brought forward against the princess by lady Douglas.

On the other matters produced in the course of the inquiry, the king is advised that none of the facts or allegations stated in preliminary examinations, carried on in the absence of the parties interested, can be considered as legally or conclusively established. But in those examinations, and even in the answer drawn in the name of the princess by her legal advisers, there have appeared circumstances of conduct on the part of the princess, which his majesty never could regard but with serious concern. The elevated rank which the princess holds in this country, and the relation in which she stands to his majesty and the royal family, must always deeply involve both the interests of the state, and the personal feelings of his majesty, in the propriety and correctness of her conduct. And his majesty cannot therefore forbear to express in the conclusion of the business, his desire and expectation, that such a conduct may in future be observed by the princess, as may fully justify those marks of paternal regard and affection, which the king always wishes to shew to every part of his royal family.

His majesty has directed that this message should be transmitted to the princess of Wales, by his lord chancellor, and that copies of the proceedings, which had taken place on the subject, should also be communicated to his dearly beloved son the prince of Wales.

*Montagu-house, Jan. 29, 1807.*

Sire,—I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of the paper, which, by your majesty's direction, was yesterday transmitted to me by the lord chancellor, and to express the unfeigned happiness, which I have derived from one part of it. I mean that which informs me that your majesty's confidential servants have at length thought proper to communicate to your majesty their advice, "that it is no longer necessary for your majesty to decline receiving me into your royal presence." And I therefore humbly hope that your majesty will be graciously pleased to receive, with favour, the communication of my intention to avail myself, with your majesty's permission, of that advice, for the purpose of waiting upon your majesty on Monday next, if that day should not be inconvenient; when I hope again to have the happiness of throwing myself, in filial duty and affection, at your majesty's feet.

Your majesty will easily conceive that I reluctantly name so distant a day as Monday, but I do not feel myself sufficiently recovered from the measles, to venture upon so long a drive at an earlier day. Feeling, however, very anxious to receive again as soon as possible that blessing, of which I have been so long deprived, if that day should happen to be in any degree inconvenient, I humbly entreat and implore your majesty's most gracious and paternal goodness, to name some other day, as early as possible, for that purpose.

I am, &c.

(Signed) C. P.

*To the king.*

*Windsor Castle, Jan. 29, 1807.*

The king has this moment re-

ceived the princess of Wales's letter, in which she intimates her intention of coming to Windsor on Monday next; and his majesty, wishing not to put the princess to the inconvenience of coming to this place so immediately after her illness, hastens to acquaint her that he shall prefer to receive her in London upon a day subsequent to the ensuing week, which will also better suit his majesty, and of which he will not fail to to apprize the princess.

(Signed) GEORGE R.

*To the princess of Wales.*

*Windsor Castle, Feb. 10, 1807.*

As the princess of Wales may have been led to expect, from the king's letter to her, that he would fix an early day for seeing her, his majesty thinks it right to acquaint her, that the prince of Wales, upon receiving the several documents which the king directed his cabinet to transmit to him, made a formal communication to him, of his intention to put them into the hands of his lawyers; accompanied by a request, that his majesty would suspend any further steps in the business, until the prince of Wales should be enabled to submit to him the statement which he proposed to make. The king therefore considers it incumbent upon him to defer naming a day to the princess of Wales, until the further result of the prince's intention shall have been made known to him.

(Signed) GEORGE R.

*To the princess of Wales.*

*Montagu-house, Feb. 12, 1807.*

Sire,—I received yesterday, and with inexpressible pain, your majesty's last communication. The duty of stating, in a representation to your majesty, the various grounds upon

upon which I feel the hardship of my case, and upon which I confidently think that, upon a review of it, your majesty will be disposed to recal your last determination, is a duty I owe to myself: and I cannot forbear, at the moment when I acknowledge your majesty's letter, to announce to your majesty that I propose to execute that duty without delay.

After having suffered the punishment of banishment from your majesty's presence for seven months, pending an inquiry which your majesty had directed, into my conduct, affecting both my life and my honour;—after that inquiry had, at length, terminated in the advice of your majesty's confidential and sworn servants, that there was no longer any reason for your majesty's declining to receive me;—if after your majesty's gracious communication, which led me to rest assured that your majesty would appoint an early day to receive me;—if after all this, by a renewed application on the part of the prince of Wales, upon whose communication the first inquiry had been directed, I now find that that punishment, which has been inflicted, pending a seven months inquiry before the determination, should, contrary to the opinion of your majesty's servants, be continued after that determination, to await the result of some new proceeding, to be suggested by the lawyers of the prince of Wales; it is impossible that I can fail to assert to your majesty, with the effect due to truth, that I am, in the consciousness of my innocence, and with a strong sense of my unmerited sufferings,

Your majesty's much injured  
subject and daughter-in-law, C.P.

*To the king.*

*Montague-house, Feb. 16, 1807.*

Sire,—By my short letter to your majesty of the 12th instant, in answer to your majesty's communication of the 10th, I notified my intention of representing to your majesty the various grounds, on which I felt the hardship of my case; and a review of which, I confidently hoped, would dispose your majesty to recal your determination to adjourn, to an indefinite period, my reception into your royal presence; a determination, which, in addition to all the other pain which it brought along with it, affected me with the disappointment of hopes which I had fondly cherished with the most perfect confidence, because they rested on your majesty's gracious assurance.

Independently, however, of that communication from your majesty, I should have felt myself bound to have troubled your majesty with much of the contents of the present letter.

Upon the receipt of the paper which, by your majesty's commands, was transmitted to me by the lord chancellor, on the 28th of last month, and which communicated to me the joyful intelligence, that your majesty was "advised, that it was no longer necessary for you to decline receiving me into your royal presence," I conceived myself necessarily called upon to send an immediate answer to so much of it as respected that intelligence. I could not wait the time which it would have required to state those observations, which it was impossible for me to refrain from making at some period, upon the other important particulars which that paper contained. Accordingly, I answered it immediately; and as your majesty's gracious and instant reply of last Thursday

Thursday fortnight announced to me your pleasure that I should be received by your majesty on a day subsequent to the then ensuing week, I was led most confidently to assure myself that the last week would not have passed without my having received that satisfaction. I therefore determined to wait in patience, without further intrusion upon your majesty, till I might have the opportunity of guarding myself from the possibility of being misunderstood, by personally explaining to your majesty, that, whatever observations I had to make upon the paper so communicated to me on the 28th ult., and whatever complaints respecting the delay, and the many cruel circumstances which had attended the whole of the proceedings against me, and the unsatisfactory state in which they were at length left by that last communication, they were observations and complaints which affected those only, under whose advice your majesty had acted, and were not, in any degree, intended to intimate even the most distant insinuation against your majesty's justice or kindness.

That paper established the opinion, which I certainly had ever confidently entertained, but the justness of which I had not before any document to establish, that your majesty had, from the first, deemed this proceeding a high and important matter of state, in the consideration of which your majesty had not felt yourself at liberty to trust to your own generous feelings, and to your own royal and gracious judgment. I never did believe that the cruel state of anxiety in which I had been kept ever since the delivery of my answer, (for at least sixteen weeks) could be at all attributable to your ma-

jesty; it was most unlike every thing which I had ever experienced from your majesty's condescension, feeling, and justice; and I found, from that paper, that it was to your confidential servants I was to ascribe the length of banishment from your presence, which they at last advised your majesty it was no longer necessary should be continued. I perceive, therefore, what I always believed, that it was to them, and to them only, that I owed the protracted continuance of my sufferings and of my disgrace; and that your majesty, considering the whole of this proceeding to have been instituted and conducted under the grave responsibility of your majesty's servants, had not thought proper to take any step or express any opinion upon any part of it, but such as was recommended by their advice. Influenced by these sentiments, and anxious to have the opportunity of conveying them, with the overflowings of a grateful heart, to your majesty, what were my sensations of surprise, mortification, and disappointment, on the receipt of your majesty's letter of the 10th inst., your majesty may conceive, though I am utterly unable to express.

That letter announces to me, that his royal highness the prince of Wales, upon receiving the several documents which your majesty directed your cabinet to transmit to him, made a personal communication to your majesty of his intention to put them into the hands of his lawyers, accompanied by a request, that your majesty would suspend any further steps in the business, until the prince of Wales should be enabled to submit to your majesty the statement which he proposed to make; and it also announces to me that your majesty therefore

therefore considered it incumbent on you to defer naming a day to me, until the further result of the prince of Wales's intention should have been made known to your majesty.

This determination of your majesty, on this request made by his royal highness, I humbly trust your majesty will permit me to entreat you, in your most gracious justice, to reconsider. Your majesty, I am convinced, must have been surprised at the time, and prevailed upon by the importunity of the prince of Wales, to think this determination necessary, or your majesty's generosity and justice would never have adopted it. And if I can satisfy your majesty of the unparalleled injustice and cruelty of this interposition of the prince of Wales at such a time and under such circumstances, I feel the most perfect confidence that your majesty will hasten to recal it.

I should basely be wanting to my own interest and feelings, if I did not plainly state my sense of that injustice and cruelty; and if I did not most loudly complain of it. Your majesty will better perceive the just grounds of my complaint, when I retrace the course of these proceedings from their commencement.

The four noble lords, appointed by your majesty to inquire into the charges brought against me, in their report of the 14th of July last, after having stated that his royal highness the prince of Wales had had laid before him, the charge which was made against me by lady Douglas, and the declaration in support of it, proceed in the following manner:

"In the painful situation in which his royal highness was placed by

these communications, we learnt that his royal highness had adopted *the only course* which could, in our judgment, with propriety be followed. When informations such as these had been thus confidently alleged and particularly detailed, and had been in some degree supported by collateral evidence, applying to other facts of the same nature, (though going to a far less extent,) *one line only* could be pursued.

"Every sentiment of duty to your majesty, and of concern for the public welfare, required that these particulars should not be withheld from your majesty, to whom more particularly belonged the cognizance of a matter of state, so nearly touching the honour of your majesty's royal family, and, by possibility, affecting the succession of your majesty's crown.

"Your majesty had been pleased, on your part, to view the subject in the same light. Considering it as a matter which, on every account, demanded the most immediate investigation, your majesty had thought fit to commit into our hands the duty of ascertaining, in the first instance, what degree of credit was due to the information, and thereby enabling your majesty to decide what further conduct to adopt respecting them."

His royal highness then, pursuing, as the four lords say, *the only course*, which could in their judgment, with propriety, be pursued, submitted the matter to your majesty.—Your majesty directed the inquiry by the four noble lords.—The four lords in their report upon the case, justly acquitted me of all crime, and expressed (I will not wait now to say how unjustly) the credit which they gave, and the conse-

consequence they ascribed to other matters, which they did not, however, characterize as amounting to any crime.—To this report I made my answer.—That answer, together with the whole proceedings, was referred by your majesty, to the same four noble lords, and others of your majesty's confidential servants. They advised your majesty, amongst much other matter, (which must be the subject of further observations) that there was no longer any reason why you should decline receiving me.

Your majesty will necessarily conceive that I have always looked upon my banishment from your royal presence, as, in fact, a punishment, and a severe one too. I thought it sufficiently hard, that I should have been suffering that punishment, during the time that this inquiry has been pending, while I was yet only under accusation, and, upon the principles of the just laws of your majesty's kingdom, entitled to be presumed to be innocent, till I was proved to be guilty. But I find this does not appear to be enough, in the opinion of the prince of Wales. For now, when after this long inquiry, into matters which required immediate investigation, I have been acquitted of every thing which could call for my banishment from your royal presence;—after your majesty's confidential servants have thus expressly advised your majesty that they see no reason why you should any longer decline to receive me into your presence;—after your majesty had graciously notified to me, your determination to receive me at an early day, his royal highness interposes the demand of a new delay; desires your majesty not to take any step; desires you not to act

upon the advice which your own confidential servants have given you, that you need no longer decline seeing me;—not to execute your intention and assurance, that you would receive me at an early day;—because he has laid the documents before his lawyers, and intends to prepare a further statement. And the judgment of your majesty's confidential servants, is, as it were, appealed from by the prince of Wales, (whom, from this time at least, I must be permitted to consider as assuming the character of my accuser);—the justice due to me is to be suspended, while the judgment of your majesty's sworn servants is to be submitted to the revision of my accuser's counsel; and I, though acquitted in the opinion of your majesty's confidential servants, of all that should induce your majesty to decline seeing me, am to have that punishment, which had been inflicted upon me during the inquiry, continued after that acquittal, till a fresh statement is prepared, to be again submitted, for aught I know, to another inquiry, of as extended a continuance as that which has just terminated.

Can it be said that the proceedings of the four noble lords, or of your majesty's confidential servants, have been so lenient and considerate towards me and my feelings, as to induce a suspicion that I have been too favourably dealt with by them? and that the advice which has been given to your majesty, that your majesty need no longer decline to receive me, was hastily and partially delivered? I am confident that your majesty must see the very reverse of this to be the case—that I have every reason to complain of the inexplicable delay which so long withheld that advice.

advice. And the whole character of the observations with which they accompanied it, marks the reluctance with which they yielded to the necessity of giving it.

For your majesty's confidential servants advise your majesty, "that it is no longer necessary for you to decline receiving me into your royal presence." If this is their opinion and their advice now, why was it not their opinion and their advice four months ago, from the date of my answer? Nay, why was it not their opinion and advice from the date even of the original report itself? For not only had they been in possession of my answer for above *sixteen weeks*, which at least furnished them with all the materials on which this advice at length was given, but further, your majesty's confidential servants are forward to state, that after having read my observations and the affidavits which they annexed to them, they agree in *the opinions* (not in any single opinion upon any particular branch of the case, but in *the opinions generally*) which were submitted to your majesty, in the original report of the four lords. If therefore (notwithstanding their concurrence in *all* the opinions contained in the report) they have nevertheless given to your majesty their advice, "that it is no longer necessary for you to decline receiving me;"—what could have prevented their offering that advice, even from the 14th of July, the date of the original report itself? Or what could have warranted the withholding of it, even for a single moment? Instead, therefore, of any trace being observable, of hasty, precipitate, and partial determination in my favour, it is impossible to interpret their conduct and their reasons together in any other sense,

than as amounting to an admission of your majesty's confidential servants themselves, that I have, in consequence of their withholding that advice, been unnecessarily and cruelly banished from your royal presence, from the 14th of July to the 28th of January, including a space of above six months; and the effect of the interposition of the prince, is to prolong my sufferings, and my disgrace, under the same banishment, to a period perfectly indefinite.

The principle which will admit the effect of such interposition now, may be acted upon again; and the prince may require a further prolongation, upon fresh statements and fresh charges, kept back possibly for the purpose of being from time to time conveniently interposed, to prevent for ever the arrival of that hour, which, displaying to the world the acknowledgment of my unmerited sufferings and disgrace, may at the same time expose the true malicious and unjust quality of the proceedings which have been so long carried on against me.

This unseasonable, unjust, and cruel interposition of his royal highness, as I must ever deem it, has prevailed upon your majesty to recall to my prejudice your gracious purpose of receiving me, in pursuance of the advice of your servants. Do I then flatter myself too much, when I feel assured that my *just* entreaty, founded upon the reasons which I urge, and directed to counteract only the effect of that *unjust* interposition, will induce your majesty to return to your original determination?

Restored, however, as I should feel myself, to a state of comparative security, as well as credit, by being at length permitted, upon  
your



your majesty's gracious reconsideration of your last determination, to have access to your majesty; yet, under all the circumstances under which I should now receive that mark and confirmation of your majesty's opinion of my innocence, my character would not, I fear, stand cleared in the public opinion, by the mere fact of your majesty's reception of me. This revocation of your majesty's gracious purpose has flung an additional cloud about the whole proceeding, and the inferences drawn in the public mind, from this circumstance, so mysterious and so perfectly inexplicable, upon any grounds which are open to their knowledge, has made, and will leave so deep an impression to my prejudice, as scarce any thing short of a public exposure of all that has passed can possibly efface.

The publication of all these proceedings to the world, then, seems to me, under the present circumstances, (whatever reluctance I feel against such a measure, and however I regret the hard necessity which drives me to it,) to be almost the only remaining resource, for the vindication of my honour and character. The falsehood of the accusation is, by no means, all that will, by such publication, appear to the credit and clearance of my character; but the course in which the whole proceedings have been carried on, or rather delayed, by those to whom your majesty referred the consideration of them, will show that, whatever measure of justice I may have ultimately received at their hands, it is not to be suspected as arising from any merciful and indulgent consideration of me, of my feelings, or of my case.

It will be seen how my feelings had been harassed, and my charac-

ter and honour exposed by the delays which have taken place in these proceedings: it will be seen that the existence of the charge against me had avowedly been known to the public from the 7th of June in the last year—I say known to the public, because it was on that day that the commissioners, acting, as I am to suppose, (for so they state in their report) under the anxious wish, that their trust should be executed with as little publicity as possible, authorized that unnecessary insult and outrage upon me, as I must always consider it, which, however intended, gave the utmost publicity and exposure to the existence of these charges—I mean the sending two attorneys, armed with their lordships' warrant, to my house, to bring before them, at once, about one half of my household for examination. The idea of privacy, after an act so much calculated, from the extraordinary nature of it, to excite the greatest attention and surprise, your majesty must feel to have been impossible and absurd; for an attempt at secrecy, mystery, and concealment, on my part, could, under such circumstances, only have been construed into the fearfulness of guilt.

It will appear also, that from that time, I heard nothing authentically upon the subject till the 11th of August, when I was furnished, by your majesty's commands, with the report. The several papers necessary to my understanding the whole of these charges, in the authentic state in which your majesty thought it proper, graciously to direct that I should have them, were not delivered to me till the beginning of September. My answer to these various charges, though the whole subject of them was new to those

those whose advice I had recourse to, long as that answer was necessarily obliged to be, was delivered to the lord chancellor, to be forwarded to your majesty, by the 6th of October; and, from the 6th of October to the 28th of January, I was kept in total ignorance of the effect of that answer. Not only will all this delay be apparent, but it will be generally shown to the world how your majesty's servants had, in this important business, treated your daughter-in-law, the princess of Wales; and what measure of justice she, a female and a stranger in your land, has experienced at their hands.

Undoubtedly against such a proceeding I have ever felt, and still feel, an almost invincible repugnance. Every sentiment of delicacy, with which a female mind must shrink from the act of bringing before the public such charges, however conscious of their scandal and falsity, and however clearly that scandal and falsity may be manifested by the answer to those charges;—the respect still due from me, to persons employed in authority under your majesty, however little respect I may have received from them;—my duty to his royal highness the prince of Wales;—my regard for all the members of your august family;—my esteem, my duty, my gratitude to your majesty,—my affectionate gratitude for all the paternal kindness which I have ever experienced from you;—my anxiety, not only to avoid the risk of giving any offence or displeasure to your majesty, but also to fly from every occasion of creating the slightest sentiment of uneasiness in the mind of your majesty, whose happiness it would be the pride and pleasure of my life to consult and to pro-

1813.

mote; all these various sentiments have compelled me to submit, as long as human forbearance could endure; to all the unfavourable inferences which were through this delay daily increasing in the public mind. What the strength and efficacy of these motives have been, your majesty will do me the justice to feel, when you are pleased, graciously, to consider how long I have been contented to suffer those suspicions to exist against my innocence, which the bringing before the public of my accusation and my defence to it, would so indisputably and immediately have dispelled.

The measure, however, of making these proceedings public, whatever mode I can adopt (considering especially the absolute impossibility of suffering any partial production of them, and the necessity that, if for any purpose any part of them should be produced, the whole must be brought before the public) remains surrounded with all the objections which I have enumerated; and nothing could ever have prevailed upon me, or can now even prevail upon me to have recourse to it, but an imperious sense of indispensable duty to my future safety, to my present character and honour, and to the feelings, the character, and the interests of my child. I had flattered myself, when once this long proceeding should have terminated in my reception into your majesty's presence, that that circumstance alone would have so strongly implied my innocence of all that had been brought against me, as to have been perfectly sufficient for my honour and my security; but accompanied, as it now must be, with the knowledge of the fact, that your majesty has been brought to hesitate upon its propriety,

(O)

priety,

priety, and accompanied also with the very unjustifiable observations, as they appear to me, on which I shall presently proceed to remark; and which were made by your majesty's servants, at the time when they gave you their advice to receive me; I feel myself in a situation, in which I deeply regret that I cannot rest in silence without an immediate reception into your majesty's presence; nor, indeed, with that reception, unless it be attended by other circumstances which may mark my satisfactory acquittal of the charges which have been brought against me.

It shall at no time be said, with truth, that I shrunk back from these infamous charges; that I crouched before my enemies, and courted them, by my submission, into moderation! No, I have ever boldly defied them. I have ever felt and still feel, that, if they should think, either of pursuing these accusations, or of bringing forward any other which the wickedness of individuals may devise, to affect my honour; (since my conscience tells me, that they must be as base and groundless as those brought by lady Douglas,) while the witnesses to the innocence of my conduct, are all living, I should be able to disprove them all; and, whoever may be my accusers, to triumph over their wickedness and malice. But should these accusations be renewed; or any other be brought forward, in any future time, death may, I know not how soon, remove from my innocence its best security, and deprive me of the means of my justification, and my defence.

There are therefore other measures, which I trust your majesty will think indispensable to be taken, for my honour, and for my security. Amongst these, I most humbly

submit to your majesty my most earnest entreaties that the proceedings, including not only my first answer, and my letter of the 8th of December, but this letter also, may be directed by your majesty to be so preserved and deposited, as that they may, all of them, securely remain permanent authentic documents and memorials, of this accusation and of the manner in which I met it; of my defence, as well as of the charge. That they may remain capable at any time, of being resorted to, if the malice which produced the charge originally, shall ever venture to renew it.

Beyond this, I am sure your majesty will think it but proper and just, that I should be restored, in every respect, to the same situation, from whence the proceedings, under these false charges, have removed me. That, besides being graciously received, again, into the bosom of your majesty's royal family, restored to my former respect and station amongst them, your majesty will be graciously pleased, either to exert your influence, with his royal highness the prince of Wales, that I may be restored to the use of my apartment in Carlton-house, which was reserved for me, except while the apartments were undergoing repair, till the date of these proceedings; or to assign to me some apartment in one of your royal palaces. Some apartment in or near to London is indispensably necessary for my convenient attendance at the drawing-room. And if I am not restored to that at Carlton-house, I trust your majesty will graciously perceive, how reasonable it is, that I should request, that some apartment should be assigned to me, suited to my dignity and situation, which may mark my reception and acknowledgment, as  
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one of your majesty's family, and from which my attendance at the drawing-room may be easy and convenient.

If these measures are taken, I should hope that they would prove satisfactory to the public mind, and that I may feel myself fully restored in public estimation, to my former character. And should they prove so satisfactory, I shall indeed be delighted to think, that no further step may, even now, appear to be necessary to my peace of mind, my security, and my honour.

But your majesty will permit me to say, that if the next week, which will make more than a month from the time of your majesty's informing me that you would receive me, should pass without my being received into your presence, and without having the assurance that these other requests of mine shall be complied with; I shall be under the painful necessity of considering them as refused. In which case, I shall feel myself compelled, however reluctantly, to give the whole of these proceedings to the world. Unless your majesty can suggest other adequate means of securing my honour and my life, from the effect of the continuance or renewal of these proceedings, for the future, as well as the present. For I entreat your majesty to believe, that it is only in the absence of all other adequate means, that I can have resort to that measure. That I consider it with deep regret; that I regard it with serious apprehension, by no means so much on account of the effect it may have upon myself, as on account of the pain which it may give to your majesty, your august family, and your loyal subjects.

As far as myself am concerned, I am aware of the observations to

which this publication will expose me. But I am placed in a situation in which I have the choice only of two most unpleasant alternatives. And I am perfectly confident that the imputations and the loss of character which must, under these circumstances, follow from my silence, are most injurious and unavoidable; that my silence, under such circumstances, must lead inevitably to my utter infamy and ruin. The publication, on the other hand, will expose to the world nothing, which is spoken to by any witness (whose infamy and discredit is not unanswerably exposed and established) which can, in the slightest degree, affect my character, for honour, virtue, and delicacy.

There may be circumstances disclosed, manifesting a degree of condescension and familiarity in my behaviour and conduct, which in the opinions of many, may be considered as not sufficiently guarded, dignified, and reserved. Circumstances however which my foreign education, and foreign habits, misled me to think, in the humble and retired situation in which it was my fate to live, and where I had no relation, no equal, no friend to advise me, were wholly free from offence. But when they have been dragged forward, from the scenes of private life, in a grave proceeding on a charge of high treason and adultery, they seem to derive a colour and character, from the nature of the charge, which they are brought forward to support. And I cannot but believe, that they have been used for no other purpose than to afford a cover, to screen from view the injustice of that charge; that they have been taken advantage of, to let down my accusers more gently; and to deprive me of that full acquittal on the re-

port of the four lords, which my innocence of all offence most justly entitled me to receive.

Whatever opinion however may be formed upon any part of my conduct, it must in justice be formed, with reference to the situation in which I was placed; if I am judged of as princess of Wales, with reference to the high rank of that station, I must be judged as princess of Wales, banished from the prince, unprotected by the support and the countenance, which belong to that station; and if I am judged of in my private character, as a married woman, I must be judged of as a wife banished from her husband, and living in a widowed seclusion from him, and retirement from the world. This last consideration leads me to recur to an expression in Mrs. Lisle's examination, which describes my conduct, in the frequency and the manner of my receiving the visits of captain Manby, though always in the presence of my ladies, as unbecoming a married woman. Upon the extreme injustice of setting up the *opinion* of one woman, as it were, in judgment upon the conduct of another; as well as of estimating the conduct of a person in my unfortunate situation, by reference to that, which might in general be expected from a married woman living happily with her husband, I have before generally remarked: but beyond these general remarks in forming any estimate of my conduct, your majesty will never forget the very peculiar circumstances and misfortunes of my situation. Your majesty will remember that I had not been much above a year in this country, when I received the following letter from his royal highness the prince of Wales:

*"Windsor Castle, April 30, 1796.*

"Madam,—As lord Cholmondeley informs me that you wish I would define, in writing, the terms upon which we are to live, I shall endeavour to explain myself upon that head, with as much clearness, and with as much propriety, as the nature of the subject will admit. Our inclinations are not in our power, nor should either of us be held answerable to the other, because nature has not made us suitable to each other. Tranquil and comfortable society is, however, in our power; let our intercourse, therefore, be restricted to that, and I will distinctly subscribe to the condition which you required, through lady Cholmondeley, that even in the event of any accident happening to my daughter, which I trust Providence in its mercy will avert, I shall not infringe the terms of the restriction by proposing at any period, a connection of a more particular nature. I shall now finally close this disagreeable correspondence, trusting that, as we have completely explained ourselves to each other, the rest of our lives will be passed in uninterrupted tranquillity.

I am, madam, with great truth,

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) "GEORGE P."

And that to this letter I sent the following answer:

*May 6, 1796.*

"The avowal of your conversation with lord Cholmondeley neither surprises nor offends me. It merely confirmed what you have tacitly insinuated for this twelvemonth. But after this, it would be a want of delicacy, or rather an unworthy meanness in me, were I to complain of those conditions which you impose upon yourself.

"I should have returned no answer to your letter, if it had not been

been conceived in terms to make it doubtful, whether this arrangement proceeds from you or from me, and you are aware that the credit of it belongs to you alone.

"The letter which you announce to me as the last, obliges me to communicate to the king, as to my sovereign and my father, both your avowal and my answer. You will find enclosed the copy of my letter to the king. I apprise you of it, that I may not incur the slightest reproach of duplicity from you. As I have at this moment no protector but his majesty, I refer myself solely to him upon this subject, and if my conduct meets his approbation, I shall be in some degree at least consoled. I retain every sentiment of gratitude for the situation in which I find myself, as princess of Wales, enabled by your means, to indulge in the free exercise of a virtue dear to my heart, I mean charity.

"It will be my duty likewise to act upon another motive, that of giving an example of patience and resignation under every trial.

"Do me the justice to believe that I shall never cease to pray for your happiness, and to be

"Your much devoted

"CAROLINE."

The date of his royal highness's letter is the 30th of April, 1796. The date of our marriage, your majesty will recollect, is the 8th day of April, in the year 1795, and that of the birth of our only child the 7th of January, 1796.

On the letter of his royal highness I offer no comment. I only entreat your majesty not to understand me to introduce it, as affording any supposed justification or excuse, for the least departure from the strictest line of virtue, or the slightest deviation from the most

refined delicacy. The crime, which has been insinuated against me, would be equally criminal and detestable; the indelicacy imputed to me would be equally odious and abominable, whatever renunciation of conjugal authority and affection, the above letter of his royal highness might in any construction of it be supposed to have conveyed. Such crimes, and faults, derive not their guilt from the consideration of the conjugal virtues of the individual, who may be the most injured by them, however much such virtues may aggravate their enormity. No such letter, therefore, in any construction of it, no renunciation of conjugal affection or duties, could ever palliate them. But whether conduct free from all crime, free from all indelicacy, (which I maintain to be the character of the conduct to which Mrs. Lisle's observations apply,) yet possibly not so measured, as a cautious wife, careful to avoid the slightest appearance, of not preferring her husband to all the world, might be studious to observe; whether conduct of such description, and possibly, in such sense, not becoming a married woman, could be justly deemed, in my situation, an offence in me; I must leave to your majesty to determine.

In making that determination, however, it will not escape your majesty to consider, that the conduct which does or does not become a married woman materially depends upon what is, or is not, known by her to be agreeable to her husband. His pleasure and happiness ought unquestionably to be her law; and his approbation the most favourite object of her pursuit. Different characters of men require different modes of conduct in their wives; but when a wife

can no longer be capable of perceiving from time to time, what is agreeable or offensive to her husband, when her conduct can no longer contribute to his happiness, no longer hope to be rewarded by his approbation, surely to examine that conduct by the standard of what ought, in general, to be the conduct of a married woman, is altogether unreasonable and unjust.

What then is my case? Your majesty will do me the justice to remark, that, in the above letter of the prince of Wales, there is not the most distant surmise, that crime, that vice, that indelicacy of any description, gave occasion to his determination; and all the tales of infamy and discredit, which the inventive malice of my enemies has brought forward on these charges, have their date, years, and years, after the period to which I am now alluding. What then, let me repeat the question, is my case? After the receipt of the above letter, and in about two years from my arrival in this country, I had the misfortune entirely to lose the support, the countenance, the protection of my husband—I was banished, as it were, into a sort of humble retirement, at a distance from him, and almost estranged from the whole of the royal family. I had no means of having recourse, either for society or advice, to those, from whom my inexperience could have best received the advantages of the one, and with whom I could, most becomingly, have enjoyed the comforts of the other; and if in this retired, unassisted, unprotected state, without the check of a husband's authority, without the benefit of his advice, without the comfort and support of the society of his family, a stranger to the habits and fashions of this country,

I should, in any instance, under the influence of foreign habits, and foreign education, have observed a conduct, in any degree deviating from the reserve and severity of British manners, and partaking of a condescension and familiarity which that reserve and severity would, perhaps, deem beneath the dignity of my exalted rank, I feel confident, (since such deviation will be seen to have been ever consistent with perfect innocence), that not only your majesty's candour and indulgence, but the candour and indulgence, which, notwithstanding the reserve and severity of British manners, always belong to the British public, will never visit it with severity or censure.

It remains for me now to make some remarks upon the further contents of the paper, which was transmitted to me by the lord chancellor, on the 28th ult. And I cannot, in passing, omit to remark, that that paper has neither title, date, signature, nor attestation; and unless the lord chancellor had accompanied it with a note, stating, that it was copied in his own hand from the original, which his lordship had received from your majesty, I should have been at a loss to have perceived any single mark of authenticity belonging to it; and as it is, I am wholly unable to discover what is the true character which does belong to it. It contains, indeed, the advice which your majesty's servants have offered to your majesty, and the message which, according to that advice, your majesty directed to be delivered to me.

Considering it, therefore, wholly as their act, your majesty will excuse and pardon me, if, deeply injured as I feel myself to have been by them, I express myself with freedom upon their conduct. I may speak,

—speak, perhaps, with warmth, because I am provoked by a sense of gross injustice; I shall speak certainly with firmness and with courage, because I am emboldened by a sense of conscious innocence.

Your majesty's confidential servants say, "they agree in the opinions of the four lords," and they say this, "after the fullest consideration of my observations, and of the affidavits which were annexed to them." Some of these opinions, your majesty will recollect, are, that "William Cole, Fanny Lloyd, Robert Bidgood, and Mrs. Lisle, are witnesses who cannot," in the judgment of the four lords, "be suspected of any unfavourable bias;" and "whose veracity, in this respect, they had seen no ground to question;" and "that the circumstances to which they speak, particularly as relating to captain Manby, must be credited until they are decisively contradicted." Am I then to understand your majesty's confidential servants to mean, that they agree with the four noble lords in these opinions? Am I to understand, that after having read, with the fullest consideration, the observations which I have offered to your majesty; after having seen William Cole there proved to have submitted himself, five times at least, to private, unauthorized, voluntary examination by sir John Douglas's solicitor, for the express purpose of confirming the statement of lady Douglas, (of that lady Douglas, whose statement and deposition they are convinced to be so malicious and false, that they propose to institute such prosecution against her, as your majesty's law officers may advise, upon a reference, now at length, after six months from the detection of that malice and falsehood, intended to

be made)—after having seen this William Cole, submitting to such repeated voluntary examinations for such a purpose, and although he was all that time a servant on my establishment, and eating my bread, yet never once communicating to me, that such examinations were going on—am I to understand, that your majesty's confidential servants agree with the four lords, in thinking, that he cannot, under such circumstances, *be suspected of unfavourable bias?* That after having had pointed out to them the direct, flat contradiction between the same William Cole and Fanny Lloyd, they nevertheless agree to think them both (though in direct contradiction to each other, *yet both*) witnesses, *whose veracity they see no ground to question?* After having seen Fanny Lloyd directly and positively contradicted, in an assertion, most injurious to my honour, by Mr. Mills and Mr. Edmeades, do they agree in opinion with the four noble lords, that they *see no ground to question her veracity?*—After having read the observations on Mr. Bidgood's evidence; after having seen, that he had the hardihood to swear, that he believed captain Manby slept in my house, at Southend, and to insinuate that he slept in my bed-room; after having seen that he founded himself on this most false fact, and most foul and wicked insinuation, upon the circumstance of observing a bason and some towels where he thought they ought not to be placed; after having seen that this fact, and this insinuation, were disproved before the four noble lords themselves, by two maid-servants, who, at that time, lived with me at Southend, and whose duties about my person, and my apartments, must have made them acquainted with this fact, as asserted;



or as insinuated, if it had happened; after having observed too, in confirmation of their testimony, that one of them mentioned the name of another female servant (who was not examined), who had, from her situation, equal means of knowledge with themselves—I ask whether, after all this decisive weight of contradiction to Robert Bidgood's testimony, I am to understand your majesty's confidential servants to agree with the four noble lords in thinking, that Mr. Bidgood is a witness, who *cannot be suspected of unfavourable bias*, and that there is *no ground to question his veracity*? If, sire, I were to go through all the remarks of this description, which occur to me to make, I should be obliged to repeat nearly all my former observations, and to make this letter as long as my original answer; but to that answer I confidently appeal, and I will venture to challenge your majesty's confidential servants to find a single impartial, and honourable man, unconnected in feeling and interest with the parties, and unconnected in council, with those who have already pledged themselves to an opinion upon this subject, who will lay his hand upon his heart, and say that these three witnesses, on whom that report so mainly relies, are not to be suspected of the grossest partiality, and that their veracity is not most fundamentally impeached.

Was it then noble, was it generous, was it manly, was it just, in your majesty's confidential servants, instead of fairly admitting the injustice, which had been, inadvertently, and unintentionally, no doubt, done to me, by the four noble lords in their report, upon the evidence of these witnesses, to state to your majesty, that they agree with these

noble lords in their opinion, though they cannot, it seems, go the length of agreeing any longer to withhold the advice, which restores me to your majesty's presence? And with respect to the particulars to my prejudice, remarked upon in the report as those "which justly deserve the most serious consideration, and which must be credited till decisively contradicted," instead of fairly avowing, either that there was originally no pretence for such a remark, or that, if there had been originally, yet that my answer had given that decisive contradiction which was sufficient to discredit them; instead, I say, of acting this just, honest, and open part, to take no notice whatsoever of those contradictions, and content themselves with saying, that "none of the facts or allegations stated in preliminary examinations, carried on in the absence of the parties interested, could be considered as *legally or conclusively* established?"

They agree in the opinion that the facts or allegations, though stated in preliminary examination, carried on in the absence of the parties interested, *must be credited till decisively contradicted, and deserve the most serious consideration*. They read, with the fullest consideration, the contradiction which I have tendered to them; they must have known, that no other sort of contradiction could, by possibility, from the nature of things, have been offered upon such subjects; they do not question the truth; they do not point out the insufficiency of the contradiction, but in loose, general, indefinite terms, referring to my answer, consisting, as it does, of above two hundred written pages, and coupling it with those examinations (which they admit establish nothing against an absent party),  
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they advise your majesty, that "there appear many circumstances of conduct, which could not be regarded by your majesty without serious concern;" and that, as to all the other facts and allegations, except those relative to my pregnancy and delivery, they are not to be considered as "*legally and conclusively established*," because spoken to in preliminary examinations, not carried on in the presence of the parties concerned. They do not, indeed, expressly assert, that my contradiction was not decisive or satisfactory; they do not expressly state, that they think the facts and allegations want nothing towards their legal and conclusive establishment, but a re-examination in the presence of the parties interested, but they go far to imply such opinions. That those opinions are utterly untenable, against the observations I have made upon the credit and character of those witnesses, I shall ever most confidently maintain; but that those observations leave their credit wholly unaffected, and did not deserve the least notice from your majesty's servants, it is impossible that any honourable man can assert, or any fair, and unprejudiced mind, believe.

I now proceed, sire, to observe, very shortly, upon the advice further given to your majesty as contained in the remaining part of the paper; which has represented that, both in the examinations, and even in my answer, there have appeared many circumstances of conduct which could not be regarded but with serious concern, and which have suggested the expression of a desire and expectation, that such a conduct may in future, be observed by me, as may fully justify these marks of paternal regard and affec-

tion, which your majesty wishes to show to all your royal family.

And here, sire, your majesty will graciously permit me to notice the hardship of the advice, which has suggested to your majesty, to convey to me this reproof. I complain not so much for what it does, as for what it does not contain; I mean the absence of all particular mention of what it is, that is the object of their blame. The circumstances of conduct, which appear in these examinations, and in my answer to which they allude as those which may be supposed to justify the advice, which has led to this reproof, since your majesty's servants have not particularly mentioned them, I cannot be certain that I know. But I will venture confidently to repeat the assertion, which I have already made, that there are no circumstances of conduct, spoken to by any witness, (whose infamy and discredit are not unanswerably exposed, and established,) nor any where apparent in my answer, which have the remotest approach either to crime, or to indelicacy.

For my future conduct, sire, impressed with every sense of gratitude for all former kindness, I shall be bound, unquestionably, by sentiment as well as duty, to study your majesty's pleasure. Any advice, which your majesty may wish to give to me in respect of any particulars of my conduct, I shall be bound, and be anxious to obey as my law. But I must trust, that your majesty will point out to me the particulars, which may happen to displease you, and which you may wish to have altered. I shall be as happy, in thus feeling myself safe from blame under the benefit of your majesty's advice, as I am

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now in finding myself secured from danger, under the protection of your justice.

Your majesty will permit me to add one word more.

Your majesty has seen what detriment my character has, for a time, sustained, by the false and malicious statement of lady Douglas, and by the depositions of the witnesses who were examined in support of her statement. Your majesty has seen how many enemies I have, and how little their malice has been restrained by any regard to truth in the pursuit of my ruin. Few as, it may be hoped, may be the instances of such determined and unprovoked malignity, yet, I cannot flatter myself, that the world does not produce other persons, who may be swayed by similar motives to similar wickedness. Whether the statement, to be prepared by the prince of Wales, is to be confined to the old charges, or is intended to bring forward new circumstances, I cannot tell; but if any fresh attempts of the same nature shall be made by my accusers, instructed as they will have been, by their miscarriage in this instance, I can hardly hope that they will not renew their charge, with an improved artifice, more skilfully directed, and with a malice inflamed rather than abated, by their previous disappointment. I therefore can only appeal to your majesty's justice, in which I confidently trust, that whether these charges are to be renewed against me, either on the old or on fresh evidence; or whether new accusations, as well as new witnesses, are to be brought forward, your majesty, after the experience of these proceedings, will not suffer your royal mind to be prejudiced by *ex*

*parte*, secret examinations, nor my character to be whispered away by insinuations, or suggestions, which I have no opportunity of meeting. If any charge, which the law will recognise, should be brought against me in an open and a legal manner, I should have no right to complain, nor any apprehension to meet it. But till I may have a full opportunity of meeting it, I trust your majesty will not suffer it to excite even a suspicion to my prejudice. I must claim the benefit of the presumption of innocence till I am proved to be guilty; for, without that presumption, against the effects of secret insinuation and *ex parte* examinations, the purest innocence can make no defence, and can have no security.

Surrounded, as it is now proved, that I have been, for years, by domestic spies, your majesty must, I trust, feel convinced, that if I had been guilty, there could not have been wanting evidence to have proved my guilt. And, that these spies have been obliged to have resort to their own invention for the support of the charge, is the strongest demonstration that the truth, undisguised, and correctly represented, could furnish them with no handle against me. And when I consider the nature and malignity of that conspiracy which, I feel confident I have completely detected and exposed, I cannot but think of that detection, with the liveliest gratitude, as the special blessing of Providence, who, by confounding the machinations of my enemies, has enabled me to find, in the very excess and extravagance of their malice, in the very weapons, which they fabricated and sharpened for my destruction, the sufficient guard to my innocence, and

and the effectual means of my justification and defence.

I trust therefore, sire, that I may now close this long letter, in confidence that many days will not elapse before I shall receive from your majesty, that assurance that my just requests may be so completely granted, as may render it possible for me (which nothing else can) to avoid the painful disclosure to the world of all the circumstances of that injustice, and of those unmerited sufferings, which these proceedings, in the manner in which they have been conducted, have brought upon me.

I remain, sire, &c.

(Signed) C. P.

As these observations apply not only to the official communication through the lord chancellor, of the 28th ult.; but also to the private letter of your majesty, of the 12th instant, I have thought it most respectful to your majesty and your majesty's servants, to send this letter in duplicate, one part through colonel Taylor, and the other through the lord chancellor, to your majesty.

To the king. (Signed) C. P.

*Montague-house, March 5, 1807.*

Sire,—When I last troubled your majesty upon my unfortunate business, I had raised my mind to hope, that I should have the happiness of hearing from your majesty, and receiving your gracious commands, to pay my duty in your royal presence, before the expiration of the last week. And when that hope was disappointed, (eagerly clinging to any idea, which offered me a prospect of being saved from the necessity of having recourse, for the vindication of my character, to the publication of the proceedings upon the inquiry into my conduct,)

I thought it just possible, that the reason for my not having received your majesty's commands to that effect, might have been occasioned by the circumstance of your majesty's staying at Windsor through the whole of the week. I, therefore, determined to wait a few days longer, before I took a step, which, when once taken, could not be recalled. Having, however, now assured myself, that your majesty was in town yesterday—as I have received no command to wait upon your majesty, and no intimation of your pleasure—I am reduced to the necessity of abandoning all hope, that your majesty will comply with my humble, my earnest, and anxious requests.

Your majesty, therefore, will not be surprised to find, that the publication of the proceedings alluded to, will not be withheld beyond Monday next.

As to any consequences which may arise from such publication, unpleasant or hurtful to my own feelings and interests, I may, perhaps, be properly responsible; and, in any event, have no one to complain of but myself, and those with whose advice I have acted; and whatever those consequences may be, I am fully and unalterably convinced, that they must be incalculably less than those, which I should be exposed to from my silence: but as to any other consequences, unpleasant or hurtful to the feelings and interests of others, or of the public, my conscience will certainly acquit me of them;—I am confident that I have not acted impatiently, or precipitately. To avoid coming to this painful extremity, I have taken every step in my power, except that which would be abandoning my character to utter infamy, and my station and life to  
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no uncertain danger, and, possibly to no very distant destruction.

With every prayer, for the lengthened continuance of your majesty's health and happiness; for every possible blessing, which a gracious God can bestow upon the beloved monarch of a loyal people, and for the continued prosperity of your dominions, under your majesty's propitious reign,

I remain, &c.

*To the king.* (Signed) C. P. \*

MINUTE OF COUNCIL, April 22, 1807.

(Present)

Lord Chancellor (ELDON)  
 Lord president (CAMDEN)  
 Lord privy seal (WESTMORELAND)  
 The duke of PORTLAND  
 The earl of CHATHAM  
 The earl of BATHURST  
 Viscount CASTLEREAGH  
 Lord MULGRAVE  
 Mr. secretary CANNING.  
 Lord HAWKESBURY.

Your majesty's confidential servants have, in obedience to your majesty's commands, most attentively considered the original charges and report, the minutes of evidence, and all the other papers submitted to the consideration of your majesty, on the subject of those charges against her royal highness the princess of Wales.

In the stage in which this business is brought under their consideration, they do not feel themselves called upon to give any opinion as to the proceeding itself, or to the mode of investigation in which it has been thought proper to conduct it. But adverting to the advice which is stated by his royal highness the prince of Wales to have directed his conduct, your majesty's confidential servants are anxious to impress upon your majesty their conviction that his royal highness

could not, under such advice, consistently with his public duty, have done otherwise than lay before your majesty the statement and examinations which were submitted to him upon this subject.

After the most deliberate consideration, however, of the evidence which has been brought before the commissioners, and of the previous examination, as well as of the answer and observations which have been submitted to your majesty upon them, they feel it necessary to declare their decided concurrence in the clear and unanimous opinion of the commissioners, confirmed by that of all your majesty's late confidential servants, that the two main charges alleged against her royal highness the princess of Wales, of pregnancy and delivery, are completely disproved; and they further submit to your majesty, their unanimous opinion, that all other particulars of conduct brought in accusation against her royal highness, to which the character of criminality can be ascribed, *are satisfactorily contradicted, or rest upon evidence of such a nature, and which was given under such circumstances, as render it, in the judgment of your majesty's confidential servants, undeserving of credit.*

Your majesty's confidential servants, therefore, concurring in that part of the opinion of your late servants, as stated in their minute of the 25th of January, that there is no longer any necessity for your majesty being advised to decline receiving the princess into your royal presence, humbly submit to your majesty, that it is essentially necessary, *in justice to her royal highness, and for the honour and interests of your majesty's illustrious family, that her royal highness the princess of Wales should be admitted, with*

*as little delay as possible, into your majesty's royal presence, and that she should be received in a manner due to her rank and station, in your majesty's court and family.*

Your majesty's confidential servants also beg leave to submit to your majesty, that considering that it may be necessary that your majesty's government should possess the means of referring to the state of this transaction, it is of the utmost importance that these documents, demonstrating the ground on which your majesty has proceeded, should be preserved in safe custody; and that for that purpose the originals, or authentic copies of all these papers, should be sealed up and deposited in the office of your majesty's principal secretary of state.

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PROCLAMATION OF LOUIS XVIII.

*Translation.*

LOUIS XVIII, &c.

The moment is at length arrived when Divine Providence appears ready to break in pieces the instrument of its wrath. The usurper of the throne of St. Louis, the devastator of Europe, experiences reverses in his turn. Shall they have no other effect but that of aggravating the calamities of France; and will she not dare to overturn an odious power, no longer protected by the illusions of victory? What prejudices, or what fears, can now prevent her from throwing herself into the arms of her king; and from recognising, in the establishment of his legitimate authority, the only pledge of union, peace, and happiness, which his promises have so often guaranteed to his oppressed subjects?

Being neither able, nor inclined to obtain, but by their efforts, that throne which his rights and their affection can alone confirm, what wishes should be adverse to those which he has invariably entertained? What doubt can be started with regard to his paternal intentions?

The king has said in his preceding declarations, and he reiterates the assurance, that the administrative and judicial bodies shall be maintained in the plenitude of their powers; that he will preserve their places to those who at present hold them, and who shall take the oath of fidelity to him; that the tribunals, depositaries of the laws, shall prohibit all prosecutions bearing relation to those unhappy times of which his return will have for ever sealed the oblivion; that, in fine, the code polluted by the name Napoleon, but which, for the most part, contains only the ancient ordinances and customs of the realm, shall remain in force, with the exception of enactments contrary to the doctrines of religion, which, as well as the liberty of the people, has long been subjected to the caprice of the tyrant.

The senate, in which are seated some men so justly distinguished for their talents, and whom so many services may render illustrious in the eyes of France, and of posterity—that corps, whose utility and importance can never be duly appreciated till after the restoration—can it fail to perceive the glorious destiny which summons it to become the first instrument of that great benefaction, which will prove the most solid as well as the most honourable guarantee of its existence and its prerogatives?

On the subject of property, the king, who has already announced his intention

intention to employ the most proper means for conciliating the interests of all, perceives, in the numerous settlements which have taken place between the old and the new landholders, the means of rendering those cares almost superfluous. He engages, however, to interdict all proceedings by the tribunals, contrary to such settlements,—to encourage voluntary arrangements, and, on the part of himself and his family, to set the example of all those sacrifices which may contribute to the repose of France, and the sincere union of all Frenchmen\*.

The king has guarantied to the army the maintenance of the ranks, employments, pay, and appointments which it at present enjoys. He promises also to the generals, officers, and soldiers, who shall signalise themselves in support of his cause, rewards more substantial, distinctions more honourable, than any they can receive from an usurper,—always ready to disown, or even to dread their service. The king binds himself anew to abolish that pernicious conscription, which destroys the happiness of families and the hope of the country.

Such always have been, such still are, the intentions of the king. His re-establishment on the throne of his ancestors will be for France only the happy transition from the calamities of a war which tyranny perpetuates, to the blessings of a solid peace, for which foreign powers can never find any security but in the word of the legitimate sovereign.

LOUIS.

Hartwell, Feb. 1, 1815.

#### TREATY BETWEEN RUSSIA AND SWEDEN.

Substance of the engagements between the courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm, signed at St. Petersburg the 24th of March 1812, so far as the same are referred to in the treaty between his majesty and the king of Sweden signed at Stockholm on the 3d of March 1813.

The object of the emperor of Russia and the king of Sweden in forming an alliance is stated to be for the purpose of securing reciprocally their states and possessions against the common enemy.

The French government having by the occupation of Swedish Pomerania committed an act of hostility against the Swedish government, and by the movement of its armies having menaced the tranquillity of the empire of Russia, the contracting parties engage to make a diversion against France and her allies, with a combined force of twenty-five or thirty thousand Swedes, and of fifteen or twenty thousand Russians, upon such point of the coast of Germany as may be judged most convenient for that purpose.

As the king of Sweden cannot make this diversion in-favour of the common cause, consistently with the security of his dominions, so long as he can regard the kingdom of Norway as an enemy, his majesty the emperor of Russia engages, either by negotiation or by military co-operation, to unite the kingdom of Norway to Sweden. He engages moreover to guaranty the peaceable possession of it to his Swedish majesty.

The two contracting parties en-

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\* The *uti possidetis* of course is meant by his majesty.

gaged to consider the acquisition of Norway by Sweden as a preliminary military operation to the diversion on the coast of Germany, and the emperor of Russia promises to place for this object, at the disposal and under the immediate orders of the prince royal of Sweden, the corps of Russian troops above stipulated.

The two contracting parties being unwilling, if it can be avoided, to make an enemy of the king of Denmark, will propose to that sovereign to accede to this alliance, and will offer to his Danish majesty to procure for him a complete indemnity for Norway, by a territory more contiguous to his German dominions, provided his Danish majesty will cede for ever his rights on the kingdom of Norway to the king of Sweden.

In case his Danish majesty shall refuse this offer, and shall have decided to remain in alliance with France, the two contracting parties engage to consider Denmark as their enemy.

As it has been expressly stipulated that the engagement of his Swedish majesty to operate with his troops in Germany in favour of the common cause, shall not take effect until after Norway shall have been acquired by Sweden, either by the cession of the king of Denmark, or in consequence of military operations, his majesty the king of Sweden engages to transport his army into Germany, according to a plan of campaign to be agreed upon, as soon as the above object shall have been attained.

His Britannic majesty to be invited by both powers to accede to and to guaranty the stipulations contained in the said treaty.

By a subsequent convention, signed at Abo the 30th of August 1812, the Russian auxiliary force was to be carried to thirty-five thousand men.

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#### PROCLAMATION OF THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

His majesty the king of Prussia, having made an offensive and defensive treaty with the emperor Alexander, has issued the following proclamation :

#### TO THE PUBLIC.

It is unnecessary to render an account to my good people of Germany of the motives for the war which is now commencing ; they are evident to impartial Europe.—Bent under the superior power of France, that peace which deprived me of half my subjects, procured us no blessings—it on the contrary hurt us more than war itself. The heart of our country was impoverished. The principal fortresses were occupied by the enemy ; agriculture was neglected, as well as the industry of our cities, which had risen to a very high degree. Liberty of trade being interrupted, naturally closed all the sources of ease and prosperity.—By the most exact observance of the stipulated treaties, I hoped to obtain an alleviation for my people, and at last to convince the French emperor that it was his own interest to have Prussia independent ; but my intentions, my exertions, to attain so desirable an object proved fruitless. Nothing but haughtiness and treachery was the result ! We discovered, but rather late, that the emperor's conventions were more ruinous to us than his open wars. The moment is now arrived in which no illusion



illusion respecting our condition can remain. Brandenburgiers! Prussians! Silesians! Pomeranians! Lithuanians! you know what you have suffered during the last seven years—you know what a miserable fate awaits you, if you do not honourably finish the now commencing conflict. Remember former times—remember the illustrious elector, the great Frederick—remember the benefits for which our ancestors contended under their direction. The liberty of conscience—honour—independence—trade—industry—and knowledge. Bear in mind the great example of our allies the Russians—think of the Spaniards and Portuguese; small nations have even gone to battle, for similar benefits, against a more powerful enemy, and obtained victory. Remember the Swiss and the Netherlands.—Great sacrifices are required from all ranks; because our plan is great, and the number and means of our enemy not less so. You will make them sooner for your country—your king—than for a foreign regent, who by so many examples has proved he would take your sons and last strength for designs to which you are strangers. Confidence in God, constancy, courage, and the powerful assistance of our allies, will favour our just cause with glorious victory. But however great the sacrifices that may be required from individuals, they will not outweigh the sacred interests for which they are given, for which we combat and must conquer, or cease to be Prussians or Germans.—We are now engaged in the last decisive contest for our existence, our independence, and our property. There is no medium between an honourable peace or glorious ruin.

Even this you would manfully support for your honour, because a Prussian and German cannot live without it. But we dare confidently trust, God and our firm purpose will give our just cause victory, and with this an uninterrupted peace, and the return of happier times.

FREDERICK WILLIAM.

Breslau, March 17.

[Another address, to the army, couched in similar energetic terms, promises that their king and princes will always be with them, and fight by their side.]

#### AMERICA.

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT MADISON,  
Fellow citizens of the senate, and  
of the house of representatives,

At an early day after the close of last session of congress, an offer was formally communicated from the emperor of Russia of his mediation as the common friend of the United States and Great Britain, for the purpose of facilitating a peace between them. The high character of the emperor Alexander being a satisfactory pledge for the sincerity and impartiality of his offer, it was immediately accepted; and as a further proof of the disposition on the part of the United States to meet their adversary in honourable experiments for terminating the war, it was determined to avoid intermediate delay, incident to the distance of the parties, by a definitive provision for the contemplated negotiation. Three of our eminent citizens were accordingly commissioned, with the requisite powers, to conclude a treaty of peace, with persons clothed with like powers on the part of Great Britain. They were authorised

rised also to enter into such conventional regulations of the commerce between the two countries as may be mutually advantageous.—The two envoys, who were in the United States at the time of their appointment, have proceeded to join their colleagues already at St. Petersburg.

The envoys have received another commission, authorising them to conclude with Russia a treaty of commerce, with a view to strengthen the amicable relations, and improve the beneficial intercourse, between the two countries.

The issue of this friendly intercourse of the Russian emperor, and this pacific manifestation on the part of the United States, time only can decide. That the sentiments of Great Britain towards that sovereign will have produced an acceptance of his offered mediation, must be presumed. That no adequate motives exist to prefer a continuance of war with the United States to the terms on which they are willing to close it, is certain.

The British cabinet also must be sensible, that with respect to the important question of impressment, on which the war so essentially turns, a search for or seizure of British persons or property on board neutral vessels on the high seas, is not a belligerent right derived from the law of nations; and it is obvious, that no visit or search, or use of force, for any purpose, on board the vessel of one independent power on the high seas, can, in war or peace, be sanctioned by the laws or authority of another power. It is equally obvious, that for the purpose of preserving to each state its sea-faring members, by excluding them from the vessels of the other, the mode heretofore proposed by the United States, and now en-  
1819.

acted by them, as an article of municipal policy, cannot for a moment be compared with the mode practised by Great Britain, without a conviction of its title to preference; inasmuch as the latter leaves the discrimination between the mariners of the two nations to officers exposed to unavoidable bias, as well as, by a defect of evidence, to a wrong decision under circumstances precluding, for the most part, the enforcement of controlling penalties, and where a wrong decision, besides the irreparable violation of the sacred rights of persons, might frustrate the plans and profits of entire voyages; whereas the mode assumed by the United States guards with studied fairness and efficacy against errors in such cases, and avoids the effect of casual errors on the safety of navigation and the success of mercantile expeditions.

If the reasonableness of expectations, drawn from these considerations, could guaranty their fulfilment, a just peace would not be distant. But it becomes the wisdom of the national legislature to keep in mind the true policy, or rather the indispensable obligation, of adapting its measures to the supposition that the only course to that happy event is in the vigorous employment of the resources of war. And painful as the reflection is, this duty is particularly enforced by the spirit and manner in which the war continues to be waged by the enemy, who, uninfluenced by the unvaried examples of humanity set them, are adding to the savage fury of it on one frontier a system of plunder and conflagration on the other, equally forbidden by respect for national character, and by the established rules of civilized warfare.

As an encouragement to persevering  
(P)

vering and invigorated exertions to bring the contest to a happy result, I have the satisfaction of being able to appeal to the auspicious progress of our arms both by land and on the water.

In continuation of the brilliant achievements of our infant navy, a signal triumph has been gained by captain Lawrence and his companions in the *Hornet* sloop of war, which destroyed a British sloop of war, with a celerity so unexampled, and with a slaughter of the enemy so disproportionate to the loss in the *Hornet*, as to claim for the conquerors the highest praise, and the full recompense provided by congress in preceding cases. Our public ships of war, in general, as well as the private armed vessels, have continued also their activity and success against the commerce of the enemy, and by their vigilance and address have greatly frustrated the efforts of the hostile squadrons distributed along our coasts, to intercept them in returning into port and resuming their cruises.—The augmentation of our naval force, as authorised at the last session of congress, is in progress. On the lakes our superiority is near at hand, were it not already established.

The events of the campaign, so far as they are known to us, furnish matter of congratulation, and show that, under a wise organization and efficient direction, the army is destined to a glory not less brilliant than that which already encircles the navy. The attack and capture of York is, in that quarter, a pre-~~age~~age of future and greater victories—while, on the western frontier, the issue of the late siege of Fort Meigs leaves nothing to regret but a single act of inconsiderate valour.

The sudden death of the di-

stinguished citizen who represented the United States in France, without any special arrangements by him for such a contingency, has left us without the expected sequel to his last communications; nor has the French government taken any measures for bringing the depending negotiations to a conclusion through its representative in the United States. This failure adds to delays before so unusually spun out. A successor to our departed minister has been appointed, and is ready to proceed on his mission. The course which he will pursue in fulfilling it, is that prescribed by a steady regard to the true interests of the United States, which equally avoids an abandonment of their just demands, and a connection of their features with the system of other powers.

The receipts into the treasury, from the 1st of October to the 31st of March last, including the sums received on account of treasury notes, and of the loans authorised by the acts of the last and the preceding session of congress, have amounted to 15,412,000 dollars. The expenditures during the same period amounted to 15,920,000, and left in the treasury on the 1st of April 1,857,000 dollars. The loan of 16 millions of dollars, authorised by the act of the 8th of February last, has been contracted for. Of that sum more than a million of dollars had been paid into the treasury prior to the 1st of April, and formed a part of the receipts as above stated. The remainder of that loan, amounting to near 15 millions of dollars, with the sum of five millions of dollars authorised to be issued in treasury notes, and the estimated receipts from the customs and the sales of public lands, amounting to 9,000,000 dollars, and making

making in the whole 29,300,000 dollars, to be received during the last nine months of the present year, will be necessary to meet the expenditures already authorised, and the engagements contracted in relation to the public debt. These engagements amount, during that period, to 10,500,000 dollars, which, with near one million for the civil, miscellaneous, and diplomatic expenses, both foreign and domestic; and 17,800,000 for the military and naval expenditures, including the ships of war building, and to be built, will leave a sum in the treasury at the end of the present year equal to that of the 1st of April last. A part of this sum may be considered as a resource for defraying any extraordinary expenses already authorised by law, beyond the sums above mentioned; and a further resource for any emergency may be found in the sum of one million of dollars, the loan of which to the United States has been authorised by the state of Pennsylvania, but which has not yet been brought into effect.

This view of our finances, whilst it shows that due provision has been made for the expenses of the current year, shows at the same time, by the limited amount of the actual revenue, and the dependence on loans, the necessity of providing more adequately for the future supplies of the treasury. This can best be done by a well digested system of internal revenue, in aid of existing sources; which will have the effect both of abridging the amount of necessary loans, and on that account, as well as by placing the public credit on a more satisfactory basis, of improving the terms on which loans may be obtained.

The loan of sixteen millions was not contracted for at a less interest

than about seven and a half per cent.; and although other causes may have had an agency, it cannot be doubted that, with the advantage of a more extended and less precarious revenue, a lower rate of interest might have sufficed. A longer postponement of the advantage could not fail to have a still greater influence on future loans.

In recommending to the national legislature this resort to additional taxes, I feel great satisfaction in the assurance, that our constituents, who have already displayed so much zeal and firmness in the cause of their country, will cheerfully give other proofs of their patriotism, which it calls for. Happily no people, with local and territorial exceptions never to be wholly avoided, are more able than the people of the United States to spare for the public wants a portion of their private means, whether regard be had to the ordinary profits of industry, or the ordinary price of subsistence in our country, compared with those in any other. And in no case could stronger reasons be felt for the yielding the requisite contributions.

By rendering the public resources certain, and commensurate to the public exigencies, the constituted authorities will be able to prosecute the war more rapidly to its proper issue; every hostile hope, founded on a calculated failure of our resources, will be cut off; and by adding to the evidence of bravery and skill, in combats on the ocean and on the land, an alacrity in supplying the treasury necessary to give them their fullest effect; and thus demonstrating to the world the public energy which our political institutions combine with the personal liberty distinguishing them, the best security will be provided

against future enterprises on the rights or the peace of the nation.

The contest in which the United States are engaged, appeals for its support to every motive that can animate an uncorrupted and enlightened people, to the love of country, to the voice of liberty, to the glorious founders of their independence, to a successful vindication of its violated attributes; to the gratitude and sympathy which demands security from the most degrading wrongs, of a class of citizens who have proved so worthy of the protection of their country by their heroic zeal in its defence; and finally to the sacred obligations of transmitting entire to future generations, that precious patrimony of national rights and independence, which is held in trust by the present from the goodness of Divine Providence.

Being aware of the inconveniences to which a protracted session, at this season, would be liable, I limit the present communication to objects of primary importance. In special messages which may ensue, regard will be had to the same consideration.

JAMES MADISON.

Washington, May 25, 1813.

#### ARMISTICE.

To-day, 4th June, (23d May), the plenipotentiaries named by the belligerent powers—

The duke of Vicenza, grand écuyer of France, general of division, &c. appointed minister plenipotentiary by his majesty the emperor of the French, &c. furnished with full powers by his highness the prince of Neufchatel, &c.

Count Schouvaloff, lieutenant-general and aid-de-camp to the emperor of all the Russias, &c. and

lieutenant-general Kleist, in the service of his majesty the king of Prussia, &c. furnished with full powers by his excellency the general of infantry Barclay de Tolly, general in chief of the combined armies:

After having exchanged their full powers, at Gebersdorff, the 1st June (20th May), and signed a suspension of arms for thirty-six hours, at the village of Peicherwitz, neutralized for that purpose, between the advanced posts of the respective armies, to continue the negotiations for an armistice proper to suspend hostilities between all the belligerent troops, no matter on what point they are, have agreed upon the articles following:

Art. 1. Hostilities shall cease upon all points, upon the notification of the present armistice.

II. The armistice shall last to the 8th (20th) July, inclusive. Hostilities not to commence without giving six days notice.

III. Hostilities shall not consequently recommence till six days after the denunciation of the armistice at the respective headquarters.

IV. The line of demarcation between the belligerent armies is fixed as follows:—in Silesia, the line of demarcation of the combined army, setting out from the frontiers of Bohemia, shall pass through Dettersbach, Saffendorf, Landshut, follow the Bober to Rudelstadt; pass from thence through Bolkenhan, Striegau, follow the Striegauerwasser to Gauth, and get on the Oder by passing through Bettlern, Olfaschin, and Altholf. The combined army shall be at liberty to occupy the towns of Landshut, Rudelstadt, Bolkenhagen, Striegau, and Gauth, as well as their suburbs.

The line of the French army, also setting

setting out from the frontier which touches Bohemia, shall pass through Seifershauf and Altkamnitz, follow the course of the small river which falls into the Bober, not far from Bertelsdorf: afterwards from the Bober to Lahn; from thence to Newkeek upon the Katzbach, by the most direct line, from whence it will follow the course of that river to the Oder. The towns of Parchwitz, Leignitz, Goldberg, and Lahn, no matter on what side the river they are situated, may, as well as their suburbs, be occupied by the French troops.

All the territory between the French and combined armies shall be neutral, and cannot be occupied by any troops; not even by the landsturm. This disposition consequently applies to the town of Breslau. From the mouth of the Katsbach the line of demarcation shall follow the course of the Oder to the frontiers of Saxony and Prussia, and join the Elbe, in passing the Oder, not far from Muhlrose, and following the frontiers of Prussia, so that all Saxony, the country of Dessau, and the small states surrounding the princes of the confederation of the Rhine, shall belong to the French army, and all Prussia shall belong to the combined army.

The Prussian territories in Saxony shall be considered as neutral, and shall not be occupied by any troops.

The Elbe to its mouth fixes and determines the line of demarcation between the belligerent armies, with the exception of the points hereafter mentioned.

The French army shall remain in possession of the isles, and every thing which it occupied in the 32d military division, on the 27th May (8th June) at midnight.

If Hamburg is only besieged, that town shall be treated like the other besieged towns. All the articles of the present armistice, which are relative to them, are applicable to it.

The line of the advanced posts of the belligerent armies at the epoch of the 27th May (8th June) at midnight, shall form, for the 32d military division, that of the demarcation of the armistice, with the military alterations which the respective commandants shall judge necessary. These alterations shall be made in concert with an officer of the staff of each army, upon the principle of perfect reciprocity.

V. The fortresses of Dantzic, Modlin, Zamosc, Stettin, and Custrin, shall be re-victualled every five days, according to the force of their garrisons, through the care of the commanders of the blockading troops. A commissary appointed by the commandant of each place shall be with one of the besieging troops, to see that the stipulated provisions is exactly supplied.

VI. During the time of the armistice every fortress shall have behind its walls an extent of a French league. This ground shall be neutral. Magdeburg will consequently have its frontier a league upon the right bank of the Elbe.

VII. A French officer shall be sent into each of the besieged places, to inform the commandant of the conclusion of the armistice, and of its re-victualling. A Russian or Prussian officer shall accompany him during the journey, both going and coming.

VIII. Commissaries named on both sides, in each place, shall fix the price of the provisions furnished. This account, settled at the end of every month by the commissioners charged with maintaining the armistice,

mistice, shall be paid at the headquarters by the paymaster-general of the army.

IX. Officers of the staff shall be appointed on either side to regulate in concert the general line of demarcation, respecting points which shall not be determined by running water, and respecting which there may arise any difficulty.

X. All the movements of the troops shall be so regulated, that each army shall occupy its new line on the 12th June (31st May). All the corps, or parts of the combined army which may be beyond the Elbe or in Saxony, shall return into Prussia.

XI. Officers of the French and combined armies shall be dispatched conjointly, to cause hostilities to cease on all points, and make the armistice known. The respective commanders in chief shall furnish them with the necessary powers.

XII. On both sides two commissaries, general officers, shall be appointed to watch over the stipulations of the present armistice. They shall remain in the line of neutrality at Neumarkt, to decide upon such disputes as may occur.

These commissaries shall proceed there within twenty-four hours, in order to expedite officers and orders that may be sent in consequence of the present armistice.

Done and settled the present act in twelve articles, in double copies, the day, month, and year above mentioned.

CAULINCOURT, Duke of Vicenza.  
COUNT SCHOUVALOFF—DE KLEIST.

Seen and ratified by order of the emperor and king, the prince vice-constable of France, major-general of the grand army.

(Signed) ALEXANDER.

June 4, 1813.

CONVENTION BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS, SIGNED AT REICHENBACH, THE 15TH OF JUNE, 1813.

In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity.

His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, have spared no sacrifice, neglected no effort, to put a limit to the destructive projects of the enemy of Europe. It is at a period when Providence has manifestly favoured their arms, that their majesties, animated with the desire of restoring independence, peace, and prosperity to nations, have agreed, with a view of employing all the means in their power for the attainment of this salutary end, to adjust, by a particular convention, the nature and extent of the pecuniary succours, and the assistance which the two crowns shall mutually afford to each other during this war. Accordingly, they have appointed their respective plenipotentiaries, namely, his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, William Shaw, viscount Cathcart, &c. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, Charles count de Nesselrode, a privy councillor, secretary of state, &c. who, after having compared and exchanged their full powers, have concluded the following articles:—

Art. I. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, being firmly resolved to carry on the present war with the utmost energy, engages to employ throughout,

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one hundred and sixty thousand effective troops of every description of force, exclusive of the garrisons of the fortresses.

Art. II. To contribute on his part to the same end, in the most effectual and prompt manner, his majesty the king of Great Britain engages to place at the disposal of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, for the service of the year 1813, the following sums :

Art. 1. One million three hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-four pounds sterling, payable in London.

2. England takes upon herself the maintenance of the Russian fleet, and the crews thereof, now in the ports of Great Britain ; an expense estimated at five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Art. III. The sum of one million three hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-four pounds sterling shall be payable from month to month, in such manner as that the whole shall be discharged on the 1st of January, 1814.

Art. IV. To supply the deficiency of specie, the want of which is daily more felt in the circulation of the continent, to combine in this important contest all the means which may secure its success, the two high contracting parties, in concert with his majesty the king of Prussia, have agreed to issue notes, payable to bearer, under the denomination of federative paper.

a. The amount of this paper-money shall not exceed the sum of five millions sterling, for which the three contracting powers are conjointly guarantees. Two-thirds of this sum are placed at the disposal of Russia, and one-third at that of Prussia.

b. The reimbursement of this

sum of five millions sterling is to be made by the three powers in the following proportions, and in such manner that

England shall only take upon herself	- -	three-sixths.
Russia	- -	two-sixths.
Prussia	- -	one-sixth.

c. This reimbursement is not to take effect before the 1st day of July, 1815, or six months after the conclusion of a definitive peace.

d. The sum of five millions sterling of federative paper, so to be issued in the name of the three powers, is in no case to be applied to any other than the expenses of the war, and the maintenance of the armies in activity.

e. A commission, named by the three powers, will regulate whatever relates to the distribution of this sum. The payments are to be made progressively from month to month. All that relates, however, to the form, the guarantee, the issue, appropriation, circulation, and reimbursement of this paper, is to be regulated in a still more particular manner by a special convention, the stipulations whereof shall have the same force and validity, as if they had been inserted word for word in the present treaty.

Art. V. The British government having taken upon itself the maintenance of the Russian fleet, for the sum of 500,000*l.* sterling, as stated in article II. his majesty the emperor of all the Russias consents, on the other hand, to the employment by his Britannic majesty of the said fleet in the European seas, in the manner which he may judge the most useful to the operations against the common enemy.

Art. VI. Although the present convention stipulates only the succours to be supplied by Great Britain



tain during the year 1813; still, as their reciprocal engagements are to be in force as long as the present war shall last, the two high contracting parties formally promise to concert anew on the aid they are to afford each other, if, which God forbid, the war should be prolonged beyond the abovementioned period; such fresh agreement being chiefly with the view of giving a greater development to their efforts.

Art. VII. The two high contracting parties will act in the most perfect concert with regard to military operations, and will freely communicate to each other whatever relates to their respective policy. They above all reciprocally engage, not to negotiate separately with their common enemies, to sign neither peace, truce, nor any convention whatsoever, otherwise than by mutual agreement.

Art. VIII. Officers shall be allowed to be accredited to the generals commanding in chief the several armies in active service: they shall be at liberty to correspond with their courts, and keep them constantly informed of the military events which may have taken place, as well as of every thing relative to the operations of those armies.

Art. IX. The present convention shall be ratified with the least possible delay.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention with their hands, and have thereunto affixed the seal of their arms.

Done at Reichenbach, the third (fifteenth) June, 1813.

(L.S.) CATHCART.

(L.S.) CHARLES COUNT DE NESSELRODE.

(L.S.) JEAN D'ANSTETT.

CONVENTION BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF PRUSSIA, SIGNED AT REICHENBACH, THE 14TH OF JUNE, 1813.

Art. I.—The object of the present war being to re-establish the independence of the States oppressed by France, the two high contracting parties bind themselves in consequence, to direct all their operations towards that end; and as, in order to accomplish the same, it will be essential to replace Prussia in possession of her relative power, and to prevent France from ever occupying henceforward any of the strong places in the North of Germany, or exercising any sort of influence in that quarter; his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland engages to co-operate effectually to that end. On the other hand, his majesty the king of Prussia, who, in his transactions with Russia, has already expressly reserved the rights of the house of Brunswick Lunenburgh upon Hanover, will co-operate with all his means towards the restoration of their hereditary states to that august house, and to the ducal house of Brunswick.

Art. II. Prussia engages to maintain in the field an army of eighty thousand men, exclusive of the garrisons in the fortresses.

Art. III. England engages to place, for the year 1813, at the disposal of his Prussian majesty, 666,666*l.* in monthly payments. The same engagement, for five millions of federative paper, as in the Russian treaty.

Arts. IV. V. and VI. as in the Russian treaty.

Art. VII. The British navy shall co-operate, wherever it is practicable,

ble, in the defence of the Prussian States, in support of the military expeditions in aid of the common cause, and in the protection of the commerce of Prussia.

Art. VIII. This treaty shall forthwith be communicated to Russia, Sweden, and Austria.

Art. IX. It shall be ratified with the least possible delay.

In witness whereof, &c.

Reichenbach, the 14th June,  
1813.

CHARLES STEWART.

C. A. DE HARDENBERG.

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF THE CONVENTION BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND THE EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS, SIGNED AT PETERSWALDAW, 6TH OF JULY, 1813.

Art. I. The vast resources of the Russian empire furnishing to his imperial majesty the number of troops which he has determined to employ beyond the frontiers of his empire, and his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland having appropriated the greatest part of his own to the defence of Spain, and to the protection of Portugal, his Britannic majesty has consented to take upon himself the expense of the maintenance of the German legion in the service of his imperial majesty, the strength of which shall be increased to ten thousand men.

Art. II. So long as Great Britain shall provide for the maintenance of the said legion, the same shall remain at the absolute disposal of his Britannic majesty, to be employed on the continent of Europe. It shall be commanded by general officers of his choice.

His imperial majesty engages to

provide for the recruiting of the legion, and to keep it in a state for service, and complete, as far as may be practicable, whilst the replacing the articles furnished for the equipment, arming, and the *mise en campagne* of the said legion, shall appertain to his Britannic majesty.

All the sums paid by Great Britain in virtue of the articles of the present convention, shall be employed solely for the purpose of defraying the expenses and the maintenance of the German legion in the service of his imperial majesty.

Art. III. The high contracting parties have agreed, that the sums destined for the maintenance of the said corps shall be paid to the order of the government of his imperial majesty, at the rate of ten pounds fifteen shillings sterling per annum for each effective man of the legion, with the express reservation, that its numbers shall not exceed ten thousand men.

His Britannic majesty engages to furnish the arms, ammunition, clothing, and the articles of equipment, which shall be wanting at the period when the corps shall be placed at his disposal.

Art. V. The subsidy fixed by the third article shall be paid every two months in advance, for the number of officers and soldiers who shall have been returned as effective in the last day of the preceding month.

Art. X. His majesty the emperor consents to cede to his Britannic majesty, either in his character of king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or in that of the elector of Hanover, the property of the legion, if the circumstances of the war should induce his majesty the king to desire.

sire this arrangement; which, however, shall in no way invalidate the capitulations granted by his imperial majesty to the individuals who compose the legion.

Done at Peterswaldaw in Silesia, the 24th June (6th July), 1813.

CATHCART.

(L.S.)

D. ALOPEUS.

(L.S.)

There were also supplementary conventions by this country, and Russia and Prussia, chiefly relating to bills of exchange.

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PRINCE REGENT'S LETTER TO LORD WELLINGTON.

Copy of the prince regent's late letter to lord Wellington.

*Carlton-house, July 3, 1813.*

My dear lord,—Your glorious conduct is beyond all human praise, and far above my reward; I know no language the world affords worthy to express it. I feel I have nothing left to say, but devoutly to offer up my prayers of gratitude to Providence, that it has, in its omnipotent bounty, blessed my country and myself with such a general. You have sent me among the trophies of your unrivalled fame the staff of a French marshal, and I send you in return that of England. The British army will hail it with enthusiasm, while the whole universe will acknowledge those valorous efforts which have so imperiously called for it. That uninterrupted health, and still increasing laurels, may continue to crown you through a glorious and long career of life, are the never-ceasing and most ardent wishes of,

My dear lord,

your very sincere and faithful friend,

G. P. R.

The marquis of Wellington.

PRAYER AND THANKSGIVING FOR THE VICTORY.

The following form of prayer and thanksgiving was read in all the churches last Sunday. Nobody will accuse us of thinking lightly either of lord Wellington or his victory; but we believe that except in the case of royal personages, it has not hitherto been usual to call the attention of Heaven in this manner to an individual human being. Indeed, in a religion which discountenances every species of violence and even retaliation, it is scarcely decorous to offer up prayers or thanksgivings on the score of war; to say nothing of the policy of making success a proof of being in favour with Heaven:—

“O Lord God of hosts, who chiefly declarest thy Almighty power, by protecting the oppressed, and smiting to the ground the proud oppressor, and who, in the defence of injured nations, teachest thy servants to war, and girdest them with strength for battle, we yield thee praise and thanksgiving for the continued successes in Spain, with which thou hast been pleased to crown the conduct of our general, and the valour of our soldiers; but more especially for the signal and decisive victory which, under the same commander, thou hast recently vouchsafed to the allied armies in the battle of Vittoria. Continue, we pray thee, thy blessing upon the counsels of our general; maintain and support the courage and strength of the allied armies; sanctify the cause in which they are united; and as it hath pleased thee to put back, with confusion of face, the proud invader of Spain and Portugal, let the allied armies and allied kingdoms prostrate themselves with one

one consent before thee, and acknowledge with humility of heart the victory to be thine. These prayers and thanksgivings we humbly offer to thy divine majesty, in the name and through the mediation of our lord and saviour Jesus Christ.—Amen.”

#### GENERAL ORDERS.

##### *Horse Guards, July 6.*

The commander in chief commands it to be declared in general orders, that his royal highness the prince regent, in consideration of the meritorious services of the non-commissioned officers of the army, and with a view of extending encouragement and advantages to those of the infantry, corresponding to the benefit which the appointments of troop serjeant-majors offer in the cavalry, has been most graciously pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to direct, that in all regiments of infantry, whose services are not subject to limitation, the pay of the serjeant-major shall henceforth be raised to 3s. per day, and that the pay of one serjeant in each company of battalions of the above description, viz. of those serving without limitation, shall be raised to 2s. 4d. per day, and that the said serjeants shall be distinguished by an honourable badge, of which, however, and of the advantages attending it, they will, in case of misconduct, be liable to be deprived, at the discretion of the colonel or commanding officer of the regiment, or by the sentence of a court-martial.

In consequence of the above most gracious intimation of his royal highness the prince regent's pleasure, the commander in chief directs, that the serjeants selected for this distinction shall be called

the “colour serjeants,” and that they shall bear above their chevron, the honourable badge of a regimental colour supported by two cross swords.

It is his royal highness's pleasure, that the duty of attending the colours in the field, shall, at all times, be performed by these serjeants, but that these distinctions shall in no wise interfere with the regular performance of their regimental and company duties.

The commander in chief recommends to the colonels of regiments the utmost circumspection in the selection of the colour serjeants; and he hopes that this honourable appellation will invariably be bestowed on men of approved valour, distinguished by their attention to the duties of their station, and to the discipline of their respective companies.

The commander in chief avails himself of this opportunity of addressing himself to those who are the immediate objects of this order.

His royal highness entertains a just sense of the meritorious services of the non-commissioned officers of the army; and he is persuaded that, under the direction of their officers, they have individually and collectively contributed largely to uphold the character of the British army in its present pre-eminence, and his royal highness rejoices most cordially that these services have been thus graciously noticed.

It may reasonably be expected that the reward which is thus held out to merit, will prove an incitement to all; for it is within the reach of all who have hands and hearts to serve their king and country; it is offered equally to the young as to the old soldier; it is the recompense of honesty, sobriety, fidelity,

fideliſy, and perſonal bravery; and his royal highneſs truſts it will prove the moſt powerful incentive to the non-commiſſioned officers of the Britiſh army to perſevere in that line of conduct, which has obtained for them this munificent and diſtinguiſhed favour from their country and ſovereign.

By command of his royal highneſs the commander in chief,  
HARRY CALVERT, adj.-gen.

THE SPEAKER'S ADDRESS TO THE  
PRINCE REGENT, July 22.

May it pleaſe your royal highneſs,

We his maſteſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain and Ireland in parliament aſſembled, have cloſed the ſupplies for the ſervice of the preſent year; and reflecting upon the various tranſactions which have come before us, we look back with ſatisfaction upon thoſe which concern our domeſtic policy, entertaining alſo a confident hope in the proſperous iſſue of thoſe great events which muſt regulate the ſettle-ment of our foreign relations.

Under the preſſure of great burdens at home, and the ſtill continuing neceſſity of great exertions, a plan has been deviſed and executed, which, by a judicious and ſkilful arrangement of our finances, will for a conſiderable period poſt-poner, or greatly mitigate, the demands for new taxation, and at the ſame time materially accelerate the final extinction of the national debt.

Our reviving commerce alſo looks forward to thoſe new fields of enterpriſe which are opening in the Eaſt; and after long and labo-

rious diſcuſſions, we preſume to hope, that (in conformity with the injunctions delivered to us by your royal highneſs at the commencement of the preſent ſeſſion) ſuch prudent and adequate arrangements have been made for the future government of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India, as will combine the greateſt advantages of commerce and revenue, and provide alſo for the laſting proſperity and happineſs of that vaſt and populous portion of the Britiſh empire.

But, ſir, theſe are not the only objects to which our attention has been called: other momentous changes have been propoſed for our conſideration. Adhering, however, to thoſe laws by which the throne, the parliament, and the government of this country, are made fundamentally proteſtant, we have not conſented to allow that thoſe who acknowledge a foreign jurisdiction ſhould be authoriſed to adminiſter the powers and jurisdictions of this realm; willing as we are, nevertheless, and willing as I truſt we ever ſhall be, to allow the laſteſt ſcope to religious toleration.—With reſpect to the eſta-bliſhed church, following the munificent example of the laſt parliament, we have continued the ſame annual grant for improving the value of its ſmaller benefices; and we have at the ſame time endeavoured to provide more effectually for the general diſcharge of thoſe ſacred duties of a church eſta-bliſhment, which, by forming the moral and religious character of a brave and intelligent people, have, under the bleſſing of God, laid the deep foundations of Britiſh greateſs.

Sir, by your royal highneſs's commands, we have alſo turned our views to the ſtate of our foreign relations. In the North, we rejoice

rejoice to see, by the treaties laid before us, that a strong barrier is erected against the inordinate ambition of France, and we presume to hope that the time may now be arriving which shall set bounds to her remorseless spirit of conquest.

In our contest with America it must be always remembered that we have not been the aggressors. Slow to take up arms against those who should have been naturally our friends by the original ties of kindred—a common language—and (as might have been hoped) by a joint zeal in the cause of national liberty—we must now nevertheless put forth our whole strength, and maintain, with our ancient superiority upon the ocean, those maritime rights which we have resolved never to surrender.

But, sir, whatever doubts may cloud the rest of our views and hopes, it is to the peninsula that we look with sentiments of unquestionable delight and triumph; there the world has seen two gallant and independent nations rescued from the mortal grasp of fraud and tyranny, by British councils and British valour; and within the space of five short years from the dawn of our successes at Roleia and Vimiera, the same illustrious commander has received the tribute of our admiration and gratitude for the brilliant passage of the Douro, the hard-fought battle of Talavera, the day of Busaco, the deliverance of Portugal, the mural crowns won at Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, the splendid victory of Salamanca, and the decisive overthrow of the armies of France in their total rout at Vittoria—deeds which have made all Europe ring with his renown, and have covered the British name with a blaze of unrivalled glory.

Sir, that the cause of this country

and of the world may not at such a crisis suffer from any want of zeal on our part to strengthen the hands of his majesty's government, we have finished our supplies with a large and liberal aid, to enable your royal highness to take all such measures as the emergencies of public affairs may require, for disappointing or defeating the enterprises and designs of the enemy.

The bill which I have to present to your royal highness for this purpose is entitled

An act for enabling his majesty to raise the sum of five millions for the service of Great Britain, and for applying the sum of 200,000*l.* for the service of Ireland.

To which bill his majesty's faithful commons, with all humility, entreat his majesty's royal assent.

The speaker having concluded, and bowed to the prince, his royal highness moved his hat.

The clerks then made their obeisances, and the deputy-clerk of the crown read the title of the vote of credit bill. Mr. Cowper, the clerk assistant of the parliaments, made his obeisance, and the prince regent having moved his hat, Mr. Cowper notified the royal assent in the usual form and words, as applied to a money bill, namely, *Le Roi remercie ses bons sujets, accepte leur benevolence, et aussi le veut.*

The title of the remaining bill, The penitentiaryhouse bill, was then read; and his royal highness having moved his hat, Mr. Cowper notified the royal assent in the usual form and words as applied generally to a public bill, namely, *Le Roi le veut.*

His royal highness then delivered the following speech:

My lords and gentlemen,  
I cannot release you from your attendance in parliament without repeating

repeating the expression of my deep regret at the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition.

The attention which you have paid to the public interests in the course of this session demands my warmest acknowledgements.

The splendid and signal success which has attended the commencement of the campaign in the peninsula, the consummate skill and ability displayed by field-marshal the marquis of Wellington in the progress of those operations which have led to the great and decisive victory obtained near Vittoria, and the valour and intrepidity by which his majesty's forces and those of his allies have been distinguished, are as highly gratifying to my feelings as they have been to those of the whole nation. Whilst these operations have added new lustre to the British arms, they afford the best prospect of the deliverance of the peninsula from the tyranny and oppression of France; and they furnish the most decisive proof of the wisdom of that policy which has induced you, under every vicissitude of fortune, to persevere in the support of this glorious contest.

The entire failure of the French ruler in his designs against the Russian empire, and the destruction of the French army employed on that service, were followed by the advance of the Russian forces, since joined by those of Prussia, to the banks of the Elbe; and though upon the renewal of the contest the allied armies have found themselves obliged to retreat before the superior numbers collected by the enemy, their conduct during a series of severe and sanguinary conflicts has nobly upheld their military character, and commanded the admiration of Europe.

I have great satisfaction in acquainting you, that there exists between me and the courts of St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Stockholm, the most cordial union and concert; and I trust I shall be enabled, by the aids which you have so liberally afforded, to render this union effectual for the accomplishment of the great purpose for which it has been established.

I regret the continuance of the war with the United States of America.

My desire to re-establish between the two countries those friendly relations, so important to their mutual interests, continues unabated; but I cannot consent to purchase the restoration of peace by any sacrifice of the maritime rights of the British empire.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I thank you for the liberal provision you have made for the services of the present year.

It is a great satisfaction to me to reflect, that, by the regulations you have adopted for the redemption of the national debt, you have established a system which will not retard its ultimate liquidation, whilst at the same time it provides for the vigorous prosecution of the war, with the least practicable addition to the public burdens.

My lords and gentlemen,

I entirely approve of the arrangements which you have made for the government of the British territories in India, and for the regulation of the British commerce in that part of the world. They appear to have been wisely framed, with a view to the circumstances which have occurred since this subject was last under the consideration of parliament. By these arrangements you have preserved in its

its essential parts that system of government which experience has proved to be not less calculated to provide for the happiness of the inhabitants of India, than to promote the interests of Great Britain; and you have judiciously extended to the subjects of the united kingdom in general a participation in the commerce of countries within the limits of the East India company's charter, which will, I doubt not, have the effect of augmenting the resources of India, and of increasing and improving the trade and navigation of his majesty's dominions.

The tried and affectionate loyalty of his majesty's people, the constancy which they have displayed during this long and arduous war, and the patience with which they have sustained the burdens necessarily imposed upon them, have made an indelible impression on my mind. Such continued and persevering exertions, under so severe a pressure, afford the strongest proof of their attachment to that constitution which it is the first object of my life to maintain.

In the success which has recently attended his majesty's arms, I acknowledge with devout gratitude the hand of Divine Providence. The use I desire to make of these and of all other advantages, is to promote and secure the welfare of his majesty's people; and I cannot more decidedly evince this disposition, than by employing the powerful means you have placed in my hands, in such a manner as may be best calculated to reduce the extravagant pretensions of the enemy, and thereby to facilitate the attainment, in conjunction with my allies, of a secure and honourable peace.

Then the lord chancellor, by

the prince regent's command, said:—

My lords and gentlemen,

It is the command of his royal highness the prince regent, acting in the name and on behalf of his majesty, that this parliament be prorogued to Monday the 23d day of August next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Monday the 23d day of August next.

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#### PROCLAMATION OF MARSHAL SOULT.

To be read by a commanding officer at the head of companies in each regiment.

Soldiers!—The recent events of the war have induced his majesty the emperor to invest me, by an imperial decree of the 1st inst. with the command of the armies of Spain, and to honour me with the flattering title of his '*lieutenant*.' This high distinction cannot but convey to my mind sensations of gratitude and joy; but they are not unalloyed with regret at the train of events which have, in the opinion of his majesty, rendered such an appointment necessary in Spain. It is known to you, soldiers, that the enmity of Russia, roused into active hostility by the eternal enemy of the continent, made it incumbent that numerous armies should be assembled in Germany early in the spring. For this purpose were many of your comrades withdrawn. The emperor himself assumed the command; and the arms of France, guided by his powerful and commanding genius, achieved a succession of as brilliant victories as any that adorn the annals of our country. The presumptuous hopes of aggrandisement entertained by the enemy were confounded. Pacific overtures



tures were made; and the emperor, always inclined to consult the welfare of his subjects, by following moderate councils, listened to the proposals that were made. While Germany was thus the theatre of great events, that enemy, who, under pretence of succouring the inhabitants of the peninsula, has in reality devoted them to ruin, was not inactive. He assembled the whole of his disposable force, English, Spaniards, and Portuguese, under his most experienced officers, and, relying upon the superiority of his numbers, advanced in three divisions against the French force assembled upon the Douro. With well-provided fortresses in his front and rear, a skilful general, enjoying the confidence of his troops, might, by selecting good positions, have braved and discomfited this motley levy. But, unhappily, at this critical period, timorous and pusillanimous councils were followed. The fortresses were abandoned and blown up. Hasty and disorderly marches gave confidence to the enemy; and a veteran army, small indeed in number, but great in all that constitutes the military character, which had fought, bled, and triumphed in every province of Spain, beheld with indignation its laurels tarnished, and itself compelled to abandon all its acquisitions—the trophies of many a well fought and bloody day. When at length the indignant voice of the troops arrested this disgraceful flight, and its commander, touched with shame, yielded to the general desire, and determined upon giving battle near Vittoria, who can doubt—from this generous enthusiasm—this fine sense of honour—what would have been the result had the general been worthy of his troops? Had he, in short, made those dis-

positions and movements which would have secured to one part of his army the co-operation and support of the other?—Let us not, however, defraud the enemy of the praise which is due to him. The dispositions and arrangements of their general have been prompt, skilful, and consecutive. The valour and steadiness of his troops have been praiseworthy. Yet do not forget that it is to the benefit of your example they owe their present military character; and that whenever the relative duties of a French general and his troops have been ably fulfilled, their enemies have commonly had no other resource than flight.—Soldiers,—I partake your chagrin—your grief—your indignation. I know that the blame of the present situation of the army is imputable to others; be the merit of repairing it yours. I have borne testimony to the emperor of your bravery and zeal. His instructions are to drive the enemy from those lofty heights which enable him proudly to survey our fertile valleys, and chase them across the Ebro. It is on the Spanish soil that your tents must next be pitched, and from thence your resources drawn. No difficulties can be insurmountable to your valour and devotion. Let us then exert ourselves with mutual ardour; and be assured that nothing can give greater felicity to the paternal heart of the emperor than the knowledge of the triumphs of his army—of its increasing glory—of its having rendered itself worthy of him, and of our dear country. Extensive but combined movements for the relief of the fortresses are on the eve of taking place. They will be completed in a few days. Let the account of our success be dated from Vittoria—  
—and

—and the birth of his imperial majesty be celebrated in that city : so shall we render memorable an epoch deservedly dear to all Frenchmen.

(Signed) SOULT, duke of Dalmatia,  
lieutenant de l'empereur.

July 23, 1813.

#### BAVARIAN DECLARATION.

Every one knows the relations which for eight years past have bound Bavaria to France, as well as the motives which occasioned them, and the conscientious good faith with which the king has fulfilled their conditions.

Other states gradually joined themselves to the first ally of the French empire. This junction of sovereigns took the form of an union, of such a nature as the German history exhibits more than one example.

The act of confederation, signed at Paris on the 12th of July 1806, although imperfect, stipulated the mutual conditions which were to exist between the confederated states and his majesty the emperor of the French, as protector of this alliance.

The foundation of this treaty on both sides was the interest of both parties ; none other could exist ; for otherwise this act of confederation would have been nothing else than an act of unconditional submission. Meanwhile the French government appears to have considered it absolutely in that light, because that, in every act which followed on that solemn contract, it never took retrospect in application of the fundamental points, which rendered the continental war mutual to the several contracting parties, neither

1813.

the spirit nor the intent which presided in its tenor, but gave to it, at her own pleasure, the most extended explanation ; she required at her own will the military forces of the confederates, for wars which were totally foreign to their interests, and the motives for which had not been previously intimated to them.

Bavaria, which considered France as a main support for her preservation, but whose principles, nevertheless, caused her the most serious apprehensions, reflected on and fulfilled all her obligations to France with the most unbounded zeal and integrity ; no sacrifice to her seemed too great to fulfil the wishes of her ally, and to contribute to the restoration of the continental peace, which was stated to be the end of these renewed undertakings.

When the emperor Napoleon had in the year 1812 determined on the war against Russia, he demanded of Bavaria to come forward with the maximum of her contingent. This war was undeniably entirely foreign to the interests of Bavaria ; it was painful to her, in every respect, to suffer her troops to march against a state which had always been her friend, and for a long time past was the guarantee of her independence, and against a sovereign who is allied to the royal family by a double tie of consanguinity. Already had the French ministry expressed themselves in the most alarming terms, and even proclaimed them in diplomatic documents in the face of Europe. These expressions aimed at nothing less than to represent the confederated states in such a light as if they were the vassals of France, and their princes bound, under punishment of felony, to do every thing which his majesty the

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emperor

emperor Napoleon might think proper to require of them.

Notwithstanding the alarm which the expression of such principles must necessarily cause, Bavaria still resolved, as she had no point of law to support, to let 30,000 men of her troops join the French army. The unexampled misfortunes which distinguished that campaign are too well known to repeat the distressing portrait of it here. The whole Bavarian army, including a reinforcement of 8000 men, which joined it in the month of October, was destroyed.

There are but few families that were not put into mourning by that dreadful catastrophe; and what was still more painful to his majesty's paternal heart was, that so much blood had been shed in a cause which was not the cause of the nation.—Meanwhile, preparations were made for a new campaign; and Bavaria, which was only the more steadfast to her ally in proportion to his being unfortunate, made no hesitation in replacing the weak remains of 38,000 Bavarians, who had fought under the French standards, by a new division.

At the commencement of the campaign, glorious prospects crowned the so often victorious arms of the emperor Napoleon. Germany, and all Europe, believed that, as the emperor now found himself in a condition wherein he might show his moderation, without exposing himself to any suspicion of weakness, he would have accepted the mediation which Austria, from the most wise and generous motives, offered, for the purpose of procuring peace to the world, or at least to the continent. This hope was destroyed. On the contrary, she saw the number of her enemies increase, by the powerful coalition of Austria to the coalition already

formed against the emperor Napoleon. From this moment the situation of Bavaria became very critical. The energy of the Bavarian government, and the attachment of a nation which considers no sacrifice heavy when it is necessary to prove their love to an adored sovereign, had already, as by a magic stroke, created a new army, which marched towards the borders on the side of Austria. But the French army, to which the emperor had given the name of "The army of observation of Bavaria," and which was assembling in the vicinity of Wurtzbourg, and in the surrounding territory, instead of supporting the Bavarian army, suddenly received another destination.

In this critical situation, the emperor did not even deign to bestow on his most faithful ally the least consideration of means for his protection. Nay, more, the second army of observation, which was to assemble under the command of marshal Augereau, was not formed; and its weak stem, which was still at Wurtzbourg, totally disappeared.

Being in this manner totally deserted, his majesty would have infringed on the most sacred of all his duties, had he not yielded to the wishes of his faithful subjects, which were daily more loudly expressed. The sovereigns allied against France did not neglect to inform the Bavarian government of the principles of moderation which animated them, and to assure it of their formal guarantee of the integrity of the kingdom of Bavaria and its full borders, as at that time, on condition of the king's joining his warlike powers to theirs, not to carry on a war of ambition or aggrandisement against France, but to secure the independence of the German nation, and of the  
states

states of which it consists, and to prevail on the emperor Napoleon to sign an honourable peace. His majesty could not have given a refusal to such proposals without becoming criminal to his own subjects, and being blind to the sacred principles on which only their welfare can be founded. In full confidence in such open and generous offers, he has therefore resolved to accept them in their full extent, and to conclude an alliance with the three princes against the extensive views which France has shown to entertain, and for the good effects of which his majesty will use his utmost endeavours.

His majesty wishes that a speedy peace may soon restore the relations which he would not now have relinquished, had not the illegal extension of a power, which grew every day more insupportable, rendered it his duty to take the steps and form the alliance he has done.

From henceforward, united in interest and sentiments with his high and powerful allies, his royal Bavarian majesty would neglect no means which may contribute to draw closer the ties that bind him to them.

Munich, Oct. 17, 1813.

**PROCLAMATION OF THE SPANISH GENERAL GIRON TO THE FRENCH.**

Soldiers,—The war in which you are engaged is not now a national war; it is the result of the mad ambition of your emperor, who wishes to subject all nations.

Spain was in intimate friendship with France; Napoleon wished to conquer her; 400,000 warriors remain interred in her soil, and you now find yourselves, after so many labours, once more on the other side of the Pyrenees.

Prussia was almost subjected; the emperor wished to destroy her;

and 100,000 Prussians are now fighting for liberty.

Russia, relying upon the good faith of her treaties, your chief wished to invade; you lost in a single campaign 300,000 soldiers, 40,000 horses, and more than 1000 cannon; and Russia's victorious armies having saved Poland, have collected upon the Elbe, and threaten France herself. See, then, how he despises the blood which you spill, and laughs at your valour.

Soldiers! Europe has determined to be free, and the armies of Napoleon cannot resist her—she fights for the peace and liberty of the world, and Frenchmen should take as much or more interest than we in the good success of this contest, equally terrible as necessary.

Soldiers! It is now requisite to put an end to this war of twenty years, which would last as long as your emperor's life. Hasten to concur in this grand work; Spaniards invite you, and will receive you as brothers; and every French soldier, as soon as he presents himself, shall receive his daily ration and bread; the cavalry soldier shall likewise be at liberty to sell his horse; you shall be at liberty to go wherever you wish, or to enter into the foreign corps which are in our pay.

Soldiers! In a just and national war no man of honour would abandon his colours; but under existing circumstances it is better to join the cause of the whole world than combat for that of a single man, and contribute to the disgrace of your own country. Who among you can be actuated by greater honour, valour, and love for France than Moreau and Bernadotte? You know them well, and you know that they fight for our cause, which is that of justice and of glory. Haste to imitate them.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE ITALIAN AND ILLYRIAN QUARTER OF THE TYROL.

On the 8th instant there was signed at Ried, by the plenipotentiaries of his imperial apostolic majesty, and of his majesty, the king of Bavaria, a treaty of alliance and amity, by which Bavaria renounces her connection with the confederation of the Rhine, and joins all her forces to those of the allied powers, for the important objects which they have in view. In communicating this great event, which must have consequences so important and so happy, to the knowledge of the inhabitants of the Italian and Illyrian Tyrol, it is unnecessary to add, that every kind of hostility ceases towards that power, our newly; and that it is the duty of every individual to contribute by all the means in his power to consolidate that union, the object of which must cause it to be regarded as sacred. His majesty the emperor of Austria will consider every violation of the Bavarian territory, and all resistance of the authorities established by his high ally, as an act of hostility against Austria, inasmuch as what is done for the one, contributes to the advantage of both. There is nothing but a durable peace which can restore the welfare of the Tyrol, the former prosperous state of its commerce, and a regular civil constitution; and that peace can only be brought about by the close union of the allied courts. His imperial majesty promises peace to the inhabitants of the Italian and Illyrian Tyrol, and hopes that every one will await in tranquillity, and with confidence, the particular indemnifications to which he may have claims, and which his majesty will in no

case regulate before hand. The fixing of the boundaries of each state will not in future depend on the pleasure of a single sovereign, or on the right of conquest, but on the consent of other powers. Such is the wish of my master,—the object of this war,—the spirit of the peace which must be conquered, and which shall restore their rights to every people in Europe.

(Signed) ROSCHMANNY,  
Privy-councillor of his imperial majesty, &c.

*Hildesheim, Nov. 6.*

In virtue of a convention between his royal highness the prince regent of England and the king of Prussia, the principality of Hildesheim has been reunited to the states of his royal highness in Germany. Count Walmoden has been charged to take possession of it. The ceremony took place on the 3d inst. on which occasion the following proclamation was published :

GEORGE PRINCE REGENT, IN THE NAME OF HIS MAJESTY GEORGE III, ETC.

Inhabitants of the principality of Hildesheim!—After numerous vicissitudes, you are placed under my government. This state of things is the most natural, and the most desirable for you. Your country is surrounded on almost all sides by the German provinces of my house; your usages, your ancient constitution, resemble ours; the greater part of your territory was, at a former period, for more than a century under the sway of my ancestors. Vicinity and experience have made you acquainted with the principles upon which the princes of Brunswick Luneberg have been accustomed to reign. We make no distinction between our old and our new subjects; we exercise no authority

authority over any of them but for their own good, and never for any object that is foreign to them: to conciliate their attachment and affection, by causing the welfare of all, is the constant object and best reward of our efforts. I expect of you, with entire confidence, the same fidelity which the Hanoverians, amidst the severe trials of these latter times, have constantly displayed towards his majesty in a manner the most affecting. Reckon upon my protection in the exercise of your religion, in the enjoyment of your property, your rights, and on my most zealous cares for your welfare. You also have partaken of the calamities which for many years have weighed heavily on so many of the German states: the fortune of war for some time tore you from the sway of a German monarch to subject you to foreign laws, altogether unsuitable to your country, and for the interests of a sovereign who was still more foreign to you. You have deep wounds to cicatrize; and great sacrifices, generous efforts, will still be demanded of you, in order to conquer a solid peace, and to secure public order and tranquillity, without which the general happiness can never be successfully re-established. Do not lose sight of this necessity; but place your confidence in the aid of the Almighty, who has already granted to me and my high allies victory over the common enemy; who has also delivered you, and who will assuredly bless my constant efforts to restore and augment your prosperity.

By order of his royal highness the prince regent,

(Signed) DECKEN.  
BREMER.

#### SWISS CONFEDERATION.

We the landamman and the members of the diet of the cantons of the Swiss confederation,

To you, dear confederates, health.

The war which was lately far from our frontier, is approaching our country and our peaceable dwellings.

Under these circumstances it was our duty, as deputies of the confederate cantons, to maturely reflect upon the situation of the country, to address communications to the belligerent powers, and make all the ulterior dispositions which our circumstances demand.

Faithful to the principles of their forefathers, we have, in virtue of the power and orders of our government, declared with unanimous voice and will the neutrality of the Swiss. We are going to have transmitted and notified in the most proper forms, to the sovereigns at war, the solemn act which we have just passed with this intention.

Thanks to divine protection, the observation of an exact neutrality has, during ages, guaranteed the liberty and repose of our country. Now, as in times of old, this neutrality alone belongs to our position and to our wants. We therefore wish to establish and make it respected by all the means which are in our power; we wish to ensure the liberty and independence of Switzerland, maintain its present constitution, and preserve our territory from all attempts: such is the only end of all our efforts.

To this effect we address ourselves to you, dear confederates of all the cantons of Switzerland, in immediately giving you information of the declaration which has just been issued. The diet expects of each of you, whoever he may be, that he will act in the same views; that

that he will contribute by all his means to the common cause; that he will make the efforts and sacrifices which the good of the country and its preservation demand; and that thus the whole nation will show itself worthy of their forefathers, and of the happiness which they enjoy.

May the sovereign master of the world be pleased to accept the homage of our profound gratitude for the immense benefits which he has hitherto diffused over our country! and may the preservation, the tranquillity, and the happiness of this state, placed under his protection, be granted to our prayers!

Given at Zurich, Nov. 20.

The landamman of the Swiss,  
president of the diet,

J. DE REINHARD.

The chancellor of the confederation,  
MORRISON.

#### HOLLAND.

*Amsterdam, Nov. 19, 1813.*

The following has been published here:—

#### PROCLAMATION.

The provisional government of the city of Amsterdam having experienced how it has pleased the Divine Providence to crown its endeavours for the restoration of the quiet of this great and considerable city, with the best effects; so that not only every thing has been speedily, and according to the constitution, restored to order; but that, ever since, the best founded hopes are increasing, that in future the public order will not again be disturbed: This happy and speedy result is, under God, chiefly to be ascribed to the unexpected efforts, as well of the officers and men of the armed

burghers, who have acted with so much discrimination in the performance of this, to them, severe duty, as to the other official persons, who, both on horse and foot, have contributed to the preservation of the public tranquillity. They give due thanks on behalf of the whole burghership, for the services which, with the blessing of God, they have rendered, and which have put a stop to the further progress of irregularities, and thereby prevented it from suffering greater misfortunes, and at the same time obliged all others to go forward with the same ardent zeal, to assist the provisional government in securing the peace and security of all persons and effects; and they likewise admonish all the official persons in this city to refrain from all excesses, but, on the contrary, by all means to assist the activity of the national guards, and others who have joined them, for the restoration of public order; and the government will, so far as lays in its power, use its best endeavours, that the services rendered for the benefit of this city, and of its appointed official persons, shall not be forgotten; and that those who unhappily may have proved themselves guilty of excesses, shall be exemplarily punished; because the government likewise means to put those who do service as substitutes in the national guards, on duty, from the moment it falls to them by their contract; in full confidence that they will always proceed with the same zeal as they have hitherto shown, in assisting to preserve the peace and good order.

The provisional government  
aforesaid,

J. C. VAN DER HOOFF.

Amsterdam, Nov. 18.

IN THE NAME OF HIS SERENE HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF ORANGE AND NASSAU.

The general government of the United Netherlands to the magistrates and governments of the Low Countries.

The general government has with pleasure learnt, that peace and order have almost generally been restored in the Low Countries, notwithstanding that in some villages the authorities have absented themselves. It is therefore our pleasure, that there, and in all other places where such may be needful, the most considerable and best informed magistrates shall join hands, and constitute themselves as a provisional government, with a president, empowered, in case of need, to proceed immediately in affairs of pressing necessity.

Netherlanders! our cause is safe if we continue unanimous and preserve good order: and that no one shall bring upon himself the charge of cowardice, or coldly consider only his self-preservation, to stamp for ever the Netherlands with shame in the eyes of all the nations of Europe; let none of you forget, that if the event of this combat should be doubtful, every one would nevertheless have to expect the effects of the most dreadful rage from him who envies Holland even the slightest remains of her former welfare!!!

Let none of us forget that, if we fail, our sons will by new designs be unmercifully torn from our breasts, and that the blood of our noble Netherland youth must flow to satisfy the ambition of a conqueror, because that you hesitate in rising for the liberty and independence of our dear country.

F. VAN DER D. VAN MAASDAM.  
G. K. VAN HOGENDORP.

*At the Hague; Nov. 17.*

As the want of government for our dear state might cause the most dreadful effects of plunder and bloodshed, should it continue so for a few days, we have therefore deemed it necessary to summon the principal persons and ministers of the old government, such as it consisted of in the year 1794 and 5, to assemble with the utmost speed; and in pursuance thereof, to write to some of them to make it further more known.

The meeting is to be held in the house of M. Gysbert Karel van Hogendorp, on the Kuenlerdyk, on Thursday, the 18th November, at twelve o'clock.

F. VAN DER D. VAN MAASDAM.  
G. K. VAN HOGENDORP.  
O. REPELAER VAN DRIEL.  
J. F. VAN HOGENDORP.  
F. D. CHANGUION.  
F. C. DE JONGE.

#### PROCLAMATION.

IN THE NAME OF HIS HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF ORANGE, THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF THE UNITED NETHERLANDS:—

Inhabitants of the Netherlands! —The moment is arrived for recovering our existence as a nation; the triumph of the allies has laid low the pride of our oppressor, and has broken in pieces his colossal power.

At this important moment every Dutchman feels his courage inflamed to throw off the yoke by which we have been so disgracefully subjugated. "National freedom and independence" is the watch-word of every one; ORANGE! the general rallying cry of all who are proud of bearing the name of Dutchmen. We only fulfil the wishes of all our fellow-citizens, by this day, in expectation of the arrival of his highness



ness the prince of Orange, and in his name placing ourselves at the head of the government; we take upon us this task, confiding in the aid of Divine Providence, whose hand has been so conspicuously manifested in the present deliverance of our beloved country, but also confident of the support and assistance of every Dutchman, who, forgetting all that is past, and without distinction of rank, station, or religious persuasion, is with us determined once more to rescue that native country, which, ravished from the fury of the elements—from Philip and Alva, was so gloriously defended by the valour of our forefathers, though it has long been covered with reproach and dishonour.

From this moment our chains are thrown off; no foreigner shall any more tyrannise over you; every tie of compulsion and slavish submission to the common enemy of Europe, to the disturber of the peace, welfare, and independence of nations, we renounce irrevocably and for ever.

In the name of his highness the prince of Orange, and as invested for the present with the supreme government of the Netherlands, we release our fellow-citizens throughout the whole extent of the United Provinces from the oath of allegiance and fidelity taken to the emperor of the French; and we declare to be traitors to their country, rebels against the legitimate national government, and liable to all the consequent penalties, such as, under pretence of connection with the French government, or in compliance with its authority, shall obey any orders issued by it, or its agents, or maintain any correspondence with it.

All connections with our oppres-

sors, whose contempt and reproach have kindled a flame in every countenance and heart, are from this day at an end. But this is not enough!

Dutchmen! We call upon you unanimously to rally round the standard which we have this day planted; we call upon you to take up arms like men, and drive from our confines the enemy, who still appears to dare us upon our territory, but already trembles at our union.

Let all of us think of the deeds of our brave forefathers, when, through the immortal William I. Dutch valour broke out into an extinguishable flame; and let the noble example of the Spanish people, who, by the most persevering exertions, accompanied with infinite loss of property and blood, have broke to pieces the hated yoke, and upon whom the dawn of deliverance and victory now shines,—let this example teach us that the issue cannot fail of success.

We have every where intrusted to men of tried military skill the task of a general arming: they will go before you in that danger which can only be of short duration, till the arrival of our allies for our deliverance.

Order and military discipline shall distinguish our troops; they are inseparable from true valour.

We shall take care that those who fight for us want for nothing; that our confidence never fail; that the God of Holland warreth for us!

But as, in order to carry on the operations for the arming and for the defence of the territory, the expenditure of the interior government must be very considerable, we trust that the Dutch will not be deficient in this part of their duty;

duty; the revenues of the country shall be expended for the welfare of the country. It becomes the duty of every one, therefore, zealously to discharge his obligations to the treasury of the state; and he who would act a fraudulent part under the present circumstances, must be regarded as an enemy to his country, and shall not go unpunished.

We order all Dutch magistrates to remain at their posts, and in the discharge of their duties we place them under the protection of all patriotic Dutchmen.

We also confide in that spirit of order which has ever distinguished the Dutch people; that in all the offices of authority, and especially in those of the administration of justice, every one will continue in the faithful and uninterrupted performance of his duty, according to the laws still in force.

We command and order all authorities of departments, cities, and towns, to make known and affix the present proclamation, according to the usual forms.

Done at the Hague, this 21st. of Nov. 1813.

VAN DER DUIN VAN MAASDAM.  
G. K. VAN HOGENDORP.

For the declaration of the allied powers, see British and Foreign History, p. 576.

*Amsterdam, Dec. 2.*

PROCLAMATION.

We, William Frederick, by the grace of God, prince of Orange and Nassau, sovereign prince of the United Netherlands, &c. to all to whom these presents come, greeting.

You invited me, fellow-countrymen, to bring to completion the  
1813.

task so gloriously begun by yourselves. I have taken upon me the maintenance of that independence which your courage restored; and I now promise to deem no difficulty, no labour, no sacrifice, too great on my part, to convince you how much I love that people, of whose affection I have received and am daily receiving such signal proofs.

But what other is our first duty at the present moment, than the complete expulsion of the French from our country, which they have so long tormented by their oppression? A portion of that country is still the prey of the enemy, whose designs and intentions the horrible events at Woerden must make manifest to us all. To arms, then, Netherlands! to arms! to avenge the defenceless victims who fell under the murderous sword of these robbers. To arms! to secure for ever your wives, your children, and your property, against all possible return of these plundering murderers. The old flag is again the point of union, and the old flag shall also again revive the ancient valour. Every moment of leichargy may prove destructive to one or other of your towns, to hundreds of your countrymen; the time is come which must prove for ever decisive of our fate:—lost, irrecoverably lost, is our country, should we slumber upon the success of our first efforts: the country is rescued for ever, when its sons, animated with one spirit, shall every where run to arms, to support the efforts of the allied deliverers of Europe:—the Netherlands united to France were involved in the infamy of France; the Netherlands united to the allies shall participate in the glory of having delivered Europe. Old men! the country and Orange call upon your sons able to bear arms,  
(R) not

not to be sacrificed in battle in foreign climes for a foreign yoke, but to protect you and your defenceless children from plundering and murder. Wives! your husbands are summoned to arms, not to fight for a foreign tyranny, which would leave you to perish here in beggary, but to secure you in that tranquillity for which the country will make ample provision.

And you who cannot personally engage in this contest, the noblest that Providence ever opened up to us, support those who fight for you; provide, by your ample contributions, for their arming, clothing, and subsistences—in short, for all the first necessities of war.

Plundered treasuries, confusion and discord in the administrations, were all that your oppressors left behind them; but your patriotism shall teach the oppressors themselves, that no Netherlander reckons that a sacrifice which may place his country in freedom.

I conjure you in the name of the country,—I conjure you by your past misfortunes,—inquire not what you ought to lay on the altar of your country; ask only what would be your sufferings, should the return of your tyrants, which God avert! be the effect of narrow calculations.

All the nations of Europe, whose magnanimous sacrifices have been crowned with the most glorious results, have their eyes upon you at this moment: our allies expect the putting forth of all our powers, and we must show them that we are not backward in the noble strife.

Again I conjure you not to delay your voluntary offers for the support of our efforts towards the deliverance of our beloved country.

Forced loans correspond not with a people who have freely taken upon

themselves the direction of their own affairs; and the increase of the debts of the state is one of those extreme measures the adoption of which we must avoid. We would not commence our reign with financial regulations which might tend to shake public credit: that good faith with which our ancestors fulfilled their engagements, and which we still reckon among the virtues of the Netherlands, shall be sacredly observed by us in all measures relating to the finance of the country.

We order our commissaries general of war, finance, and for foreign affairs, to make all the necessary dispositions for forwarding the object of our paternal summons, and to submit to us the necessary regulations respecting the same.

We will and order, that the whole of the sums arising from voluntary contributions, being set apart from the general revenue of the country, shall be wholly appropriated for the purpose of the extraordinary arming; and we require this address to be read from the pulpits of the different churches, on the first ensuing Sunday, and otherwise made known in the most solemn manner.

Done at the Hague, this 6th of December, 1813, and in the first year of our reign.

(Signed) WILLIAM:  
By order, VAN DER DUIN.  
VAN MAASDAM.

The following is an extract of a proclamation of the prince of Orange, dated the Hague, Dec. 6.

#### PROCLAMATION.

We, William Frederick, by the grace of God, prince of Orange and Nassau, sovereign prince of the United Netherlands, &c.

When on the 2d. inst. We accepted

cepted at Amsterdam the sovereignty over the United Netherlands, in consequence of the universally expressed wish of the people, we greatly wished to confirm and crown, by a solemn installation, that event, which binds us, our children, and descendants, more strongly than ever to the fate of this nation. But the circumstances in which our country is placed, and the important occupations caused thereby, have made us deem it expedient to reserve for the present the fixing of the time when that ceremony shall take place, in the pleasing expectation that in the course of a few weeks we shall be able to announce to the nation, and also to submit to our beloved fellow-countrymen, a constitution which, under a monarchical form, which they themselves have chosen, may secure to them their morals, their personal rights and privileges,—in one word, their ancient freedom. In the mean time we cannot longer delay taking the reins of government into our own hands, and charging ourselves with the immediate direction of the affairs of the state.

We therefore now declare, that the hitherto subsisting general government of the United Netherlands is this day dissolved, and that henceforward no one can or may make any order or regulation of binding force, but in as far as it has emanated from us, or from magistrates appointed and commissioned by us.

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The provisional government of the city of Leyden, to the good citizens of that city.

Citizens and inhabitants of Leyden!—Scarcely had the beloved prince of the Netherlands again set

his foot on his natal soil, when from all sides the wish was expressed that William Frederic, prince of Orange and Nassau, should stand not only in the same dignity and relation to our country as his illustrious ancestors, but that he should be sovereign prince of the Netherlands.

We heartily wished, with you, to offer his highness this great dignity in the name of all the citizens, and, like the great city of Amsterdam, to salute him as such on the day when our city should be honoured with his high presence.

But though the joyful day is not far off, the inhabitants of Leyden are too impatient to wait for it to fulfil their wish.

Well, then, citizens and inhabitants of Leyden, from this day forward we recognise the illustrious descendant of the house of Orange as sovereign prince, and respect him as such.

The unity of the sovereign power must now be the corner-stone of our political edifice—then shall our civil liberty revive, and be secured by wise laws. Then, under the government of a prince of the blood of Nassau born in our own country, educated in the principles of honour and the religion of our forefathers, who knows our wants and respects our manners, shall the re-establishment of the Netherlands be begun, and under the blessing of God be happily accomplished.

Let every one, then, take his post about our beloved prince, and promote, with all his ability, the great work which he has to accomplish for our sakes. The preservation of the Netherlands, our happiness, and that of our posterity, are his sole object, and shall be secured under his government.

No sacrifices can be too great to save, to preserve our country. No foreign

foreign constraint, no domination more, no external power, shall longer drag our children to slaughter.

Let William Frederic, prince of Orange and Nassau, sovereign of the Netherlands, be then the rallying point of all brave Netherlands. Be he the shield against which all discord and party spirit is broken, and strengthen the bond by which union gives power; and honour and prosperity may again abide among us. The God of the Netherlands, the God of our fathers, bless, strengthen, help, and support him!

Done and resolved by the provisional government of the city of Leyden, the 8th of December, 1813; and after ringing the bells, published to the people from the tower of the town-house, on the following day, by the heads of the provisional government of the city of Leyden, Anthony Gustay, baron of Boetzelaer; Mr. Girardus Martinus Von Bommel, Johan Gael, Mr. Daniel Michael Gysbers Heldewier, and Mr. William Peter Kleist.

This proclamation was received with unanimous acclamations by the assembled crowds, with the cry

of Long live William Frederic, prince of Orange, sovereign prince of the Netherlands!

[A similar proclamation to the above was adopted by the citizens of Dort.]

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PROCLAMATION FROM FIELD MARSHAL THE MARQUIS OF WELLINGTON TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

Upon entering your country, learn that I have given the most positive orders (a translation of which is subjoined to this) to prevent those evils which are the ordinary consequences of invasion, which you know is the result of that which your government made into Spain, and of the triumphs of the allied army under my command.

You may be certain that I will carry these orders into execution, and I request of you to cause to be arrested, and conveyed to my headquarters, all those who contrary to these dispositions do you any injury.

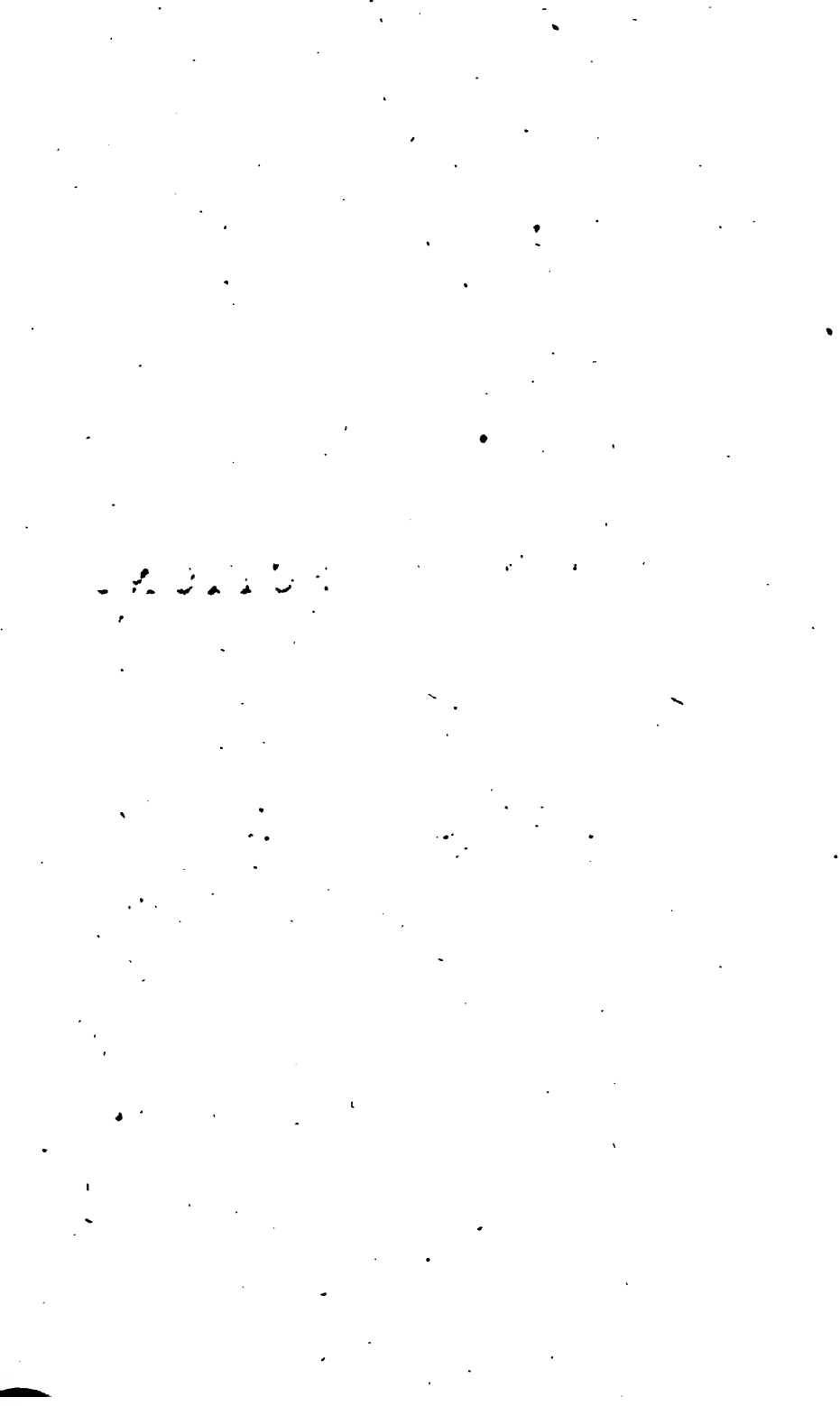
But it is requisite you should remain in your houses, and take no part whatever in the operations of the war of which your country is going to become the theatre.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

**LITERARY SELECTIONS**

**AND**

**RETROSPECT.**



# BIOGRAPHICAL

## ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

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### EARLY LIFE OF MR. PENN.

[FROM MR. CLARKSON'S MEMOIRS.]

"WILLIAM PENN was descended from an ancient family, respectable both in point of character and independence as early as the first public records notice it. The following is a concise account of his origin :

" Among his early ancestors were those of the same name, who were living, between four and five centuries ago, at the village of Penn in Buckinghamshire. Further traces of this family are to be found in *Penlands*, *Pen-street*, *Pen-house*, all of them the names of places in the same county.

" From the Penns of Penn in Buckinghamshire came the Penns of Penn's Lodge, near Myntie on the edge of Bradon Forest, in the north-west part of the county of Wilts or rather in Gloucestershire, a small part of the latter being inclosed within the former county. Here, that is, at Penn's Lodge, we know that two, if not more, of the male branches so descended lived in succession. The latter, whose name was William, was buried in Myntie church. A flat gravestone, which

perpetuates this event, is still remaining. It stands in the passage between two pews in the chancel. It states, however, only, that he died on the twelve of March 1591.

" From William just mentioned came Giles Penn. Giles, it is known, was a captain in the royal navy. He held also for some time the office of English consul in the Mediterranean. Having intermarried with the family of the Gilberts, who came originally from Yorkshire, but who then lived in the county of Somerset, he had issue a son, whom he called William.

" The last mentioned William, following the profession of his father, became a distinguished naval officer. He was born in the year 1621, and commanded at a very early age the fleet which Oliver Cromwell sent against Hispaniola. This expedition, though it failed, brought no discredit upon him, for Colonel Venables was the cause of its miscarriage. It was considered, on the other hand, as far as Admiral Penn was concerned, that he conducted it with equal wisdom and courage.



After the restoration of Charles the Second he was commander under the Duke of York in that great and terrible sea-fight against the Dutch, under Admiral Opdam, in the year 1665, where he contributed so much to the victory, that he was knighted. He was ever afterwards received with all the marks of private friendship at court. Though he was thus engaged both under the parliament and the king, he took no part in the civil war, but adhered to the duties of his profession, which, by keeping him at a distance from the scene of civil commotion, enabled him to serve his country without attaching himself to either of the interests of the day. Besides the reputation of a great and patriot officer, he acquired that of having improved the naval service in several important departments. He was the author of several little tracts on this subject, some of which are preserved in the British Museum. From the monument erected to his memory by his wife, and which is to be seen in Radcliffe church, in the city of Bristol, we may learn something of his life, death, and character. He was made captain (as this monument records) at the years of twenty-one, rear admiral of Ireland at twenty-three, vice admiral of Ireland at twenty-five, admiral to the Straights at twenty-nine, vice admiral of England at thirty-one, and general in the first Dutch war at thirty-two; whence returning anno 1655, he was parliament-man for the town of Weymouth; 1660 made commissioner of the admiralty and navy, governor of the town and fort of Kingsale, vice-admiral of Munster, and a member of that provincial council, and anno 1664 was chosen great captain com-

mander under his royal highness in that signal and most evidently successful fight against the Dutch fleet. Thus he took leave of the sea, his old element; but continued still his other employs till 1669: at that time, through bodily infirmities contracted by the care and fatigue of public affairs, he withdrew, prepared, and made for his end; and with a gentle and even gale, in much peace arrived and anchored in his last and best port, at Wanstead in the county of Essex, the 16th of September 1670, being then but forty-nine years and four months old. These are the words of the monument.

"It will be proper now to observe, that Admiral Sir William Penn, descended in the manner I have related, married Margaret, the daughter of John Jasper, a merchant of Rotterdam in Holland, and that he had a son, William, the person whose life is the subject of the present work.

"William last mentioned, and now to be distinguished from Admiral Sir William Penn, was born in London, in the parish of St. Catherine on Tower-Hill, on the fourteenth day of October 1644.

"He received the first rudiments of his education at Chigwell, in Essex, where there was an excellent free grammar school founded only fifteen years before by Samuel Harsnett, Archbishop of York. Chigwell was particularly convenient for this purpose, being but at a short distance from Wanstead, which was then the country residence of his father. As something remarkable is usually said of all great men in the early part of their lives, so it was said of William Penn that, while here and alone in his chamber, being then eleven years old, he was

was suddenly surprised with an inward comfort; and as he thought an external glory in the room, which gave rise to religious emotions, during which he had the strongest convictions of the being of a God, and that the soul of man was capable of enjoying communication with him. He believed also, that the seal of divinity had been put upon him at this moment, or that he had been awakened or called upon to a holy life. But whatever was the external occasion, or whether any or none, or whatever were the particular notions which he is said to have imbibed at this period, certain it is, that while he was at Chigwell school his mind was seriously impressed on the subject of religion.

"Having left Chigwell at twelve years of age, he went to a private school on Tower Hill, which was near his father's London residence. Here he had greater advantages than before; for his father, to promote his scholarship, kept for him a private tutor in his own house.

"At the age of fifteen he had made such progress in his studies, that it was thought fit to send him to college. He was accordingly entered a gentleman commoner at Christ's Church, Oxford. He is said to have paid great attention to his college exercises, and yet to have allowed himself all reasonable recreation. The latter consisted partly of manly sports, in which he took great delight, and partly of the society of those young men in the university, who were distinguished either by their talents or their worth. Among those of promising genius he was intimate with Robert Spencer, afterwards the well-known Earl of Sunderland, and the venerable John Locke.

"It happened, while here, that the Duke of Gloucester, the second brother of Charles the Second, died. He was taken off suddenly by the small-pox in the twenty-first year of his age. The king, who loved him tenderly, appeared to be more concerned for his loss than for any misfortune which had ever befallen him. Indeed all historians agree in giving this young prince an amiable character, so that there was great sorrow in the nation on account of his death. Many belonging to the university of Oxford, partaking of it, both students and others, gave to the world the poetic effusions of their condolence on this occasion; and among these William Penn was not behind hand, if we may judge from the following specimen, taken from the *Epidia Academicæ Oxoniensis in Obitum celsissimi Principis Henrici, Ducis Glocestriensis*. 4to. 1660.

"Publica te, Dux magnæ, dabent jejunia genti,

Sed facta est, nato principe, festa diæ.  
Te moriente, licet celebraret læta triumphos

'Anglia, solennes solvitur in lachrymas.  
Solut ad arbitrium moderaris pectora;  
solus

Tu dolor accedis, delicisque tuis."

"The foregoing elegy I cannot translate, particularly into metre, so as either to comprehend the full sense of it, or to do justice to its merits; and, unless it appear in a poetic dress, the force of it would be lost. I shall, however, make an attempt for the benefit of those who are English readers only.

Though 'twas a *fast day* when thou cam'st,  
*thy birth*

Turn'd it at once to one of *festive mirth*.  
Though England, at *thy death*, still made  
her show

Of *public joy*, she pass'd to *public woe*.  
Thou dost, alone, the public breast control,  
Alone, delight and sorrow to the soul.

"Bu

"But though William Penn was a youth of a lively genius, as this little specimen intimates, and though he indulged himself at times in manly sports and exercises, as has been before mentioned, yet he never forgot the religious impressions which he had received at Chigwell school. These, on the other hand, had been considerably strengthened by the preaching of Thomas Loe. This person, a layman, had belonged to the university of Oxford, but had then become a quaker. The doctrines which he promulgated seem to have given a new turn to the mind of William Penn, who was incapable of concealing what he thought it a duty to profess. Accordingly, on discovering that some of his fellow students entertained religious sentiments which were in unison with his own, he began, in conjunction with them, to withdraw himself from the established worship, and to hold meetings where they followed their devotional exercises in their own way. This conduct, which soon became known, gave offence to the heads of the college, who in consequence of it fined all of them for non-conformity. This happened in the year 1660.

"But the imposition of this fine had not the desired effect. It neither deterred him nor his associates from their old practices, nor from proceeding even further where they thought themselves justified in so doing. An opportunity for this presented itself soon afterwards; for an order came down to Oxford from Charles the Second, that the surplice should be worn according to the custom of ancient times. It was an unusual sight then at that university. This sight operated differently upon different persons; but

so disagreeably upon William Penn, who conceived that the simplicity and spirituality of the Christian religion would be destroyed by the introduction of outward ceremonies and forms, that he could not bear it. Engaging therefore his friend Robert Spencer, before mentioned, and some other young gentlemen to join him, he fell upon those students who appeared in surplices, and he and they together tore them every where over their heads. This outrage was of so flagrant and public a nature, that the college immediately took it up; and the result was, that William and several of his associates were expelled.

"William Penn, after his expulsion from college, returned home. His father is said to have received him coldly. Indeed he could not be otherwise than displeased with his son on account of the public disgrace which he had thus incurred: but that, which vexed him most was the change now observable in his habits; for he began to abandon what was called the fashionable world, and to mix only with serious and religious people. It was this dereliction of it which proved the greatest disappointment; for the admiral was fearful that all the prospects in life which he had formed for his son, and which he could have promoted by his great connections, would be done away. Anxious therefore to recover him, he had recourse to argument. This failing, like one accustomed to arbitrary power, he proceeded to blows; and the latter failing also, he turned him out of doors.

"The admiral, after a procedure so violent, began at length to relent. He was himself, though perhaps hasty in his temper, a man of an excellent disposition, so that his  
own

own good feelings frequently opposed themselves to his anger on this occasion. His wife too, an amiable woman, lost no opportunity of intercession. Overcome therefore by his own affectionate nature on the one hand, and by her entreaties on the other, he forgave his son. But he was desirous of meeting the evil for the future, and he saw no other means of doing it than by sending his son to France. He indulged a hope that the change of scene might wean him from his old connections, and that the gaiety of French manners might correct the growing gravity of his mind. Accordingly in 1662 he sent him to that country, in company with certain persons of rank who were then going upon their travels.

"The place where William first resided was Paris. While here, but one anecdote concerning him is recorded. It happened that he was attacked one evening in the street by a person who drew his sword upon him in consequence of a supposed affront. A conflict immediately ensued. William in the course of it disarmed his antagonist, but proceeded no further, sparing his life when by the confession of all those who relate the fact he could have taken it; thus exhibiting, says Gerard Croese, a testimony not only of his courage, but of his forbearance.

"It is no where said how long he remained at Paris; but it is probable that his stay there was very short, and moreover that the gaiety and dissipation of that city was far from pleasing him; for we find him afterwards with his companions a resident for some months, in the years 1662 and 1663, at Saumur; whither he had gone to avail himself of the conversation and instruc-

tion of the learned Moses Amyrault, who was a Protestant minister of the Calvinistic persuasion, professor of divinity at Saumur, and at this time in the highest estimation of any divine in France. His works, such as his Paraphrase on the New Testament and Psalms, his Apology for his Religion, his Treatise on Free Will, his Exaltation of Faith and Abasement of Reason, with many others, had been then widely circulated and read. The greatest men in that kingdom, both Calvinists and Catholics, honoured him with their friendship; and he was so highly esteemed by the Cardinal Richlieu, that the latter imparted to him his design of uniting the two churches.

"The learned Monsieur du Bosc, on seeing the print of his friend Moses when it came out, wrote under it this distich:

"A Mose ad Mosem par Mose non fuit  
 ullus;  
 Mere, ore, et calamo miras uterque  
 fuit."

These lines the English biographer, who has noticed the life of Moses Amyrault, has translated thus:

From Moses down to Moses none,  
 Among the sons of men,  
 With equal lustre ever shone  
 In manners, tongue, and pen.

"Under a man so conspicuous William Penn renewed his studies. He read the Fathers: he turned over the pages of theology: he applied himself to the rudiments of the French language, so as to become a proficient in the knowledge of it. His residence here I beg the reader to remember, because it will throw light upon a circumstance which will require development in the course of the present work.

"It appears when he left Saumur that he directed his course towards Italy,

Italy, and that he had reached Turin in his way thither; for, while there, a letter reached him from his father desiring his return home. His father had then received notice that he was to command the fleet against the Dutch, and wished his son to take care of the family in his absence. William in consequence returned. This was in 1664. During the few opportunities he had with his father, he is said to have given satisfaction; for though he had not gone back (as indeed it would seem impossible under the care of Moses Amyraut) in his regard and concern for religion, he was yet more lively in his manners than before. He had contracted also a sort of polished or courtly demeanour, which he had insensibly taken from the customs of the people among whom he had lately lived.

"It was thought advisable, as he had now returned from the continent, that he should know something of the laws of his own country; and accordingly, on the suggestion of his father, he became a student of Lincoln's Inn. He remained there for about a year, when the great plague making its appearance in London, he quitted it, with many others, on the reasonable precaution of self-preservation. This took place in the year 1665, in which year he became of age.

"It is not probable, where men have pursued a path in conformity with their belief of divine truths, that any ordinary measures taken to divert them from it will be successful. The fire kindled in their minds may indeed be smothered for a time, but it will eventually break forth. Such was the state of the mind of William Penn at this period. He had come from the continent with

an air of gaiety and the show of polite manners, which the admiral had mistaken for a great change in his mind. But now, in 1666, all volatile appearances had died away. The grave and sedate habits of his countrymen, the religious controversies then afloat, these and other circumstances of a similar tendency had caused the spark which had appeared in him to revive in its wonted strength. He became again only a serious person. He mixed again only with grave and religious people. His father, when he returned from sea, could not but notice this change. It was the more visible on account of the length of his absence. He saw it with all his former feelings; with the same fear for the consequences, and the same determination to oppose it. Not easily to be vanquished, he determined a second time to endeavour to break up his son's connections; and to effect this, he sent him to Ireland.

"One reason which induced him to make choice of Ireland for this purpose, was his acquaintance with the Duke of Ormond, (who was then lord lieutenant of that country,) as well as with several others who attended his court. The duke himself was a man of a graceful appearance, lively wit, and cheerful temper; and his court had the reputation of great gaiety and splendour. The admiral conceived, therefore, if his son were properly introduced among his friends there, that he might even yet receive a new bias, and acquire a new taste. But this scheme of the admiral did not answer. Nothing which William saw there could shake his religious notions, or his determination to a serious life. Every thing, on the other hand, which he saw, tended

tended to confirm them. He considered the court, with its pomp and vanity, its parade and ceremonies, as a direct nursery for vice; and as to its routine of pleasures, it became to him only a routine of disgust.

"Thus disappointed again in his expectations, but not yet overcome, the admiral had recourse to another expedient, an expedient, indeed, which he had always contemplated in case of the failure of the other. He had large estates in Ireland, one of which, comprehending Shannigary Castle, lay in the barony of Imokelly, and the others in the baronies of Ibaune and Barryroe, all of them in the county of Cork. He determined therefore to give his son the sole management of these, knowing at least, while he resided upon them, that he would be far from his English connections, and at any rate that he would have ample employment for his time. William received his new commission. He was happy in the execution of it. He performed it also, after a trial of many months, to the entire satisfaction and even joy of his father; and he was going on in the yet diligent performance of it, when, alas! this his very occupation (so often do the efforts made to prevent an apprehended evil become the means of introducing it) brought him eventually into the situation which his father of all others deprecated! Being accidentally on business at Cork, he heard that Thomas Loe (the layman of Oxford, mentioned in the preceding chapter to have been the person who first confirmed his early religious impressions), was to preach at a meeting of the quakers in that city. It was impossible that he could return to his farm without seeing the

man whom he considered as his greatest human benefactor, and still more without hearing his discourse. Accordingly he attended. The preacher at length rose. He began with the following text: 'There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world.' On this subject he enlarged, and this in so impressive a manner that William was quite overcome. The words indeed of the text were so adapted to his situation, that he could hardly help considering them as peculiarly addressed to himself; for, from the time of his leaving Chigwell school to the present, there had been a constant struggle between himself and the world, and this entirely on account of his faith. Such a discourse, if ably handled, must have come home to him in every sentence. He must have seen his own arduous conflict personified as it were, and portrayed before him. He must have seen the precipice on which he had stood, with the gulf terrible below. He must have seen some angel in the picture cheering him for the efforts he had already made, and some other holding up to his view at a distance a wreath of never-fading glory, which he might gain by perseverance for the time to come. But whatever were the topics of this discourse, it is certain that William was so impressed by it, that though he had as yet not discovered a partiality for any particular sect, he favoured the quakers as a religious body from that day.

"The result of this preference was, that he began to attend their religious meetings. But, alas! he soon learnt, from the ignorant prejudices of the times, that in following the path which his own conscience

science dictated to him, he had a bitter cup to drink: for being at one of these meetings on the 3d of September 1667, he was apprehended on the plea of a proclamation issued in 1660 against tumultuous assemblies, and carried before the mayor. The latter, looking at him and observing that he was not clothed as others of the society were, offered him his liberty if he would give bond for his good behaviour. But William not choosing to do this, he was committed with eighteen others to prison.

"He had not been long there when he wrote to Lord Orrery, then president of the council of Munster, to request his release. We find in this letter nothing either servile or degrading. It was written, on the other hand, in a manly and yet decorous manner. '*Religion,*' says he, 'which is at once my crime and mine innocence, makes me a prisoner to a mayor's malice, but *mine own free man.*' He then informed the earl of the reason of his imprisonment: he showed him, that the proclamation did not reach his case; and concluded by an appeal to his own good sense, and to his better knowledge of theology, and by reminding him of his own conduct, when he himself was a solicitor in behalf of liberty of conscience as one of the greatest blessings which could be bestowed upon the land. This request, as far as William was concerned, was quickly granted; for the earl immediately ordered his discharge.

"William Penn had now for the first time tasted persecution for having gratified his religious predilections, and had received an earnest of what he might expect if he continued publicly to indulge them in his own way. This experience,

however, had not the effect of making him desert his new Christian connections. On the other hand, it strengthened him in the resolution of a closer union with them. He had begun to suffer them. He had begun too to suffer for their cause. Mixing therefore more intimately with them than ever, from this period, he began to be considered by many, and even to be called by some, a quaker.

"The rumour that he had become a quaker soon reached his father. It was conveyed to him by a nobleman then resident in Ireland, who addressed him purposely on the subject. The admiral on the receipt of this letter sent for his son, William immediately obeyed, and returned home. At the first interview all appeared to be well. There was nothing discoverable, either in his dress or his manners, by which the information sent concerning him could be judged to be true. In process of time, however, the concern of mind under which he occasionally laboured, his dereliction of the customs of the world, and particularly of the ceremony of the hat, and his communion with those only of the same peculiar cast, left no doubt of the fact. The admiral, now more uneasy than ever, (for he had tried his last expedient,) could no longer contain himself, but came to a direct explanation with his son on the subject. The scene which passed between them is described as having been peculiarly affecting. 'And here,' says Joseph Besse, (the first collector of the works of William Penn, with a *Journal of his Life* prefixed,) 'my pen is diffident of her abilities to describe that most pathetic and moving contest which was between his father and him; his father actuated by natural  
love.'

love, principally aiming at this son's temporal honour; he, guided by a divine impulse, having chiefly in view his own eternal welfare: his father grieved to see the well accomplished son of his hopes, now ripe for worldly promotion, voluntarily turning his back upon it; he, no less afflicted to think a compliance with his earthly father's pleasures was inconsistent with his obedience to his heavenly one: his father pressing his conformity to the customs and fashions of the times; he, modestly craving leave to refrain from what would hurt his conscience: his father earnestly entreating him, and almost on his knees beseeching him, to yield to his desire; he, of a loving and tender disposition, in an extreme agony of spirit to behold his father's concern and trouble: his father threatening to disinherit him; he, humbly submitting to his father's will therein: his father turning his back on him in anger; he, lifting up his heart to God for strength to support him in that time of trial.'

"This interview, though some of the best feelings of the human mind were called forth in the course of it on the part of William, had not the desired effect: for the die was then cast; he had actually become, a quaker. The admiral, after this, gave up all thought of altering the general views of his son. He hoped only to be able to prevail upon him to give up certain peculiarities which appeared to have little to do with conscience, and to be used merely as the distinguishing marks of a sect. He therefore told his son, that he would trouble him no more on the subject of his conversion, if he would only consent to sit with his hat off in his own presence; and in that of the King and the Duke of

York. William, on receiving the proposition, desired time to consider of it. This agitated his father. He had no conception that the subject of his solicitation required thought. He became immediately suspicious, and told his son, that he had only asked for time, that he might consult his friends, the quakers. William assured his father that he would do no such thing; and having pledged his word to this effect, he left him, and retired to his own chamber.

"It will be asked by some, what necessity there could be, in a matter apparently trivial, to retire either for serious meditation or for divine help? The answer can be furnished only by representing what were the notions of the quakers on this subject at the time in question. I may observe then, that, when they were first gathered out of the world, they considered themselves as a select people, upon whom it devolved to bear their public testimony by abandoning all those fashions and customs belonging to it, which either corrupted or had a tendency to corrupt the mind. Among others they discarded what may be called the ceremonial use of the hat, such as the pulling it off on complimentary occasions. This they did in particular for the following reasons. First, they took it for granted that the use of the hat in the way described was either to show honour, respect, submission, or some similar feeling of the mind; but they contended, that, used as it then was, it was no more than a criterion of these than mourning garments were criterions of sorrow. The customs therefore, in their opinion, led to repeated acts of insincerity. A show was held out of the mind's intention where no such intention existed.



ted. Now Christianity was never satisfied but with the truth. It forbade all false appearances. It allowed no action to be resorted to, that was not correspondent with the feelings of the heart. Secondly, in the case where the custom was intended to have a meaning, it was generally the sign of flattery. But no man could give way to flattery without degrading himself, and at the same time unduly exalting the person whom he distinguished by it. Hence they gave to the custom the name of hat-worship, a name which it bears among them at the present day. Thirdly, it was the practice of their ministers, a practice enjoined by the apostle Paul, to uncover their heads, that is, to pull off their hats, both when they preached and prayed. But if they took off their hats as an outward act enjoined in the service of God, neither they nor their followers could with propriety take them off to men, because they would be thus giving to the creature the same outward honour which they gave to the Creator.

"From this account it will be obvious, that the ceremonial use of the hat was considered by the early quakers as more connected with the conscience than the admiral had imagined it to be: and in this point of view it was considered by his son also; for he looked upon the request of his father as neither more nor less than a call upon him to pull down one of the human barriers which he had but just erected in defence of his own virtue. This

thought produced in him an awful feeling; for, if one of these barriers were destroyed, the citadel itself would be less safe. He conceived that if an inroad, however small, were once suffered to be made on principle, other inroads would become more easy. If the mind gave way but to one deviation from what was right, it would more easily give way to others; for, as in no instance it could do so without losing a portion of its virtue, so, this portion being lost, its powers of resistance would be weakened. Under this impression, conjoined with the circumstance of his father's application, he experienced a severe conflict. He loved his father, and respected him; yet he dared not do that which he conceived would obstruct his religious growth. He was sensible of the duty which he owed him as a parent; but he was equally sensible of a superior duty to God, to whom ultimately he was responsible. Yielding at length to these considerations, he found himself compelled to inform his father, that he could not accede to his request. This he did with expressions of the greatest tenderness and affection, as well as of filial submission. The admiral heard his answer; but could not bear it. Unable to gain the least concession from his son, and in a point where he judged it impossible that persons bred up as gentlemen could disagree, he gave way to his anger, and in the violence of the blast, which followed it, he once more turned him out of doors.

PENN'S FOUNDATION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

[From the same.]

**A**FTER this he was occupied in winding up the affairs of his father with the government. His father had advanced large sums of money from time to time for the good of the naval service, and his pay had been also in arrears. For these two claims, including the interest upon the money due, government were in debt to him no less a sum than sixteen thousand pounds. William Penn was desirous therefore of closing the account. He was however not anxious for the money. He wished, on the other hand, to take land in America in lieu of it, and therefore petitioned Charles the Second, that letters patent might be granted him for the same. The tract he solicited was to lie North of Maryland. It was to be bounded on the East by the Delaware River. It was to be limited on the West as Maryland was, and it was to extend Northward as far as it was plantable. It has been said that he was led to this step by his father, who before his death had received a good report of this tract from a relation, and who had received the promise of a grant of it by way of reimbursement from the crown. But this is the assertion merely of a solitary writer, and is in other respects improbable; for William Penn came to a knowledge of it, far more accurate than any which could have been furnished him by his father, in consequence of constant communications concerning it from

those settlers whom he himself had sent to West New Jersey, directly opposite to which it lay. Nor had he any desire to possess it from any views of worldly interest, such as his father might have entertained, but chiefly from the noble motive of doing good. Having acted as a trustee of Billynge for four years, he had seen what a valuable colony might be planted by a selection of religious families, who should emigrate and dwell together, and who should leave behind them the vicious customs and rotten parts both of the political and religious constitution of the Old World. In this point of view any payment of the debt in money would, as I have said before, have been nothing to him compared with the payment of it in American land: and that something like this was his motive for soliciting the grant in question, may be abundantly shown. Oldmixon, who was his contemporary, states, that, 'finding his friends, the quakers, were harassed over England by spiritual courts, he resolved to put himself at the head of as many as would go with him, and thus conduct them to a place where they would be no longer subjected to suffering on account of their religion.' Anderson, who succeeded Oldmixon, speaks the same language. In his *Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce* he uses the following words: 'The same year gave

gave rise to the noble English colony of Pennsylvania in North America. Mr. William Penn, an eminent quaker, and a gentleman of great knowledge and true philosophy, had it granted to him at this time. He designed it for a retreat or asylum for the people of his own religious persuasion, then made uneasy at home through the bigotry of spiritual courts.' Such is the statement of these writers. The truth however is, that he had three distinct objects in view when he petitioned for this grant. In a letter to a friend on this subject he says, 'that he so desires to obtain and to keep the New Land, as that he may not be unworthy of God's love, but do that which may answer his kind providence, and serve his truth and people; that an example may be set up to nations, that there was room there (in America) though not here (in England) for such an holy experiment.'—Here then are two of these objects: for to serve God's truth and people meant with him the same thing as to afford the quakers the retreat from persecution mentioned; and by the words which followed these, it is clear he had a notion, that by transporting the latter he might be enabled to raise a virtuous empire in the New Land, which should diffuse its example far and wide, and to the remotest ages; an idea worthy of a great mind, and such only as a mind undaunted by difficulties could have hoped to realize. The third object may be seen in his petition for this grant; for in this he stated, that he had in view the glory of God by the civilization of the poor Indians, and the conversion of the Gentiles by just and lenient measures to Christ's kingdom. In short, his motives may be summoned up in the general descrip-

tion of them given by Robert Proud, one of his more modern historians, and who had access to hundreds of his letters, and who spared no pains to develop his mind in the most material transactions of his life. 'The views of William Penn,' says he, 'in the colonization of Pennsylvania, were most manifestly the best and most exalted that could occupy the human mind; namely, to render men as free and happy as the nature of their existence could possibly bear in their civil capacity, and, in their religious state, to restore them to those lost rights and privileges with which God and nature had originally blessed the human race. This in part he effected, and by those means, which Providence in the following manner put into his hands, he so far brought to pass as to excite the admiration of strangers, and to fix in posterity that love and honour for his memory, which the length of future time will scarcely ever be able to efface.'

"But to return to the petition. It was presented, as I have before stated, to the king. I have now to observe, that the king, having read it, sent it to the privy council; and that the privy council, having considered its contents, sent it to the lords committee of trade and plantations. Great opposition was made to it in both places, and for no other reason than because William Penn was a quaker. Several meetings took place, in which the objections of the Duke of York (by his agent Sir John Werden) as proprietor of a large tract of land in the neighbourhood of that which was the object of the petition, and those of Lord Baltimore as proprietor of Maryland, were fully heard and debated. The advice too of the Chief Justice North, and the Attorney-General

General Sir William Jones, was taken on the subject of the grant. The matter at length ended in favour of William Penn; and he was by charter, dated at Westminster the 4th of March 1681, and signed by writ of privy seal, made and constituted full and absolute proprietor of all that tract of land which he had solicited and marked out, and invested with the power of ruling and governing the same.

"This charter consisted of twenty-three sections. In these the extent and boundaries of the new province were specified, and the free use of all ports, bays, rivers, and waters there, and of their produce, and of all islands, mountains, soils, and mines there, and of their produce, were wholly granted and given up to him. He was made absolute proprietary of the said territory, which was to be held in free and common soccage by fealty only, paying two beaver skins annually, and one fifth of all the gold and silver discovered, to the king, and the said territory was to be called Pennsylvania after his own name. He had the power of making laws with the advice, assent, and approbation of the free men of the territory assembled for the raising of money for public uses; of appointing judges and other officers; and of pardoning and reprieving, except in the cases of wilful murder and high treason. In these cases reprieve was to be granted only till the pleasure of the king was known, who also reserved to himself the right of hearing appeals. He had the power also in new and sudden circumstances, where the free men could not be suddenly and conveniently assembled, of making ordinances, which, however, were to be agreeable to reason, and not re-

pugnant, to the laws of England, or to be extended in any sort to bind, change, or take away the right or interest of persons for, or in, their lives, members, freeholds, goods, and chattels; and all property as well as felonies were to be regulated by the laws of England, until the said laws should be altered by himself, or assigns, and the free men of the said province. Duplicates of all laws made there were to be transmitted to the privy council within five years after they were passed; and if within six months after having been so transmitted such laws were not pronounced void by the said council, they were to be considered as having been approved of and to be valid. Permission was given to English subjects to transport themselves to, and to settle in, Pennsylvania; to load and freight in English ports, and transport all merchandize from thence to the said province, and to transport the fruits and produce of the said province to England on paying the accustomed duties. He had the power of dividing the province into towns, hundreds, and counties; of erecting and incorporating towns into boroughs, and boroughs into cities; of erecting manors, holding courts baron, and of having and holding view of frankpledge; of selling or alienating any part or parts of the said province, in which case the purchasers were to hold by his grant; of constituting fairs and markets; and of making ports, harbours, and quays, at which ports, harbours, and quays, and at which only, vessels were to be laden and unladen. All officers, however, appointed by the farmers or commissioners of the king's customs were to have free admission thereto. He had the power of assessing, reasonably,

sonably, and with the advice of the free men assembled, custom on goods to be laden and unladen, and of enjoying the same, saving however to the king such impositions as were and should be appointed by act of parliament. He was to appoint from time to time an agent to reside in or near London, to answer for any misdemeanour on his part against the laws of trade and navigation; and, in case of such misdemeanour, he was to make good the damage occasioned thereby within one year; in failure of which, the king was to seize the government of the said province, and to retain it till the said damage was made good. He was not to maintain correspondence with any king or power at war with England, nor to make war against any king or power in amity with the same. In case of incursion by neighbouring barbarous nations, or by pirates or robbers, he had power to levy, muster, and train to arms all men in the said province, and to act as their captain-general, and to make war upon and pursue the same. The king was never to impose any tax or custom upon the inhabitants of it, either upon their lands, tenements, goods, or chattels, or upon any merchandize to be laden or unladen within it, unless by the consent of himself, or the chief governor appointed by him, or by the assembly, or by act of parliament in England. This declaration was to be deemed by all the judges in all the courts of law to be a lawful discharge, payment, and acquittance; and no officer was to attempt any thing contrary to the premises, but to aid him, his heirs, servants, agents, and others in the full use and enjoyment of the charter. If any of the inhabitants to the num-

ber of twenty should signify their desire to the Bishop of London to have a preacher sent to them, such preacher should be allowed to reside and perform his functions without any denial or molestation whatever. If any doubt should arise concerning the meaning of any expression in the charter, the interpretation of it was to be construed in a manner the most favourable to him and his heirs.

“ It may be proper to give here an anecdote of the modesty of William Penn, as it relates to the above charter. On the day when it was signed he wrote to several of his friends to inform them of it, and among others to R. Turner, one of the persons mentioned to have been admitted as a partner in the purchase of East New Jersey. He says in this letter, that after many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes in council, his country was on that day confirmed to him under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of Pennsylvania, a name which the king gave it in honour of his father. It was his own intention to have had it called New Wales; but the under secretary, who was a Welshman, opposed it. He then suggested Sylvania on account of its woods, but they would still add Penn to it. He offered the under secretary twenty guineas to give up his prejudices, and to consent to change the name; for he feared lest it should be looked upon as vanity in him, and not as a respect in the king, as it truly was, to his father, whom he often mentioned with great praise. Finding that all would not do, he went to the king himself to get the name of Penn struck out, or another substituted; but the king said it was passed, and that

that he would take the naming of it upon himself. He concluded his letter by hoping that God would make the New Land the seed of a nation, and by promising to use his own best endeavours to that end, by having a tender care to the government, so that it should be well laid at first.

"The charter having been signed, the king gave it his further authority by a declaration, dated April the 2d, to all persons designing to become planters and inhabitants of Pennsylvania. This declaration pointed out to them the boundaries of the new province, and enjoined them to yield all obedience to the proprietor, his heirs, and his or their deputies, according to the powers granted by the said charter.

"William Penn, having now a colony of his own to settle, was obliged to give up his management of that of West New Jersey: but it was a matter of great satisfaction to him, that he had brought it from infancy to a state of manhood; to a state in which it could take care of itself. He had sent to it about fourteen hundred people, of whom the adults were persons of high character. The town of Burlington had been built. Farms had risen up out of the wild waste. Roads had been formed. Religious meeting houses had been erected in the place of tents covered with sail cloth, under which the first settlers worshipped. A respectable magistracy had been established. The very Indians too in the neighbourhood had been turned into friends and benefactors. Such was the situation of West New Jersey when he took his leave of it, and therefore it was with the less regret he left it to attend to his own concerns.

"The first thing he did, after 1813.

obtaining the charter, was to draw up 'Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America, lately granted under the Great Seal of England to William Penn'. To this account he annexed a copy of the royal charter, and also the terms on which he intended to part with the land. It appears from these terms, that any person wishing to become a planter might then buy a hundred acres of land for forty shillings, but a quit-rent of one shilling was to be reserved to the proprietor for every hundred acres for ever. Thus, if a person had bought one thousand acres, he would have had twenty pounds to pay for them; and ten shillings per annum quit-rent. The reason of the latter sort of payment was this, namely, that whereas William Penn held of the king by a small annual rent, others were obliged to hold of him in the same manner, having no security or good title to their purchases but by such a mode of tenure. It appears also, that renters were to pay one shilling an acre yearly not exceeding two hundred acres, and servants were to have fifty acres when the time of their servitude expired, whether men or women, that quantity of land being allowed their masters for such purpose. He subjoined also to this account of Pennsylvania his advice to those who were inclined to become adventurers, the latter part of which ran thus: 'I desire all my dear country-folks, who may be inclined to go into those parts, to consider seriously the premises, as well the inconveniency as future ease and plenty; that so none may move rashly, or from a fickle but from a solid mind, having above all things an eye to the providence of God in the disposing of themselves; and I would further advise

advise all such at least to have the permission, if not the good liking of their near relations, for that is both natural and a duty incumbent upon all. And by this, both natural affections and a friendly and profitable correspondence will be preserved between them, in all which I beseech Almighty God to direct us; that his blessing may attend our honest endeavours, and then the consequence of all our undertakings will turn to the glory of his great name, and all true happiness to us and our posterity.'

"He drew up next 'certain conditions or concessions to be agreed upon by William Penn, proprietary and governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and those who may become adventurers and purchasers in the same province.' These conditions related to the building, forming, and settling of towns, roads, and lands, and to the treatment of the natives, and other subjects. They consisted of twenty articles. Among other things it was stipulated in these, that no purchaser of ten thousand acres or more should have above a thousand acres lying together, unless in three years he planted a family upon every thousand of the same.—That every man should be bound to plant, or man so much as should be surveyed and set out to him within three years after such survey, or else a new comer should be settled thereon, who should pay him his survey-money, and he himself should go up higher for his share.—That in clearing the ground, care should be taken to leave one acre of trees for every five acres cleared, especially to preserve oaks and mulberries for silk and shipping.—In behalf of the Indians it was stipulated, that, as it had been usual with planters to over-

reach them in various ways, whatever was sold to them in consideration of their furs should be sold in the public market place, and there suffer the test, whether good or bad: if good, to pass; if not good, not to be sold for good; that the said native Indians might neither be abused nor provoked.—That no man should by any ways or means, in word or deed, affront or wrong any Indian, but he should incur the same penalty of the law as if he had committed it against his fellow planter; and if any Indian should abuse, 'in word or deed, any planter of the province, that the said planter should not be his own judge upon the said Indian, but that he should make his complaint to the governor of the province, or his deputy, or some inferior magistrate near him, who should to the utmost of his power take care with the king of the said Indian, that all reasonable satisfaction should be made to the said injured planter.—And that all differences between planters and Indians should be ended by twelve men, that is, 'by six planters and six Indians, that so they might live friendly together,' as much as in them lay, preventing all occasions of heart-burnings and mischief.—These stipulations in favour of the poor natives will for ever immortalize the name of William Penn; for, soaring above the prejudices and customs of his time, by which navigators and adventurers thought it right to consider the inhabitants of the lands they discovered as their lawful prey, or as mere animals of the brute creation, whom they might treat, use, and take advantage of at their pleasure, he regarded them as creatures endued with reason, as men of the like feelings and passions with himself, as brethren both by

by nature and grace, and as persons, therefore, to whom the great duties of humanity and justice were to be extended, and who, in proportion to their ignorance, were the more entitled to his fatherly protection and care.

“ ‘The account of Pennsylvania,’ which was before mentioned, and the ‘conditions or concessions,’ part of which have been just detailed, having been made known to the public, many purchasers came forward both in London and Liverpool, and particularly in Bristol. Among those in the latter city J. Claypole, N. Moore, P. Forde, W. Sharloe, E. Pierce, J. Simcock, T. Bracy, E. Brooks and others formed a company, which they called ‘The Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania.’ They purchased twenty thousand acres of land in trust for the said company, published articles of trade, and prepared for embarking in many branches of the same. Other persons purchased also, and among these a great number of quakers from Wales.

“ ‘It was necessary, before any of the purchasers embarked, that they should know something of the political constitution under which they were to live in the New Land, as well as that it should be such as they approved. William Penn accordingly drew up a rough sketch, to be submitted to their opinion, of that great Frame of Government which he himself wished to become the future and permanent one of the province. It consisted of twenty-four articles. These were preceded by what he called his first or great fundamental, by which he gave them that liberty of conscience which the laws of their own country denied them, and in behalf of which he had both written and suf-

fered so frequently himself. ‘In reverence,’ says he, ‘to God, the father of light and spirits, the author as well as object of all divine knowledge, faith, and worship, I do, for me and mine, declare and establish for the first fundamental of the government of my province, that every person that doth and shall reside therein shall have and enjoy the free profession of his or her faith and exercise of worship toward God, in such way and manner as every such person shall in conscience believe is most acceptable to God. And so long as every such person useth not this christian liberty to licentiousness or the destruction of others, that is to say, to speak loosely and profanely or contemptuously of God, Christ, the holy scriptures, or religion, or commit any moral evil or injury against others in their conversation, he or she shall be protected in the enjoyment of the aforesaid christian liberty by the civil magistrate.’ With respect to the articles of the Frame or Constitution, it is unnecessary to give them here, as the substance of them will be communicated in another place. It may be sufficient to observe, that the merchants and adventurers were well pleased with them, and that they unanimously signed them. Nor was William Penn less satisfied with himself, as having done his duty in proposing them, if we may judge from a second letter to R. Turner, which he wrote just at the time when he had resolved upon them. ‘I have been,’ says he, ‘these thirteen years the servant of truth and friends, and for my testimony’s sake lost much; not only the greatness and preferment of this world, but sixteen thousand pounds of my estate, which, had I not been what I am, I had long ago obtained.

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ed. But I murmur not; the Lord is good to me, and the interest his truth has given me with his people may more than repair it; for many are drawn forth to be concerned with me, and perhaps this way of satisfaction hath more the hand of God in it than a downright payment. This I can say, that I had an opening of joy as to these parts in the year 1661 at Oxford, twenty years since; and as my understanding and inclinations have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in government, so it is now put into my power to settle one. For the matters of liberty and privilege (alluding to these articles), I purpose that which is extraordinary, and leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country.

"The Conditions and Frame of Government having been mutually signed, three ships full of passengers set sail for Pennsylvania; two from London, and one from Bristol. It appears that the John and Sarah from London, Henry Smith master, arrived first; and the Bristol Factor, Roger Drew master, the next. The last vessel arrived at the place where Chester now stands. Here the passengers, seeing some houses, went on shore; and here, the river being frozen up that night, they remained all the winter. The other London ship, the Amity, Richard Dimon master, was blown off with her passengers to the West Indies, and did not arrive at the province till the spring of the next year.

"In one of these ships went Colonel William Markham. He was a relation of William Penn, and was to be his secretary when he himself should arrive. He was at-

tended by several commissioners, whose object was to confer with the Indians respecting their lands, and to endeavour to make with them a league of eternal peace. With this view they were enjoined in a solemn manner to treat them with all possible candour, justice, and humanity. They were the bearers also of a letter to them, which William Penn wrote with his own hand, and of which the following is a copy;

"There is a great God, and Power, which hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you, and I, and all people owe their being and well-being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we have done in the world.

"This great God has written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love, and to help, and to do good to one another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world; and the king of the country where I live hath given me a great province therein: but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbours and friends; else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us (not to devour and destroy one another, but) to live soberly and kindly together in the world? Now, I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice which have been too much exercised toward you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of goodness and patience unto you. This I hear hath been a matter of trouble to you,  
and

and caused great grudging and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood; which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard toward you, and desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly; and if in any thing any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them.

"I shall shortly come to see you myself, at which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters. In the mean time I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land and a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them and to the people, and receive the presents and tokens which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good will to you, and of my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you.

"I am your loving friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

"About this time William Penn was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He had before been acquainted with the celebrated Dr. John Wallis, who had been one of the chief instruments in founding it; but in the present year he wrote him a letter, in which he expressed to him the satisfaction he felt on hearing of the progress of the institution, as well as the high opinion he entertained of the advantages which would result to science from its labours, and in which (now

going out to Pennsylvania) he offered to contribute to its usefulness to the utmost of his power. It is probable from this letter, that Dr. Wallis was the person who nominated him to the above honour.

"About this time his mother died, for whom he had the deepest filial affection. She had often interposed in his behalf, when his father was angry with him for his dereliction of church principles and of the honours and fashions of the world, and she took him under her wing and supported him when he was turned out of doors for the same reason. It is said that he was so affected by her death, that he was ill for some days. A letter has come down to us, which he wrote at this time in answer to a friend who had solicited his advice, from which we may collect that he had been certainly indisposed on the occasion; and as the language of grief is usually short, so the conciseness of this letter, together with the sentiment contained in it, seems to imply that his mind was then oppressed by the event, and his religious consideration of it. It runs thus:

"Dear Friend,

"Both thy letters came in a few days one of the other. My sickness upon my mother's death, who was last seventh day interred, permitted me not to answer thee so soon as desired; but on a serious weighing of thy inclinations, and perceiving to last thy uneasiness under my constrained silence, it is most clear to me to counsel thee to sink down into the seasoning, settling gift of God, and to wait to distinguish between thy own desires and the Lord's requireing."

"Having paid the last earthly offices of respect to his mother, he began

began by degrees to turn his mind to his American concerns. The first thing he did was to publish the *Frame of Government or Constitution of Pennsylvania*, mentioned in the last chapter. To this he added a noble preface, containing his own thoughts upon the origin, nature, object, and modes of government; a preface, indeed, so beautiful, and full of wise and just sentiments, that I should fail in my duty if I were to withhold it from the reader.

“ ‘When the great and wise God had made the world, of all his creatures it pleased him to choose man his deputy to rule it: and to fit him for so great a charge and trust, he did not only qualify him with skill and power, but with integrity to use them justly. This native goodness was equally his honour and his happiness; and, whilst he stood here, all went well; there was no need of coercive or compulsive means; the precept of divine love and truth in his bosom was the guide and keeper of his innocence. But lust, prevailing against duty, made a lamentable breach upon it; and the law, that had before no power over him, took place upon him and his disobedient posterity, that such as would not live conformable to the holy law within, should fall under the reproof and correction of the just law without, in a judicial administration.

“ ‘This the apostle teaches in divers of his epistles. ‘The law,’ says he, ‘was added because of transgression.’ In another place, ‘knowing that the law was not made for the righteous man, but for the disobedient and ungodly, for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers,’ and

others. But this is not all, he opens and carries the matter of government a little further: ‘Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God: whosoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God: for rulers are not a terror to good works but to evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same — He is the minister of God to thee for good. — Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake.’

“ ‘This settles the divine right of government beyond exception, and that for two ends: first, to terrify evil doers: secondly, to cherish those that do well; which gives government a life beyond corruption, and makes it as durable in the world as good men shall be, so that government seems to me a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end: for, if it does not directly remove the cause, it crushes the effects of evil, and is, as such, though a lower, yet an emanation of the same divine Power that is both author and object of pure religion; the difference lying here, that the one is more free and mental, the other more corporal and compulsive in its operation; but that is only to evil-doers, government itself being otherwise as capable of kindness, goodness, and charity, as a more private society. They weakly err, who think there is no other use of government than correction, which is the coarsest part of it. Daily experience tells us, that the care and regulation of many other affairs, more soft and daily necessary, make up much

much the greatest part of government, and which must have followed the peopling of the world, had Adam never fallen, and will continue among men on earth under the highest attainments they may arrive at by the coming of the blessed second Adam, the Lord from heaven. Thus much of government in general as to its rise and end.

“ For particular frames and models, it will become me to say little, and, comparatively, I will say nothing. My reasons are, first, that the age is too nice and difficult for it, there being nothing the wits of men are more busy and divided upon. 'Tis true they seem to agree in the end; to wit, happiness; but in the means they differ, as to divine, so to this human felicity; and the cause is much the same, not always want of light and knowledge, but want of using them rightly. Men side with their passions against their reason; and their sinister interests have so strong a bias upon their minds, that they lean to them against the good of the things they know.

“ Secondly, I do not find a model in the world, that time, place, and some singular emergencies have not necessarily altered; nor is it easy to frame a civil government that shall serve all places alike.

“ Thirdly, I know what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which are the rule of one, of a few, and of many, and are the three common ideas of government when men discourse on that subject. But I choose to solve the controversy with this small distinction, and it belongs to all three: Any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame;

where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion.

“ But, lastly, when all is said, there is hardly one frame of government in the world so ill designed by its first founders, that in good hands would not do well enough; and story tells us, that the best in ill ones can do nothing that is great and good; witness the Jewish and Roman states. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them; and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too. Wherefore governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad. If it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their turn.

“ I know some say, Let us have good laws, and no matter for the men that execute them. But let them consider, that though good laws do well, good men do better; for good laws may want good men, and be abolished or invaded by ill men: but good men will never want good laws, nor suffer ill ones. 'Tis true good laws have some awe upon ill ministers, but that is where these have not power to escape or abolish them, and where the people are generally wise and good: but a loose and depraved people (which is to the question) love laws and an administration like themselves. That therefore, which makes a good constitution, must keep it; namely, men of wisdom and virtue, qualities that, because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth,

youth, for which after-ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders and the successive magistracy, than to their parents for their private patrimonies.

"These considerations of the weight of government, and the nice and various opinions about it, made it uneasy to me to think of publishing the ensuing Frame and Conditional Laws, foreseeing both the censures they will meet with from men of differing humours and engagements, and the occasion they may give of discourse beyond my design.

"But next to the power of necessity, which is a solicitor that will take no denial, this induced me to a compliance, that we have, with reverence to God and good conscience to men, to the best of our skill contrived and composed the Frame and Laws of this government to the great end of government, to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery. To carry this evenness is partly owing to the constitution, and partly to the magistracy. Where either of these fail, government will be subject to convulsions; but where both are wanting, it must be totally subverted: then where both meet, the government is like to endure, which I humbly pray and hope to God will please to make the lot of this of Pennsylvania. Amen."

"The Frame, which followed this preface, consisted of twenty-four articles; and the laws, which were annexed to the latter, were forty.

"By the frame the government was placed in the governor and freemen of the province, out of whom were to be formed two bodies; namely, a provincial council and a general assembly. These were to be chosen by the freemen; and though the governor or his deputy was to be perpetual president, he was to have but a treble vote. The provincial council was to consist of seventy two members. One third part, that is, twenty-four of them, were to serve for three years, one third for two, and the other third for one; so that there might be an annual succession of twenty-four new members, each third part thus continuing for three years and no longer. It was the office of this council to prepare and propose bills, to see that the laws were executed, to take care of the peace and safety of the province, to settle the situation of ports, cities, market towns, roads, and other public places, to inspect the public treasury, to erect courts of justice, institute schools, and reward the authors of useful discovery. Not less than two thirds of these were necessary to make a quorum; and the consent of not less than two thirds of such quorum in all matters of moment. The general assembly was to consist the first year of all the freemen, and the next of two hundred. These were to be increased afterward according to the increase of the population of the province. They were to have no deliberative power; but, when bills were brought to them from the governor and provincial council, to pass or reject them by a plain yes or no. They were to present sheriffs and justices of the peace to the governor, a double number for his choice of half. They were to be elected annually. All elections

elections of members, whether to the provincial council or general assembly, were to be by ballot. And this charter or frame of government was not to be altered, changed, or diminished in any part or clause of it, without the consent of the governor, or his heirs or assigns, and six parts out of seven of the freemen both in the provincial council and general assembly.

"With respect to the laws, which I said before were forty in number, I shall only at present observe of them, that they related to whatever may be included under the term 'Good Government of the Province;' some of them to liberty of conscience; others to civil officers and their qualifications; others to offences; others to legal proceedings, such as pleadings, processes, fines, imprisonments, and arrests; others to the natural servants and poor of the province. With respect to all of them it may be observed, that, like the frame itself, they could not be altered but by the consent of the governor, or his heirs, and the consent of six parts out of seven of the two bodies before mentioned.

"William Penn, having published the Frame as now concisely explained, thought it of great importance, in order to prevent all future claim, or even pretence of claim by the Duke of York or his heirs upon the province, to obtain from his royal highness a deed of release for the same. This deed was accordingly made out. It witnessed, that his royal highness out of a special regard to the memory and faithful and eminent services performed by Vice-admiral Sir William Penn to his Majesty and to his said royal highness, and for the better encouragement of William Penn,

his son, to proceed in the cultivating and improving the tract of land then called Pennsylvania, and in reducing the savage and barbarous nations thereof to civility, and for the good will which his said royal highness had and bore to the said William Penn, his son, did for himself and his heirs quit and release for ever to the said William Penn and his heirs all the said tract of land. This deed was signed by his royal highness on the 21st of August 1682, and was sealed and delivered in the presence of John Werden and George Man.

"Besides the above, he obtained of his royal highness the Duke of York his right, title, and interest in another tract of land, of respectable extent, which lay contiguous to Pennsylvania. This was at that time inhabited by Dutch and Swedes, The Dutch had long before made war upon and conquered the Swedes; and the English had afterwards conquered both, and had annexed the country they occupied to that which belonged to his royal highness, and placed it under his government of New York. This tract then, which was known afterwards by the name of The Territories, was presented to William Penn. It was made over to him, his heirs and assigns, by two deeds of feoffment, dated the 24th of August 1682, in which the boundaries were duly specified, and particularly those between the said territories and Maryland.

"William Penn had now done almost every thing that he judged to be necessary previously to his embarkation. He had barred all claim from the Duke of York upon his province of Pennsylvania. He had added the territories to it, upon which there was a considerable population. He had published his

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Frame of Government and Laws, which were suitable to both. He had engaged a ship for the voyage. He had put most of his stores, furniture, and other articles on board. There was yet, however, one thing which he was desirous of doing. His mind, as the time of his departure drew near, began to be seriously affected about his wife and children, and particularly about their spiritual welfare, during an absence the length of which, on account of the numerous wants of an infant-settlement daily to be attended to, he could not foresee. He resolved therefore to put down what occurred to him in the way of advice to them as to their conduct during his absence, and to leave with them in form of a letter. This letter has been preserved; and as it is very beautiful on account of the simplicity and patriarchal spirit in which it is written, and truly valuable on account of its contents, I shall give it as an acceptable present to such readers as may not yet have seen it:

“ My dear wife and children,

“ My love, which neither sea, nor land, nor death itself, can extinguish or lessen toward you, most tenderly visits you with eternal embraces, and will abide with you for ever: and may the God of my life watch over you, and bless you, and do you good in this world and for ever!—Some things are upon my spirit to leave with you in your respective capacities, as I am to one a husband, and to the rest a father, if I should never see you more in this world.

“ My dear wife! remember thou wast the love of my youth and much the joy of my life; the most beloved as well as most worthy of all my earthly comforts and

the reason of that love was more thy inward than thy outward excellencies, which yet were many. God knows, and thou knowest it, I can say it was a match of Providence's making; and God's image in us both was the first thing, and the most amiable and engaging ornament in our eyes. Now I am to leave thee, and that without knowing whether I shall ever see thee more in this world, take my counsel into thy bosom, and let it dwell with thee in my stead while thou livest.

“ First: Let the fear of the Lord and a zeal and love to his glory dwell richly in thy heart; and thou wilt watch for good over thyself and thy dear children and family, that no rude, light, or bad thing be committed. else God will be offended, and he will repent himself of the good he intends thee and thine.

“ Secondly: Be diligent in meetings for worship and business; stir up thyself and others herein; it is thy duty and place: and let meetings be kept once a day in the family to wait upon the Lord, who has given us much time for ourselves: and, my dearest, to make thy family matters easy to thee, divide thy time, and be regular: it is easy and sweet: thy retirement will afford thee to do it; as in the morning to view the business of the house, and fix it as thou desirest, seeing all be in order; that by thy counsel all may move, and to thee render an account every evening. The time for work, for walking, for meals, may be certain, at least as near as may be: and grieve not thyself with careless servants; they will disorder thee: rather pay them, and let them go, if they will not be better by admonitions: this is best

to avoid many words, which I know wound the soul, and offend the Lord.

“ Thirdly : Cast up thy income, and see what it daily amounts to ; by which thou mayest be sure to have it in thy sight and power to keep within compass : and I beseech thee to live low and sparingly, till my debts are paid ; and then enlarge as thou seest it convenient. Remember thy mother's example, when thy father's public-spiritedness had worsted his estate (which is my case). I know thou lovest plain things, and art averse to the pomps of the world ; a nobility natural to thee. I write not as doubtful, but to quicken thee, for my sake, to be more vigilant herein ; knowing that God will bless thy care, and thy poor children and thee for it. My mind is wrapt up in a saying of thy father's ; ‘ I desire not riches, but to owe nothing ; ’ and truly that is wealth, and more than enough to live is a snare attended with many sorrows. I need not bid thee be humble, for thou art so ; nor meek and patient, for it is much of thy natural disposition : but I pray thee be oft in retirement with the Lord, and guard against encroaching friendships. Keep them at arms end ; for it is giving away our power, eye and self to, into the possession of another ; and that which might seem engaging in the beginning may prove a yoke and burden too hard and heavy in the end. Wherefore keep dominion over thyself, and let thy children, good meetings, and friends, be the pleasure of thy life.

“ Fourthly : And now, my dearest, let me recommend to thy care my dear children ; abundantly beloved of me, as the Lord's blessings, and the sweet pledges of

our mutual and endeared affection. Above all things endeavour to breed them up in the love of virtue, and that holy plain way of it which we have lived in, that the world in no part of it may get into my family. I had rather they were homely than finely bred as to outward behaviour ; yet I love sweetness mixed with gravity, and cheerfulness tempered with sobriety. Religion in the heart leads into this true civility, teaching men and women to be mild and courteous in their behaviour, an accomplishment worthy indeed of praise.

“ Fifthly : Next breed them up in love one of another ; tell them it is the charge I left behind me ; and that it is the way to have the love and blessing of God upon them ; also what his portion is, who hates, or calls his brother fool. Sometimes separate them, but not long ; and allow them to send and give each other small things to endear one another with. Once more I say, tell them it was my counsel they should be tender and affectionate one to another. For their learning be liberal. Spare no cost ; for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved : but let it be useful knowledge, such as is consistent with truth and godliness, not cherishing a vain conversation or idle mind, but ingenuity mixed with industry is good for the body and mind too. I recommend the useful parts of mathematics, as building houses or ships, measuring, surveying, dialling, navigation ; but agriculture is especially in my eye : let my children be husbandmen and housewives ; it is industrious, healthy, honest, and of good example ; like Abraham and the holy ancestors, who pleased God, and obtained a good report. This leads to consider the works of God and nature,  
of



of things that are good, and diverts the mind from being taken up with the vain arts and inventions of a luxurious world. It is commendable in the princes of Germany, and the nobles of that empire, that they have all their children instructed in some useful occupation. Rather keep an ingenious person in the house to teach them, than send them to schools, too many evil impressions being commonly received there. Be sure to observe their genius, and do not cross it as to learning: let them not dwell too long on one thing; but let their change be agreeable, and all their diversions have some little bodily labour in them. When grown big, have most care for them; for then there are more snares both within and without. When marriageable, see that they have worthy persons in their eye, of good life, and good fame for piety and understanding. I need no wealth, but sufficiency; and be sure their love be dear, fervent, and mutual, that it may be happy for them. I choose not they should be married to earthly, covetous kindred; and of cities and towns of concourse beware; the world is apt to stick close to those who have lived and got wealth there: a country life and estate I like best for my children. I prefer a decent mansion, of an hundred pounds per annum, before ten thousand pounds in London, or such like place, in a way of trade. In fine, my dear, endeavour to breed them dutiful to the Lord, and his blessed light, truth, and grace in their hearts, who is their Creator, and his fear will grow up with them. Teach a child (says the wise man) the way thou wilt have him to walk, and when he is old he will not forget it. Next, obedience to

thee, their dear mother; and that not for wrath, but for conscience sake; liberal to the poor, pitiful to the miserable, humble and kind to all; and may my God make thee a blessing, and give thee comfort in our dear children; and in age gather thee to the joy and blessedness of the just (where no death shall separate us) for ever!

“ And now, my dear children, that are the gifts and mercies of the God of your tender father, hear my counsel, and lay it up in your hearts; love it more than treasure, and follow it, and you shall be blessed here, and happy hereafter.

“ In the first place, remember your Creator in the days of your youth. It was the glory of Israel in the second of Jeremiah: and how did God bless Josiah because he feared him in his youth! and so he did Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. O my dear children, remember, and fear and serve Him who made you, and gave you to me and your dear mother; that you may live to him and glorify him in your generations!

“ To do this, in your youthful days seek after the Lord, that you may find him; remembering his great love in creating you; that you are not beasts, plants, or stones, but that he has kept you, and given you his grace within, and substance without, and provided plentifully for you. This remember in your youth, that you may be kept from the evil of the world: for in age it will be harder to overcome the temptations of it.

“ Wherefore, my dear children, eschew the appearance of evil, and love and cleave to that in your hearts which shows you evil from good, and tells you when you do

ALIAS,

swiss, and reproves you for it. It is the light of Christ that he has given you for your salvation. If you do this, and follow my counsel, God will bless you in this world, and give you an inheritance in that which shall never have an end. For the light of Jesus is of a purifying nature; it seasons those who love it, and take heed to it; and never leaves such, till it has brought them to the city of God, that has foundations. O that ye may be seasoned with the gracious nature of it! hide it in your hearts, and flee, my dear children, from all youthful lusts; the vain sports, pastimes, and pleasures of the world; redeeming the time because the days are evil!—You are now beginning to live.—What would some give for your time? Oh! I could have lived better, were I, as you, in the flower of youth.—Therefore love and fear the Lord, keep close to meetings, and delight to wait on the Lord God of your father and mother, among his despised people, as we have done; and count it your honour to be members of that society, and heirs of that living fellowship which is enjoyed among them, for the experience of which your father's soul blesteth the Lord for ever.

“Next: be obedient to your dear mother, a woman whose virtue and good name is an honour to you; for she hath been exceeded by none in her time for her plainness, integrity, industry, humanity, virtue, and good understanding; qualities not usual among women of her worldly condition and quality. Therefore honour and obey her, my dear children, as your mother, and your father's love and delight; nay love her too, for she loved your father with a deep and upright love, choosing him before all her many suitors:

and though she be of a delicate constitution and noble spirit, yet she descended to the utmost tenderness and care for you, performing the painfullest acts of service to you in your infancy, as a mother and a nurse too. I charge you, before the Lord, honour and obey, love and cherish your dear mother.

“Next: betake yourselves to some honest, industrious course of life, and that not of sordid covetousness, but for example and to avoid idleness. And if you change your condition and marry, choose, with the knowledge and consent of your mother if living, or of guardians, or those that have the charge of you. Mind neither beauty nor riches, but the fear of the Lord, and a sweet and amiable disposition, such as you can love above all this world, and that may make your habitations pleasant and desirable to you.

“And being married, be tender, patient, and meek. Live in the fear of the Lord, and he will bless you and your offspring. Be sure to live within compass; borrow not, neither be beholden to any. Ruin not yourselves by kindness to others; for that exceeds the due bounds of friendship, neither will a true friend expect it. Small matters I heed not.

“Let your industry and parsimony go no further than for a sufficiency for life, and to make a provision for your children, and that in moderation, if the Lord gives you any. I charge you help the poor and needy; let the Lord have a voluntary share of your income for the good of the poor, both in our Society and others; for we are all his creatures; remembering that ‘he that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord.’

“Know well your in-comings, and

and your out-goings may be better regulated. Love not money nor the world: use them only, and they will serve you; but if you love them you serve them, which will debase your spirits as well as offend the Lord.

“ ‘Pity the distressed, and hold out a hand to help them; it may be your case; and as you mete to others, God will mete to you again.

“ ‘Be humble and gentle in your conversation; of few words, I charge you; but always pertinent when you speak, hearing out before you attempt to answer, and then speaking as if you would persuade, not impose.

“ ‘Affront none, neither revenge the affronts that are done to you; but forgive, and you shall be forgiven of your heavenly Father.

“ ‘In making friends consider well first; and when you are fixed be true, not wavering by reports, nor deserting in affliction, for that becomes not the good and virtuous.

“ ‘Watch against anger, neither speak nor act in it; for, like drunkenness, it makes a man a beast, and throws people into desperate inconveniencies.

“ ‘Avoid flatterers, for they are thieves in disguise: their praise is costly, designing to get by those they bespeak; they are the worst of creatures; they lye to flatter, and flatter to cheat; and, which is worse, if you believe them, you cheat yourselves most dangerously. But the virtuous, though poor, love, cherish, and prefer. Remember David, who asking the Lord, ‘Who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell upon thy holy hill?’ answers, ‘He that walketh uprightly, worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart; in

whose eyes the vile person is condemned, but honoureth them who fear the Lord.’

“ ‘Next, my children, be temperate in all things; in your diet, for that is physic by prevention; it keeps, nay, it makes people healthy, and their generation sound. This is exclusive of the spiritual advantage it brings. Be also plain in your apparel; keep out that lust which reigns too much over some; let your virtues be your ornaments, remembering life is more than food, and the body than the raiment. Let your furniture be simple and cheap. Avoid pride, avarice, and luxury. Read my ‘No Cross, no Crown.’ There is instruction. Make your conversation with the most eminent for wisdom and piety; and shun all wicked men as you hope for the blessing of God, and the comfort of your father’s living and dying prayers. Be sure you speak no evil of any, no, not of the meanest; much less of your superiors, as magistrates, guardians, tutors, teachers, and elders in Christ.

“ ‘Be no busybodies; meddle not with other folk’s matters, but when in conscience and duty prest; for it procures trouble, and is ill manners, and very unseemly to wise men.

“ ‘In your families remember Abraham, Moses, and Joshua, their integrity to the Lord; and do as you have them for your examples.

“ ‘Let the fear and service of the living God be encouraged in your houses, and that plainness, sobriety, and moderation in all things as becometh God’s chosen people; and as I advise you, my beloved children, do you counsel yours, if God should give you any. Yea, I counsel and command them as my posterity, that they love and serve the Lord God with an upright heart, that he may

## *Penn's Foundation of Pennsylvania.*

may bless you and yours from generation to generation.

“ And as for you, who are likely to be concerned in the government of Pennsylvania, and my parts of East Jersey, especially the first, I do charge you before the Lord God, and his holy angels, that you be lowly, diligent, and tender, fearing God, loving the people, and hating covetousness. Let justice have its impartial course, and the law free passage. Though to your loss, protect no man against it; for you are not above the law, but the law above you. Live therefore the lives yourselves you would have the people live, and then you have right and boldness to punish the transgressor. Keep upon the square, for God sees you: therefore do your duty, and be sure you see with your own eyes, and hear with your own ears. Entertain no lurchers, cherish no informers for gain or revenge; use no tricks; fly to no devices to support or cover injustice; but let your hearts be upright before the Lord, trusting in him above the contrivances of men, and none shall be able to hurt or supplant.

“ Oh! the Lord is a strong God, and he can do whatever he pleases; and though men consider it not, it is the Lord that rules, and overrules in the kingdoms of men, and he builds up, and he pulls down. I, your father, am the man that can say, He that trusts in the Lord shall not be confounded. But God, in due time, will make his enemies be at peace with him.

“ If you thus behave yourselves, and so become a terror to evil doers and a praise to them that do well, God, my God, will be with you in wisdom and a sound mind, and make you blessed instruments in his hand for the settlements of some of those

desolate parts of the world, which my soul desires above all worldly honours and riches, both for you that go, and you that stay; you that govern and you that are governed; that in the end you may be gathered with me to the rest of God:

“ Finally, my children, love one another with a true endeared love, and your dear relations on both sides, and take care to preserve tender affection in your children to each other, often marrying within themselves, so as it be without the bounds forbidden in God's law, that so they may not, like the forgetting unnatural world, grow out of kindred and as cold as strangers; but, as becomes a truly natural and Christian stock, you, and yours after you may live in the pure and fervent love of God towards one another, as becometh brethren in the spiritual and natural relation.

“ So, my God, that hath blessed me with his abundant mercies. both of this and the other and better life, be with you all, guide you by his counsel, bless you, and bring you to his eternal glory! that you may shine, my dear children, in the firmament of God's power with the blessed spirits of the just, that celestial family, praising and admiring him, the God and Father of it, for ever! For there is no God like unto him; the God of Isaac and of Jacob, the God of the prophets, the apostles, and martyrs of Jesus, in whom I live for ever.

“ So farewell to my thrice dearly beloved wife and children!

“ Yours, as God pleaseth, in that which no waters can quench, no time forget, nor distance wear away, but remains for ever,

“ WILLIAM PENN.

*at Worminghurst, 4th of 8th month, 1682.*

“ William

"William Penn, after having written this letter, took an affectionate leave of his wife and children, and accompanied by several friends, arrived at Deal. Here he embarked on board the ship *Welcome*, of three hundred tons burthen, Robert Greenaway commander. The passengers, including himself, were not more than a hundred. They were mostly quakers. They were also, most of them, from Sussex, in which county his house at Worminghurst was seated. While lying in the Downs, he wrote a farewell epistle, the title of which ran thus, 'An Epistle, containing a salutation to all faithful friends, a reproof to the unfaithful, and a Visitation to the inquiring in the Land of my Nativity.'

"He wrote also a letter to his friend Stephen Crisp, an able and upright minister of the gospel in his own society, who had been a great sufferer for religion, and for whom he had an extraordinary regard. He had parted with him but a few days before. His letter, which is well worth copying, was as follows:

"DEAR STEPHEN CRISP,

"My dear and lasting love in the Lord's everlasting truth reaches to thee, with whom is my fellowship in the gospel of Peace, that is more dear and precious to my soul than all the treasures and pleasures of this world; for, when a few years are passed, we shall all go the way whence we shall never return; and that we may unweariedly serve the Lord in our day and place, and, in the end, enjoy a portion with the blessed that are at rest, is the breathing of my soul!

"Stephen! we know one another, and I need not say much to thee; but this I will say, thy parting dwells with me, or rather thy love at my

parting. How innocent, how tender, how like the little child that has no guile! The Lord will bless that ground (Pennsylvania). I have also a letter from thee, which comforted me; for many are my trials, yet not more than my supplies from my heavenly father; whose glory I seek, and the renown of his blessed name. And truly, Stephen, there is work enough, and here is room to work in. Surely God will come in for a share in this planting-work, and that heaven shall leaven the lump in time. I do not believe the Lord's providence had run this way towards me, but that he has an heavenly end and service in it: so with him I leave all, and myself, and thee, and his dear people, and blessed name on earth.

"God Almighty, immortal and eternal, be with us, that in the body and out of the body we may be his for ever!

"I am, in the ancient dear fellowship,

"Thy faithful friend and brother,

"WILLIAM PENN."

"On or about the 1st of September the *Welcome* sailed; but she had not proceeded far to sea, when the small-pox broke out, and this in so virulent a manner, that thirty of the passengers fell a sacrifice to it. In this trying situation William Penn administered to the sick every comfort in his power, both by his personal attendance and by his spiritual advice. In about six weeks from the time of leaving the Downs he came in sight of the American coast, and afterwards found himself in the Delaware river.

In passing up this river, the Dutch and Swedes, now his subjects, who were said to occupy the territories lately ceded to him, and the English

English, as well those who had gone the preceding year under Colonel Markham as others who had settled there before, met and received him with equal demonstrations of joy. Those of Dutch and Swedish extraction living there at this time were estimated at between two and three thousand. At length he landed at Newcastle. Here the Dutch had a court-house. In this, the day after his arrival, he called together the people. Having taken legal possession of the country, according to due form, in their presence, he made a speech to the old magistrates, in which he explained to them the design of his coming, the nature and end of government, and of that more particularly which he came to establish. He then assured all present that they should have the full enjoyment of their rights both as to liberty of conscience and civil freedom. He recommended them to live in sobriety, and in peace and amity with each other. After this he renewed the magistrates' commissions.

"He now took a journey to New York, to pay his respects to the duke by visiting his government and colony. This gave him an opportunity of seeing Long Island and the Jerseys. He then returned to Newcastle.

"His next movement was to Up-land, in order to call the first general assembly. This was a memorable event, and to be distinguished by some marked circumstance. He determined therefore to change the name of the place. Turning round to his friend Pearson, one of his own society, who had accompanied him in the ship *Welcome*, he said, 'Providence has brought us here safe. Thou hast been the companion of my perils. What wilt thou I should

call this place?' Pearson said, 'Chester, in remembrance of the city from whence he came.' William Penn replied, that it should be called Chester; and that, when he divided the land into counties, he would call one of them by the same name also. At length the assembly met. It consisted of an equal number for the province and for the territories of all such freemen as chose to attend, according to the sixteenth article of the frame of government. It chose for its speaker Nicholas Moore, president of the 'Free Society of Traders of Pennsylvania,' before spoken of, and then proceeded to business, which occupied three days.

"At this assembly an act of union was passed, annexing the territories to the province, and likewise an act of settlement in reference to the frame of government; which frame of government, as it related to the constitution, was, with certain alterations, declared to be accepted and confirmed.

"The Dutch, Swedes, and foreigners of all descriptions within the boundaries of the province and territories were then naturalized.

"All the laws agreed upon in England, as belonging to the frame of government, were with some alterations, and with the addition of nineteen others, thus making together fifty-nine, passed in due form.

"Among these laws, I shall notice the following. All persons who confessed the one Almighty and Eternal God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and who held themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in society, were in no ways to be molested for their religious persuasion and practice, nor to be compelled at any time to frequent any religious place or ministry whatever. All treasur-

ers, however, judges, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and all whatsoever in the service of the government, and all members elected to serve in provincial council and general assembly, and all electors, were to be such as professed faith in Jesus Christ, and as had not been convicted of ill fame, or unsober and dishonest conversation, and who were one-and-twenty years of age. All children of the age of twelve were to be taught some useful trade or skill, to the end that none might be idle in the province; but that the poor might work to live, and the rich, if they became poor, might not want. Servants were not to be kept longer than the time of servitude agreed upon, and were to be put in fit equipage at the expiration of it. All pleadings, processes, and records in courts of law were to be as short as possible. All fees of law were to be moderate, and to be hung up on tables in the courts. All persons wrongfully imprisoned or prosecuted were to have double damages against the informer or prosecutor. All fines were to be moderate. With respect to the criminal part of these laws, one new principle was introduced into it. William Penn was of opinion, that though the deterring of others from offences must continue to be the great, and indeed only, end of punishment, yet, in a community professing itself christian, the reformation of the offender was to be inseparably connected with it. Hence he made but two capital offences; viz. murder, and treason against the state: and hence also all prisons were to be considered as workshops, where the offenders might be industriously, soberly, and morally employed.

"The assembly having sat three days, as I observed before, broke up; but, before they adjourned, they re-

turned their most grateful thanks to the governor. The Swedes also deputed for themselves Lacy Cock to return him their thanks, and to acquaint him that they would love, serve, and obey him with all they had, declaring it was the best day they had ever seen.

"After the adjournment he prepared for a visit to Maryland. On his first arrival at Newcastle he had dispatched two messengers to the Lord Baltimore to 'ask his health, to offer kind neighbourhood, and to agree upon a time of meeting, the better to establish it.' By this time the messengers had returned, from whom it appeared that the Lord Baltimore would be glad to see him. On receiving this information he set out for West River, and at the appointed time reached the place of meeting, where he was very kindly received, not only by his host, but by the principal inhabitants of the province. There the two governors endeavoured to fix the boundaries between their respective provinces; but the winter season being expected, and there being no appearance of speedily determining the matter, after two days spent upon it, they appointed to meet again in the spring. William Penn accordingly departed. Lord Baltimore had the politeness to accompany him several miles, till he came to the house of one William Richardson, where he took his leave of him. And here it may be observed, that the nobleman just mentioned, whose name was Charles, was the son and heir of Cecilius Calvert, baron of Baltimore, who had obtained the original grant of Maryland; and who, being a catholic, had peopled it with those of his own persuasion. Cecilius, however, though he himself, and they who emigrated with him were of this

this description, had the liberality to allow liberty of conscience to all who came to settle in his province; so that though William Penn is justly entitled to the praise of posterity for having erected a colony composed of different denominations of christians, where the laws respecting liberty both civil and religious, were equally extended to all, and where no particular sect was permitted to arrogate to itself peculiar advantages, yet he had not the honour, as we see, (however the project with him might have been original,) of being the first to realize it.

"Having refreshed himself at William Richardson's, he proceeded to a religious meeting of the quakers, two miles further on, which was to be held at the house of Thomas Hooker. From thence he went to Choptank, on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay, 'where a meeting of colonels, magistrates, and persons of divers qualities and ranks,' had been purposely appointed. The visit being over, he returned to Upland, which from henceforth I shall call Chester.

"The time now arrived when he was to confirm his great treaty with the Indians. His religious principles, which led him to the practice of the most scrupulous morality, did not permit him to look upon the king's patent, or legal possession according to the laws of England, as sufficient to establish his right to the country, without purchasing it by fair and open bargain of the natives, to whom only it properly belonged. He had therefore instructed commissioners, who had arrived in America before him, to buy it of the latter, and to make with them at the same time a treaty of eternal friendship. This the commissioners had done; and this was the time when,

by mutual agreement between him and the Indian chiefs, it was to be publicly ratified. He proceeded therefore, accompanied by his friends, consisting of men, women, and young persons of both sexes, to Coaquannoc, the Indian name for the place where Philadelphia now stands. On his arrival there he found the Sachems and their tribes assembling. They were seen in the woods as far as the eye could carry, and looked frightful both on account of their number and their arms. The quakers are reported to have been but a handful in comparison, and these without any weapon,—so that dismay and terror had come upon them, had they not confided in the righteousness of their cause.

"It is much to be regretted, when we have accounts of minor treaties between William Penn and the Indians, that in no historian I can find an account of this, though so many mention it, and though all concur in considering it as the most glorious of any in the annals of the world. There are, however, relations in Indian speeches, and traditions in quaker families descended from those who were present on the occasion, from which we may learn something concerning it. It appears that, though the parties were to assemble at Coaquannoc, the treaty was made a little higher up, at Shackamaxop. Upon this Kensington now stands, the houses of which may be considered as the suburbs of Philadelphia. There was at Shackamaxop an elm tree of a prodigious size. To this the leaders on both sides repaired, approaching each other under its widely-spreading branches. William Penn appeared in his usual clothes. He had no crown, sceptre, mace, sword, halberd, or any insignia of eminence.



eminence. He was distinguished only by wearing a sky-blue sash round his waist, which was made of silk net work, and which was of no larger apparent dimensions than an officer's military sash, and much like it except in colour. On his right hand was Colonel Markham, his relation and secretary, and on his left his friend Pearson before mentioned; after whom followed a train of quakers. Before him were carried various articles of merchandize, which when they came near the Sachems, were spread upon the ground. He held a roll of parchment, containing the confirmation of the treaty of purchase and amity in his hand. One of the Sachems, who was the chief of them, then put upon his own head a kind of chapel, in which appeared a small horn. This, as among the primitive Eastern nations, and according to scripture language, was an emblem of kingly power; and whenever the chief, who had a right to wear it, put it on, it was understood that the place was made sacred, and the persons of all present inviolable. Upon putting on this horn the Indians threw down their bows and arrows, and seated themselves round their chiefs in the form of a half-moon upon the ground. The chief Sachem then announced to William Penn, by means of an interpreter, that the nations were ready to hear him.

"Having been thus called upon, he began. The great spirit, he said, who made him and them, who ruled the heaven and the earth, and who knew the innermost thoughts of man, knew that he and his friends had a hearty desire to live in peace and friendship with them, and to serve them to the utmost of their power. It was not their custom to

use hostile weapons against their fellow-creatures, for which reason they had come unarmed. Their object was not to do injury, and thus provoke the great spirit, but to do good. They were then met on the broad pathway of good faith and good will, so that no advantage was to be taken on either side, but all was to be openness, brotherhood, and love. After these and other words, he unrolled the parchment, and by means of the same interpreter, conveyed to them, article by article, the conditions of the purchase, and the words of the compact then made for their eternal union. Among other things, they were not to be molested in their lawful pursuits even in the territory they had alienated, for it was to be common to them and the English. They were to have the same liberty to do all things therein relating to the improvement of their grounds, and providing sustenance for their families, which the English had. If any disputes should arise between the two, they should be settled by twelve persons, half of whom should be English, and half Indians. He then paid them for the land, and made them many presents besides from the merchandize which had been spread before them. Having done this, he laid the roll of parchment on the ground, observing again, that the ground should be common to both people. He then added, that he would not do as the Marylanders did, that is, call them children, or brothers only; for often parents were apt to whip their children too severely, and brothers sometimes would differ: neither would he compare the friendship between him and them to a chain, for the rain might sometimes rust it, or a tree might fall and break it; but he should

should consider them as the same flesh and blood with the christians, and the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts. He then took up the parchment, and presented it to the Sachem who wore the horn in the chaplet, and desired him and the other Sachems to preserve it carefully for three generations, that their children might know what had passed between them, just as if he had remained himself with them to repeat it.

"That William Penn must have done and said a great deal more on this interesting occasion than has now been represented, there can be no doubt. What I have advanced may be depended upon; but I am not warranted in going further. It is also to be regretted, that the speeches of the Indians on this memorable day have not come down to us. It is only known, that they solemnly pledged themselves, according to their country manner, to live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon should endure.—Thus ended this famous treaty, of which more has been said in the way of praise than of any other ever transmitted to posterity. 'This,' says Voltaire, 'was the only treaty between those people and the christians that was not ratified by an oath, and that was never broken.'—'William Penn thought it right,' says the Abbé Raynal, 'to obtain an additional right by a fair and open purchase from the aborigines; and thus he signalized his arrival by an act of equity which made his person and principles equally beloved.—Here it is the mind rests with pleasure upon modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, melancholy, and horror, which the whole of it, but particularly that of

the European settlements in America, inspires.'—Noble, in his continuation of Granger, says, 'he occupied his domains by actual bargain and sale with the Indians. This fact does him infinite honour, as no blood was shed, and the christian and the barbarian met as brothers. Penn has thus taught us to respect the lives and properties of the most unenlightened nations.'—'Being now returned,' says Robert Proud, in his history of Pennsylvania, 'from Maryland to Coaquannoc, he purchased lands of the Indians, whom he treated with great justice and sincere kindness.—It was at this time when he first entered personally into that friendship with them, which ever afterwards continued between them, and which for the space of more than seventy years was never interrupted, or so long as the quakers retained power in the government.—His conduct in general to these people was so engaging, his justice in particular so conspicuous, and the counsel and advice which he gave them were so evidently for their advantage, that he became thereby very much endeared to them; and the sense thereof made such deep impressions on their understandings, that his name and memory will scarcely ever be effaced while they continue a people.

"After the treaty he went up the Delaware a few miles, to see the mansion which Colonel Markham had been preparing for him. It was erected, but not finished. The manor, on which it stood, was beautifully situated, being on the banks of the Delaware over against the present Burlington, and only a few miles below the falls of Trenton. It was a treble island, the Delaware running three times round it. The mansion was built of brick, and was large

large and commodious. There was a spacious hall in it, intended as a hall of audience for the sovereigns of the soil. Reserving this for his own residence, he gave it the name of *Pennsbury*.

"From *Pennsbury* he returned to *Chester*. Having now fairly purchased the land of the natives, he ordered a regular survey of it. This was performed by *Thomas Holme*, who had come out as surveyor general of the province. During the survey he pitched upon *Coaquannoc* as the most noble and commodious place for his new city. It was situated between the rivers *Skuykill* and *Delaware*, and therefore bounded by them on two sides, and on a third by their confluence. The junction of two such rivers, and both of them navigable, the great width and depth of the latter so admirably calculated for commerce, the existence of a stratum of brick earth on the spot, immense quarries of building stone in the neighbourhood,—these and other circumstances determined him in the choice of it. It happened, however, that it was then in the possession of the *Swedes*; but the latter, on application being made to them, cheerfully exchanged it for land in another quarter.

"Having now determined upon the site, and afterwards upon the plan of the city, he instructed *Thomas Holme* to make a map of it, in which the streets were to be laid out as they were to be afterwards built. There were to be two large streets, the one fronting the *Delaware* on the east, and the other the *Skuykill* on the west, of a mile in length. A third, to be called *high street*, of one hundred feet broad, was to run directly through the middle of the city so as to communicate with the streets now

mentioned at right angles; that is, it was to run through the middle from river to river, or from east to west. A fourth of the same breadth, to be called *broad street*, was to run through the middle also, but to intersect *high street* at right angles, or to run from north to south. Eight streets, fifty feet wide, were to be built parallel to *high street*, that is, from river to river; and twenty, of the like width, parallel to *broad street*, that is, to cross the former from side to side. The streets running from east to west were to be named according to their numerical order, such as first, second, and third street, and those from north to south according to the woods of the country, such as vine, spruce, pine, sassafras, cedar, and others. There was to be, however, a square of ten acres, in the middle of the city, each corner of which was to be reserved for public offices. There was to be also in each quarter of it a square of eight acres, to be used by the citizens in like manner as *Moorfields* in *London*. The city, having been thus planned, he gave it a name, which he had long reserved for it, namely, *Philadelphia*, in token of that principle of brotherly love, upon which he had come to these parts; which he had shown to *Dutch*, *Swedes*, *Indians*, and others alike; and which he wished might for ever characterize his new dominions.

"Scarcely was this plan determined upon, when, late as the season was, some of the settlers began to build, and this with such rapidity, being assisted by the *Swedes*, that several houses were erected in this year. He himself was employed in the mean while with *Thomas Holme* in finishing the survey of his grants and purchases; the result of which was, that he divided the province  
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and territories, each into three counties. The province contained those of Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester; the first so named from the city, which was then building; the second, from Buckinghamshire in England, which was the land of his ancestors; and the third from the

promise before mentioned which he had made to his friend Pearson. The territories contained those of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex; the latter of which he so named out of respect to his wife's family, Sussex in England having been the county of their nativity for generations.

CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE PAPAL SEE AND LUTHER.

[From Mr. BOWER'S Life of Luther.]

“THE year 1520 was no less remarkable than the preceding for a display of Luther's activity. Scarcely was it begun when he published in German a pamphlet on the sacrament. About the same time he ventured to address a letter, in defence of the new doctrine, to the young emperor Charles V. That prince was under great obligations to Frederick, and Luther, who, like others, was as yet a stranger to his cold, calculating character, entertained hopes that the impulse of gratitude might render him tolerant, if not favourable, to the reformed cause. He makes in this letter a declaration to the following effect.

“The violent publications which have taken place are to be ascribed to the intemperance of my enemies. My object has been to circulate nothing but evangelical truth in opposition to traditionary superstitions. I have called, but in vain, on my adversaries to point out in what respect my opinions are erroneous. I now find it necessary, after the example of Athanasius, to invoke the protection of the imperial majesty, but I desire it no longer than until my arguments have received a fair hearing, after which I

shall either conquer or be conquered.”

“A few days after, Luther gave to the world, in the shape of a protestation, or open declaration of his tenets, a repetition of what he had written to the emperor. This was speedily followed by a letter dated February 4, and addressed to Albert, archbishop of Mentz. It was expressed in terms equally respectful and submissive as the letter to the emperor; but, being directed to an ecclesiastic, it contained a fuller statement of the theological discussion. Imputing the hostility displayed against him, in a great measure, to persons who had never read his writings, Luther entreated the archbishop to take the trouble of perusing them. The prelate's reply was expressed in a style of greater attention than might have been expected from a personage so completely devoted to the court of Rome. It was addressed, ‘*Honorable et religioso nobis in Christo dilecto, Martino Luthero, Theologie Professori.*’ The sequel, short as it was, bore the mark of coming from a practised politician. The archbishop avoided any discussion of Luther's works, by declaring that he had not had leisure to peruse them; and

and accordingly would not attempt to censure them, but leave that to his superiors who had already undertaken the task. He inculcated strongly the propriety of moderation, and, whilst he saw no harm in learned men indulging in speculations on controverted points, he conceived that such discussions might be injurious to the multitude.

"Luther's object in these letters was to show that his sentiments were less violent than report had stated them. On the day of writing to the archbishop of Mentz, he addressed the bishop of Mersburg on the same subject, but in a style of greater freedom. The reply likewise contained a much more direct reproof than had been administered to him by the archbishop of Mentz. He paid Luther, however, the compliment of styling him, 'venerable brother,' and promised to give his observations at more length when they should happen to meet. The caution shown by both prelates sufficiently indicates that Luther's cause had acquired too much popularity to make open contradiction advisable.

"We now return to Miltitz, who had, in the beginning of the preceding year, made a favourable outset in the negociation with Luther. Since then he had the mortification of seeing his measures arrested in their progress by the impatience of others, and Luther rendered much less tractable by the popularity of his publications. Miltitz, however, was still desirous of doing all he could to prevent matters from going farther wrong. But it was an arduous task to give a satisfactory direction to so many individuals opposite in temper and actuated by contrary motives. The

letters of Miltitz are still extant in the library of Saxe-Gotha, and, if they create no favourable impression of his candour, they show that the temperate conduct which he desired to pursue, was much more likely to prove successful than that which was adopted by others.

"After various conferences of less importance, Miltitz determined to make a vigorous effort to prevail on Luther to express by letter his esteem for the pope, and beseech his Holiness to interfere according to his wonted goodness. With this view he prevailed on the Augustinians to send a deputation to Luther with a request to that effect. Luther promised to comply and to prefix the desired letter to his next publication. This produced the famous address to the pope published along with his treatise on 'Christian Liberty.' It is so remarkable as to have a claim on the particular attention of all who analyze the progressive changes in the Reformer's conduct. Its chief object appears to have been an exemption of the pope personally, from the charges made by Luther against the church of Rome. Such, no doubt, was the desire of Miltitz and the Augustinians, and such, it is probable, was Luther's intention in beginning to write the letter. But he seems to have become so warmed with his subject, as to devote himself much more keenly to the accusation of the church than to the vindication of its head. His letter is in substance as follows.

"It is impossible for me to be unmindful of your Holiness, since my sentiments concerning the papal office are held forth every where as the chief cause of continuing the contest. By means of the impious flatterers of your Holiness, who, without

without cause; are full of wrath against me, I have been compelled to appeal from the See of Rome to a general Council. But my affection for your Holiness has never been alienated, though I begin to despise and to triumph over those who have sought to terrify me by the majesty of your authority. One thing, however, I cannot despise, and that is the cause of my writing this letter; I mean the blame thrown on me for reflecting on your Holiness personally.'

"To this charge he gives an explicit contradiction, and panegyricizes Leo strongly, comparing him to Daniel in Babylon, and to Ezekiel among scorpions. 'I have,' he adds, ' inveighed sharply against unchristian doctrines, and reproved my adversaries severely, not for rudeness but for impiety. So far from being ashamed of this, my purpose is to despise the judgment of men and to persevere in this vehemence of zeal after the example of Christ, who called his opponents a generation of vipers, blind hypocrites, and children of the devil. The multitude of flatterers has rendered the ears of our age so delicate, that as soon as we find that our sentiments are not approved, we immediately exclaim that we are slandered; and, when we find ourselves unable to resist truth, we accuse our adversaries of detraction, impatience, and impudence. But let me ask, of what use would salt be if it were not pungent? or the point of a sword if it did not wound? Cursed be the man who doth the work of the Lord deceitfully.'

"After assuring the pontiff that he never harboured any malice against him, and that he would yield in any thing except the word of truth, which he would neither

desert nor deny, he adds, in emphatic language,

" 'I have resisted and shall continue to resist what is called the court of Rome as long as the spirit of faith shall live in me. Neither your Holiness nor any one will deny that it is more corrupt than Babylon or Sodom, and sunk, as far as I understand, in the most deplorable, desperate, and avowed impiety. I lament that under the sanction of your name and under pretext of the good of the church, the people of Christ should be made a laughing stock. Not that I attempt impossibilities, or expect that the endeavours of an individual can accomplish any thing in opposition to so many flatterers in that Babylon replete with confusion. But I consider myself as a debtor to my fellow men, for whose welfare it behoves me to be solicitous, so that those pests of Rome may destroy a smaller number and in a more humane manner. During many years nothing has been poured on the world but monsters both in body and mind, along with the worst examples of all worst actions. It is clear as day that the church of Rome, in former ages the most holy of churches, has now become a den of robbers, a scene of prostitution, the kingdom of sin, death, and hell, so that greater wickedness is not to be conceived even under Antichrist himself. Your Holiness sitteth like a lamb in the midst of wolves. What opposition is it possible that you, with your very learned and excellent cardinals, can make to such monsters?'

"After this extraordinary description, Luther proceeded to relate his successive transactions with Cajetan, Eckius, and Miltitz. He entreated Leo to exert his authority  
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in checking those flatterers who were the enemies of peace, and declared that the attempt to make him recant could not fail to increase the present confusion, for he would never consent that any one should lay down a law for the interpretation of the word of God. 'On the two conditions of not requiring me to recant, and of permitting me to interpret scripture according to my own judgment, I am willing to do or to suffer any thing; I wish to provoke no one; neither do I wish to receive provocation; but if provocation be given to me, since Christ is my master, I will not be silent.'

"A letter expressed in this unexampled style could not fail to give the highest offence at Rome. That offence was little alleviated by Luther's distinction between the pope personally and those who surrounded him. For many ages no other language had been addressed to Rome but that of the most profound respect. Examples had occurred of individual ecclesiastics becoming refractory, but they were soon crushed by the powerful arm of the church. While the greatest princes were in the habit of observing the most respectful tone in their communications with the holy See, such licence on the part of an individual was not likely to be pardoned. Here, instead of a recantation, was a repetition and re-assertion of all that had already been declared most offensive. No wonder, therefore, that even the more moderate members of the Romish communion should look on this letter as a mockery of the pontiff. To an unprejudiced reader, it is chiefly remarkable as presenting a curious example of Luther's disregard of the customary rules of civility, and an evidence of the all-

powerful influence of truth on his mind. This and this alone appears to have actuated him, and to have prompted him to go to lengths which every consideration of interest, and even of safety, would have forbidden.

"It is not a little extraordinary that Miltitz should have consented to transmit such a letter to Rome. On the accompanying treatise on 'Christian Liberty,' Luther remarks to the Pope: 'This small tract published under your name, as an omen of approaching harmony, I send you by way of specimen of the kind of study in which I would by preference employ my time, were I left in quiet by those profane flatterers of yours.' The essay is divided into two parts, the first containing an illustration of the proposition, that the 'Christian is the most free lord of all, subject to none;' and the second, 'that he is the most ready to oblige all and subject to all.' Nothing in the work has a relation to civil liberty; it is strictly a description of the privileges annexed, in Luther's opinion, to the station of a Christian, and of the practical effects which these privileges naturally and necessarily produce. It may be fit to mention that there is a remarkable coincidence between this little tract and the writings of the English puritanical divines.

"It is now time to relate the hostile measures which Luther's undaunted perseverance drew on him on the part of the church of Rome. It was matter of surprize that they should have been so long delayed, but Leo, though without just pretensions to the virtues ascribed to him, was not of a hasty temper, and was, as has been already mentioned, afraid of offending Frederick.

rick. At last, however, the solicitations for the adoption of a decisive step came from so many quarters, and Luther himself discovered such bold pertinacity in issuing one hostile publication after another, that Leo felt it necessary to alter his course. The Dominicans, and particularly Eckius, were active in accelerating this determination. The language of Eckius was wonderfully changed from the time when he invited Carolostad and Luther to that disputation which he expected would be to him a scene of triumph. In writing to the former on that occasion, he had called Luther their 'mutual friend;' but from the date of their vehement contest, he became his inveterate enemy. On Luther's part the animosity was equally strong, for in writing to a friend about Eckius, he exclaimed, '*Totus infidus est, et aperte rupit amicitia jura.*'

"Leo's first act was to appoint a congregation or assembly of cardinals, prelates, theologians, and canonists, to whom he remitted the whole management of Luther's affair. All were agreed on the necessity of directing the thunder of the Vatican against the new heresy; but the peculiar feelings of the different classes composing the assembly, led to violent disputes in regard to the mode of proceeding. The theologians proposed to lose no time in denouncing Luther's doctrines, the impiety of which, they said, was glaring, and acknowledged to the world: the canonists, on the other hand, maintained that notoriety of crime could deprive any one of the inherent right of being heard in his defence. After long debates it was agreed to divide the cause into three parts; the doctrine, the books, and the person. The

doctrine, it was determined, should be condemned, the books burned at a time to be fixed, and Luther summoned to appear after a suitable interval.

"The composition of the bull gave rise to almost as much debate as the preliminary discussions. The numbers of the conclave rivalled each other in expressing abhorrence of the new doctrine and attachment to the holy See. Cajetan, though in bad health, made himself be carried into the consistory, and a bitter contention arose between Peter Accolti, cardinal of Ancona, and Laurent Pucci, cardinal datary, about the honour of composing the manifesto against Luther. Each had prepared a draught, and was eager for the preference. Nothing less than the pontiff's authority could settle this competition, and the draught of Accolti, after undergoing several emendations, was preferred.

"The bull at last came out on June 15, and set forth the papal pretensions in the loftiest tone. After affirming that the Imperial crown had been transferred by the papal See from the Greeks to the Germans, it claims a power not only of inflicting ecclesiastical punishments, but of depriving refractory persons of their property and civil privileges. The extravagant bulls of Pius II. and Julius II. which declared it heresy to appeal from the pope to a council, are cited and made a ground for Luther's condemnation. He is compared to Porphyry, the notorious enemy of Christianity, and is spoken of as the reviver of the Greek and Bohemian schisms. Forty-one heresies are selected from his works and condemned as 'pernicious, scandalous, and pestilential.' Luther,



and all who may favour his opinions, are made the object of the most violent denunciations. They are incapacitated from performing any legal act, and declared guilty of high treason, infamous and unworthy of Christian burial. Luther is reproached for obstinately disregarding the admonitions and kindness of the pope; and that all remembrance of him may be obliterated from the society of the faithful, no one is to presume to read, preach, or publish his works. Such as are written are to be condemned to the flames, and such as he may hereafter write are to be received with the greatest suspicion. He is ordered to appear at Rome within sixty days to take his trial, and in case he should not obey the summons, the civil and ecclesiastical powers are commanded to seize him and his adherents and send them to Rome.

"Here, at length, was the edict so long delayed from dread of the elector Frederick. The next point was to communicate it to that prince in the least offensive manner. With this view, the papal court determined to avail itself of the following circumstance, although apparently ill calculated to forward conciliation. One of the elector's agents, named Valentin Teutleben, being employed to transact some business for him at Rome, experienced a degree of reluctance on the part of the pope, which, as he wrote to his master, was to be ascribed to the circumstance of his defending Luther. Frederick lost no time in replying to his agent, and denied, 'that he had ever undertaken the defence of Luther's opinions, Luther being prepared to defend them himself before equitable judges, and ready, if refuted

from scripture, to recant. 'Luther,' he added, 'had offered to leave Saxony, and would have done so before that time; had not Miltitz interceded that he might not be sent away, lest he should go where he could write and act with greater freedom.' To attempt the forcible suppression of Luther's opinions, or to cut him off by the exertion of ecclesiastical power, would be imprudent and dangerous. Measures of that description were not fit in the improved state of public knowledge, nor was the strong hold which the Lutheran doctrine had taken in Germany, to be set aside by any thing else than sound argument."

"This letter was communicated to the pope's minister, and gave occasion to an immediate address to Frederick. With the ordinary art of the court of Rome, their dispatch proceeded on the assumption that Frederick was, in his heart, an enemy to Luther. It was written in Leo's name, and was in substance as follows:

" 'I experience great satisfaction on learning that you have no connection with Luther, who is altogether impious. I have on former occasions uniformly entertained a high opinion of your virtue, and your conduct at present fully confirms it. Luther has been introduced into the world, not by Christ but by Satan, that he might revive the heresies of Wickliffe, Huss, and the Bohemians; and that, by false interpretations of scripture, he might give occasion of sinning to the simple. There is danger lest he should set contumace at defiance, do away confession and penitence, favour the infidels by impure speeches, overturn the discipline of the church, and confound all things,

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sacred and profane. To such a pitch of pride and madness has Luther proceeded, that he despises the authority of councils and of the holy See, preferring audaciously his own opinion to that of all others. In avoiding intercourse with such a pest, your highness has acted a part worthy of your ancestors: and I give thanks to God for endowing you with such a disposition. Hitherto I have borne with Luther's forwardness and rashness, in the hope that he would return to his right mind. But now, seeing that he profiteth nothing by admonition and gentleness, I have been compelled to apply a violent remedy, lest he should corrupt many by the contagion of his example. Having therefore called a council, and deeply weighed the question, it has been decreed by direction of the Holy Spirit, which on these occasions is never absent from the holy See, to issue a bull in condemnation of Luther's heresy. Of that instrument a copy is herewith transmitted to you.

"The alarm which these hostile measures might have excited in Luther was opportunely counteracted by a very satisfactory testimony of attachment in a different quarter. Shortly before the publication of the bull, two German noblemen, Sylvester von Schaumburg, and Francis Seckingen, came forward and wrote to him with offers of protection against all personal hazard. The letter of the former, in particular, deserves to be recorded:—"I understand," he said, "from several learned men, that your doctrine is founded on the scriptures; and that although you have offered to submit it to the decision of a general council and to the judgment

of pious and well informed men, you have reason to apprehend personal danger. You propose therefore to seek a refuge among the Bohemians. That plan I would earnestly entreat you to abandon, lest the nature of the connection should have the consequence of rendering your cause suspected and odious. I offer you my own protection and that of one hundred noblemen in Franconia, with whom you can live in safety until your doctrine has undergone a deliberate investigation."

"So clear a testimony of approbation could not fail to be highly acceptable to Luther, and we accordingly find him writing to his friend Spalatin (July 10,) that 'his expulsion from Wittemberg would only make the state of things worse, for not only in Bohemia, but in the very heart of Germany, there were persons both able and willing to defend him. Nor was it doubtful that, under their protection, he could animadvert on the papacy with more severity than when he held the responsible office of a public teacher under the elector of Saxony. He had long been doubtful how far Frederick would find it expedient to continue his protection, a consideration which, joined to a regard for the interests of the university of Wittemberg, had hitherto prevented him from going so far as he otherwise would. But now, were Frederick even obliged to withdraw his protection, the support of others would enable him to proceed in his career.' 'The die,' he adds, 'is cast, and I despise equally the fury and favour of Rome.—Never will I be reconciled or connected with them. Let them condemn and burn my books.—I, in my turn, so long as I can procure fire, will condemn and

and burn publicly the whole pontifical code." It appears that on the 23d of August he wrote to Rome, and ventured to use expressions of correspondent energy.

"Luther's friends, however, were less tranquil than himself. They prevailed on him to write to Spalatin, and to request him to use his interest with the elector to apply for an imperial edict to prevent any one from condemning him unless it was previously shown that his tenets were inconsistent with scripture. In this letter Luther, always more interested about his doctrine than his personal safety, complained, in an earnest and affecting manner, of the endless libels published against him, and expressed an ardent wish that preachers might be found to promulgate his real sentiments among the people.

"Amidst all the alternations of fear and hope, Luther's active mind never gave way to sullen despondency or indolence. Application to study, as it had formed his chief pleasure in his early days, now constituted his best resource in a season of alarm. His next production was a book of a miscellaneous character, which he addressed to the emperor Charles V. and to the nobility of the empire. It was directed, among other topics, to a reproof of the vices of the clergy, and to a recommendation of the study of scripture, of divinity, and other subjects lately introduced into universities. He reprobated premature monastic vows, and animadverted on confession and on the disgraceful custom of begging, whether practised by monks or laymen. No one, he said, should be admitted into a monastery before the age of thirty. But the most serious part

of the work consisted in an attack on the usurpations of the papacy, and in an insinuation that Rome was the seat of Antichrist.

"Luther's next publication was his celebrated essay '*De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesias*.' He here examined into the nature and use of the sacraments, which, as is well known, are, according to the Romanists, seven in number. From this enumeration Luther dissented, and denied the name of sacrament to confirmation, holy orders, marriage, or extreme unction. But he continued to include penance in the list as well as baptism and the Lord's supper. In this, as in others of his writings, we have many vestiges of the impression made on his reasoning habits by the rules of the schoolmen. Instead of proceeding after the inductive method, to examine what the scriptures had delivered respecting sacraments, he went on the plan of accomodating the passages in scripture to a system previously adopted. This treatise was first published in Latin, but the general interest which it excited, made it soon be translated into German.

"That progressive advance in knowledge which every studious man experiences in himself, is very clearly exhibited in the writings of Luther. No man was less scrupulous in publishing his latest opinions, however they might vary from former impressions. The repeated attacks of his opponents obliged him, he said, to grow wiser in self defence. In the preamble to the '*Babylonish Captivity*,' he requests booksellers and others possessed of copies of what he had published two years before on Indulgencies, to burn these copies, and to substitute for

for all that he had written, '*Indulgentiæ sunt adulatorum Romanorum nequitie.*' His publication on the nature of the papacy he wished to condemn to the same fate, desiring his readers to adopt in lieu of his reasonings the concise definition, '*Papatus est robusta venatio Romani Episcopi*;' for he was now certain that the papacy was the kingdom of Babylon.

"An unfortunate misunderstanding took place at this time between the students and the inhabitants of Wittenberg. Matters having proceeded to the length of a tumultuous assemblage, Luther was dissatisfied with the students and reproved them in very severe terms. The keenness of his censure gave them great offence; and even his friends at court, Spalatin and Amsdorff, (a canon of the collegiate church at Wittenberg) were apprehensive that he had gone too far and might injure the university. The dread of hurting that seminary, by the freedom of his writings, is enumerated by Luther among the many disquietudes of the first three years of his reforming career. Some time after this, Spalatin visited the university with a view, probably, of ascertaining both its condition and the intended proceedings of Luther after being apprized of the pope's bull. Spalatin's report of his visit has been preserved and is curious.

"A proportion of the students," he says, "are absent, but this is chiefly on account of a contagious disorder, and the university is still very numerously attended. I saw four hundred young men studying divinity under Luther; and no fewer than six hundred learning the languages under Melancthon. Luther continues in good spirits, and is writing against the papal bull,

but declares that from respect to the elector he will express himself with moderation. I saw more than thirty letters addressed to Luther from princes, nobles, and doctors, in Suabia, Switzerland, and Pomerania, replete with expressions of piety and offers of consolation. So popular a preacher is he, that both the town church of Wittenberg and that of the monastery are too small to receive the crowd of his hearers."

"We come now to the important business of publishing the bull in Germany. This part of the proceedings also was undertaken by Eckius, who hoped to make it a kind of finish to his laborious exertions. In corresponding with his friends, he had boasted much of his services at Rome, and of his repeated conferences with the pope, one of which lasted no less than five hours. He took to himself the merit of being the first to expose Luther's heresy in a proper light to the heads of the church, who till then had been very imperfectly acquainted with it. So assiduous had he been in accelerating the proceedings about the bull, that by the 3d of May matters had been got ready for dispatch at the next assembly of cardinals. Yet on his return to Germany, he endeavoured to represent his journey as undertaken with reluctance. But Luther, who, by some means not known, had got possession of one of his letters from Rome, published it with notes, and showed that Eckius's grand object, in these extraordinary exertions, was no other than his own preferment in the church.

"Though the condemning bull was issued from the papal chamber on the 15th of June, it was not published in Germany till a considerable time afterwards. It appears

to have reached Wittenberg in the beginning of October, for on the 13th of that month Luther wrote to Spalatin as follows:

“ ‘ The pope’s bull is come at last,—Eckius brought it. We are writing many things to the pope concerning it. For my own part I hold it in contempt, and attack it as impious and false, like Eckius, in every respect. Christ himself is evidently condemned by it, and no reason is assigned in it for summoning me to a recantation instead of a trial. They are full of fury, blindness, and madness. They neither comprehend nor reflect on consequences. Meantime I shall treat the pope’s name with delicacy, and conduct myself as if I considered it a false and forged bull, although I believe it to be genuine. How anxiously do I wish that the emperor had the courage to prove himself a man, and, in defence of Christ, attack those emissaries of Satan. For my part I do not regard my personal safety—let the will of the Lord be done. Nor do I know what course should be taken by the elector; perhaps it may appear to him more for my interest that he should dissemble for a season. The bull is held in as great contempt at Leipsic as Eckius himself.—Let us therefore be cautious lest he acquire consequence by our opposition, for, if left to himself, he must fall. I send you a copy of the bull that you may see what monsters they are at Rome. If these men are destined to rule us, neither the faith nor the church have the least security. I rejoice that it has fallen to my lot to suffer hardship for the best of causes; but I am not worthy of such a trial. I am now much more at liberty than before, being fully

persuaded that the pope is Antichrist, and that I have discovered the seat of Satan. May God preserve his children from being deceived by the pope’s impious pretensions. Erasmus informs me that the emperor’s court is crowded with creatures who are tyrants and beggars, so that nothing satisfactory is to be expected from Charles. This need not surprise us. ‘ Put not thy trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, in whom there is no stay.’

“ Eckius, having left Rome with copies of the bull, reached Leipsic, big with expectation of the reverence that would be paid to himself and to the pope’s mandate. He found, however, that matters did not admit of the rapid progress which he wished. The reformation had now taken a firm and a general hold. George, Duke of Saxony, bigoted as he was, found it necessary, from the dissatisfaction of the people, to delay the publication. At first, time was taken on the plea that the consent of the bishop of Mersberg must be previously obtained, and on application being made to that prelate, the publication was put off to the month of April in the following year. A letter written by Miltitz on the 2d of October, throws some light on these matters.

“ ‘ I found Eckius at Leipsic, very clamorous and full of threats. I invited him to an entertainment and employed every means in my power to discover what he proposed to do. After he had drunk freely, he began to relate, in pompous terms, the commission he had received from Rome, and by what means he was to bring Luther to obedience. He informed me that he had caused the bull to be published.

lished in Misnia on 21st September, a Mersburgh on the 25th, and at Brandenburg on the 29th. Eckius was in the habit of showing the bull with great pomp: He lodged with the public commissary: Duke George ordered the senate to present him with a gilt cup, and a considerable sum of money. But notwithstanding the bull itself, and the pledge of public safety given to him, some young men of family affixed on the 29th September, in no less than ten places, bills containing threats against him. Terrified by these, he took refuge in the monastery of St. Paul and refused to be seen. He complained to Cæsar Pflugius, and obtained a mandate from the rector of the university, enjoining the young men to be quiet, but all to no purpose. They have composed ballads upon him, which they sing through the streets; and send daily to the monastery intimations of their hostility. More than one hundred and fifty of the Wittemberg students are here, who are very much incensed against him. Milititz afterwards added that Eckius had made a nocturnal escape to Friburg.

"Similar commotions took place in other parts of Germany, where attempts were made to publish the bull. The Elector of Saxony declared it wholly unadvisable to attempt its promulgation in his dominions. The Bishop of Bamberg availed himself of some informality as a pretext for declining to publish it in his diocese. At the university of Erfurt the students tore a copy of the bull and threw it into the river. Nay, the rector publicly encouraged them to pull down any copy of the bull which they might see posted up, and to oppose Luther's enemies by all the means in their power.

1813.

The Elector of Brandenburg and Albert of Mecklenburg passed through Wittemberg, in December, on their way to the imperial coronation, and held a very gracious conversation with Luther. The Bishop of Brandenburg who accompanied them, actuated by very different feelings, was desirous of publishing the bull at Wittemberg, which was in his diocese, but durst not attempt it. The clergy alone, cemented as they were in interest with the Roman See, appeared friendly to the bull, but even among them there were many who reprobated its violent tone, and who, without venturing to speak in favour of Luther, cordially wished him success.

"In several parts of the country, where the ascendancy of the catholics was too decided to admit of opposition, there were not wanting proofs of a favourable disposition towards the new doctrine. At Mentz the populace received the bull with indignation, and the persons employed to put the books in the fire, did it at the hazard of their lives. Even at Louvain, considerable opposition was experienced, and, though the influence of the heads of the university was such as to enable them to proceed with the burning of Luther's books, a party among the students and inhabitants insisted on committing, at the same time, to the flames a number of books of an opposite description. In Italy also, at Venice and Bologna, though no direct opposition was offered, the partizans of Luther had become numerous. In the palatinate the new doctrine was by this time planted, though not publicly acknowledged till three years after.

"The first regular step taken  
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by Luther against the bull was a protest recorded before a notary and witnesses, and an appeal from the pope to a general council. An appeal of the same nature had been entered by him a twelve-month before, but the respectful manner in which he then spoke of Leo was now exchanged for the most embittered expressions. *Leo X. in impia sua tyrannide induratus perseverat—Iniquus, temerarius, tyrannicus judex—Hericus et Apostata—Antichristus. blasphemus, superbus contemptor sancte Ecclesie Dei.*

"The universities of Cologne and Louvain having openly burned Luther's books, and a similar example having been given at Rome, the Reformer now determined to retaliate. He caused public notice to be given at Wittemberg, that he purposed burning the antichristian decretals on Monday, 10th Dec. So novel a scene excited great interest, and the concourse accordingly was immense. The people assembled at nine o'clock in the morning, and proceeded, in regular divisions, to the spot in the neighbourhood where the ceremony was to be performed. Having there partaken of a slight repast, an eminent member of the university erected a kind of funeral pile and set it on fire: after which Luther took Gratian's Abridgement of the Canon Law; the letters commonly called decretals of the pontiffs; the Clementines and Extravagants, and, last of all, the bull of Leo X. All these he threw into the fire, and exclaimed with a loud voice, 'Because ye have troubled the holy of the Lord, therefore let eternal fire trouble you.' Having remained to witness their consumption, he returned into the city, accompanied by the same multitude, without the

occurrence of the slightest disorder.

"So extraordinary a step, however cordially received by his countrymen, seemed to call for a formal justification in the eyes of others. With that view Luther published a set of reasons, which, instead of proving a palliation of the act, had the effect, like his former vindications, of aggravating his offence. He warned the public not to be misled by high sounding titles, nor by declamations about pontifical dignity, but to proceed to a rigid examination of what was actually taught in those books. This, he said, was the true way to make them aware of their poisonous and abominable doctrine. He then enumerated thirty specific articles, as examples of the errors and usurpations of the papacy. The canon law, he said, went beyond all bounds. Among other things it contained the extraordinary doctrine that 'the pope is God upon earth, superior to all belonging to heaven or earth, whether spiritual or temporal. All things belong to the pope, and to him no one dares say, What doest thou?' Towards the conclusion of the treatise, Luther places in a very strong light the overbearing conduct of the popes towards all who ventured to dissent from them. 'Never have the popes vanquished, either by Scripture or argument, any one who has spoken or written against them. Their alternative has always been to excommunicate, burn, or put them to death, through the medium of kings, princes, and others devoted to the papacy.'

"Luther's hostility to the canon law deserves particular attention. He was by this time aware, that without the abolition of this ponderous

derous and ill digested code, the projected Reformation in religion would confer only a limited benefit on mankind. It is deeply to be lamented that he should have been less successful in the one than in the other. I cannot more clearly explain the causes of his failure than by transcribing the words of his countryman, the learned and accurate Boehmer, a well known professor of law :

“ On the introduction into Germany of enlightened views in religion, the canon law would probably have been annihilated had it not been for the interposition of the lawyers. Luther, even before shaking off the papal yoke, had detected the imperfection, fraud, and impiety of this law. In his treatise addressed to the emperor and the nobility, he expressed a wish that the ancient laws of Germany should be restored, a measure which, had it been effected, would have placed our affairs, both public and private, on a much surer foundation. It would have led to greater uniformity in our ecclesiastical law, to the cessation of tedious law-suits, and to the re-introduction of that German candour and honesty, which are so conspicuous in the institutes of our ancestors. But Luther's boldness in burning the canon law gave deadly offence to the lawyers. Henning Goeden, and Jerome Schurff were at that time pleaders of great reputation at Wittenberg, and believed, or professed to believe, that the abolition of the canon law would endanger the safety of the state. The fact was, that their own interest and convenience were at stake, the canon law forming the rule of the whole mode of procedure in law-suits. Hence arose the interference of these men, who,

in an evil hour, proved the cause of preventing the abolition of the canon law, and the so much desired reform of ecclesiastical and civil law. The fact is, that from their ignorance of the law of nature and moral philosophy, the lawyers were ill qualified to supply the want of the regulations established by a long course of precedents. Unaccustomed to exercise their reasoning and inventive powers, the blank occasioned by the absence of the canon law presented to their imaginations an irremediable chasm. Moreover, the study of the canon law had long been an object of great ambition, and superiority in the knowledge of it formed one of the leading features of professional distinction.

“ We have already adverted to the favourable disposition of Erasmus towards Luther and his writings. On the condemnation of Luther's doctrine by the subservient universities of Louvain and Cologne, Erasmus was prompted to address to Spalatin a set of axioms on the Lutheran cause. He had scarcely put them out of his hands, when, with his usual timidity, he begged that they might be returned to him lest they might do him an injury with the pope's nuncio. These axioms however have been preserved, and the sentiments of so eminent a scholar deserve to be noticed. In the passage referring to the act of the two universities, he says, ‘ The motive of the proceeding is bad ; it is a love of tyrannic rule, and a wish to discourage literary effort. Out of so many universities, two only have condemned Luther ; and they have done nothing more than publish a sentence, for they have not confuted him, nor do they agree among themselves.



themselves.' The court of Rome, however, thought proper to lay great stress on the sanction of these public bodies. Honourable mention of it was made in the bull, and the universities were called '*agri dominici piissimæ, religiosissimæ cultrices*.'

"In the course of this year, the elector Frederick being at Cologne, an interview took place between him and Erasmus. It was on this occasion that Erasmus made the ludicrous remark, that Luther had offended in two capital points—'He had touched the pope's supremacy and the bellies of the monks.'

"Luther, according to his usual practice, replied with great spirit to the condemning sentence of the universities of Cologne and Louvain. A new antagonist soon after appeared in a Franciscan monk at Leipsic, named Augustine. To him also Luther gave a speedy reply; and in fact, he was indebted to the writings of opponents for a considerable share of the publicity of his cause. Even Cajetan now came forward and displayed his whole scholastic skill in asserting the divine origin, and the infallibility of the pope. On the other hand there appeared on the side of Luther, and in support of the cause of free inquiry, an essay from the pen of Ulrich Hutton, a young man of fortune and literary talents. He published Leo's bull, and annexed to it short scholia, exposing in very bold language the weakness of the papal arguments, and the presumptuous encroachments of that court.

"This auxiliary publication was soon followed by one from Luther, who was too confident of his cause to remain inactive. The title of this address to the public bore the

stamp of his usual boldness—it was an 'Answer to the execrable bull of Antichrist.' In this, and in another treatise which speedily came forth, he passed in review the whole of the forty-one propositions enumerated by Leo. No longer satisfied with offering these propositions as subjects for disputation, he affirmed them to be incontrovertibly true. So highly was this work esteemed at the court of Saxony, that Spalatin translated it from the Latin into German.

"The pope now thought the time had come to make a direct and pointed application to the elector Frederick, on the subject of Luther. With that view he sent, in the end of October, two nuncios, Jerome Alexander and Marinus Caracclotus, to Frederick, who was then at Cologne. Both were distinguished dignitaries of the church and members of the Conclave. They enlarged on the danger to which Germany was exposed by Luther's execrable writings, and, after requesting that his books should be burned and himself either imprisoned or sent to Rome, Alexander proceeded to state that the emperor, and all the other princes who had been applied to, had consented to the pope's demand. The investigation of Luther's cause had, he added, been committed by the pontiff to him and Eckius. Urgent as this application was, the nuncios proved unable to extract an explicit answer from the wary Frederick. He replied in general terms, that it was a matter of great moment, and required mature deliberation. On the 4th Nov. he returned an answer by his ministers, but took care to adhere to the same general language as before. He declared 'that the request was very unexpected on his part,

part, and that, while at a distance from home, he had heard that Eckius, contrary to the tenor of the pontifical decree, had wished to injure not only Luther, but other learned men in his dominions, an assumption of power, on the part of an unauthorized individual, which could not but be extremely offensive to him. Having been absent, he could not say with certainty what had been done by Luther and others

after receiving the pope's bull; but it might happen that in consequence of the provocation given to him, there was a general disposition to approve of his proceedings.' Finally, he requested 'that learned and good men should converse in a friendly manner on the whole business, and that Luther should be accounted entitled to protection, and have an opportunity to plead his cause.'"

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#### DEATH AND CHARACTER OF LUTHER.

[From the same.]

"WE are now arrived at Luther's fifty-fourth year, the period of his life at which his attacks of ill health first became serious. Excess in sedentary confinement had concurred with mental agitation to expose to severe inroads a constitution which had never been strong. The chief support of his health had consisted in his steady temperance; an advantage to which he, no doubt, owed the preservation of it during the years subsequent to the indisposition which we are now about to mention.

"In the beginning of 1537, Luther was afflicted with a strangury, and the symptoms were so severe that both he and his friends began to despair of his life. In a letter to his wife of 18th February, he thus expressed himself: 'In short, I was at the point of death, and I commended you and our little ones to God, our good master. I had given up all hopes of seeing you again, and felt great sympathy for you. I laid my account with the grave;

but so many prayers and tears were poured out to God for my recovery, that it pleased him to afford me relief, and I am now considerably revived.'

"During this alarming illness, much anxiety was manifested for his recovery as well by his friends as by the public characters who favoured the Reformation. His recovery appears to have been complete, and he was enabled to resume his labours in the cause of religion. In these he steadily persevered during the remaining nine years of his life. He prepared for the press two editions of his great work, the translations of the Bible, and published them successively in 1541 and 1545. He collected also his various compositions, and printed them in a connected shape, with an introduction which has supplied many useful materials to his biographers. He continued to discharge, with his accustomed zeal, his official duty as a preacher and a professor. He published, likewise, commentaries on various parts of Scripture, and showed

showed no inclination to relinquish his former habit of sending forth a popular treatise whenever circumstances in the state of religion appeared to call for it. But, amid these various occupations, it was remarked that his enterprising spirit appeared to undergo abatement, and that in his latter years, he was found to hazard no new doctrines. This alteration should, however, be ascribed as much to the matured state of the Reformation as to the progress of Luther's years. The season was now come in which it was fitter to defend established opinions than to advance others that were new. Judicious and appropriate as this plan of conduct was, it has unavoidably the effect of shortening the narrative of Luther's latter years. An account of his publications at this time of life would be, in a great measure, a recapitulation of the subjects mentioned in the former part of our book.

"An event of great importance to the progress of the Reformation, in Luther's neighbourhood, took place in 1539. This was the death of his obstinate opponent, George, Duke of Saxony. So bigotted was this prince to the last, that he introduced into his will a clause, bequeathing his territory to the emperor and king of the Romans, if his brother Henry, who was his natural successor, should apostatize from the Catholic religion. Henry, however, knew too well the secret wish of his subjects to be alarmed at this death-bed menace. He lost no time in inviting Luther along with other reformers to Leipsic, and in accomplishing, with their assistance, that revolution in the mode of worship which had long been desired by the people.

"The years 1540 and 1541 were

remarkable for conferences held between the leading advocates of the Protestants and Catholics with a view to an agreement on the principal topics in dispute. These took place, first at Worms, and afterwards, under circumstances of greater solemnity, at Ratisbon. This measure originated with the Protestants, and had the cordial wishes of the German Catholics, who desired, above all things, the restoration of tranquillity in their native country. A greater approximation to concord was made on this than on any former occasion; Melancthon and Bucer on the part of the Protestants, and Grapper, a canon of Cologne, on that of the Catholics, conducting their disquisitorial labours in a very friendly tone. Eckius also assisted at these conferences, and appears to have dropped much of the vehemence of his earlier years. After all, the trouble of these distinguished scholars turned to very little account, as the points on which they agreed had little application to practice. They concurred in speculative tenets, but differed widely in regard to that most important topic, the pope's authority. Had they even gone the length of harmonizing on this point, matters would have been little farther advanced, as the pope and the Italian Catholics disclaimed the concessions made by the Romish doctors at these conferences, and disapproved of the measure altogether. Luther, who had no idea of compromise, remonstrated resolutely against the yielding tone adopted by his friends; and the young elector of Saxony cordially joined him in disapproving all such concessions. They looked forward confidently to the eventual triumph of their cause, and the progress made,

made, from year to year, by the Reformation, appeared to justify their hopes.

"It was in 1545, in Luther's sixty-second year, that his constitution began to exhibit strong symptoms of decline. He had for some time back been subject to attacks of a malady not unusual among sedentary men—the stone; and in this year, the attacks of the complaint became both more frequent and severe. At midsummer his friend Pontanus mentioned in a letter that Luther had then laboured during eight days under that excruciating disease. In addition, his attacks of head-ache, which had long been troublesome, now assumed an aggravated appearance. The injury caused to the system by these attacks was manifest in the impaired sight of one of his eyes. Such a complication of illness led his friends, as well as himself, to conclude that the period of his dissolution was not very remote. On the part of his enemies an indecent wish to anticipate the event did not allow them to wait the progress of nature. Impatient to record the end of the man who had been foremost in the career of Reformation, they published premature accounts of his death and funeral. They had even the malignity to assert that the course of nature was inverted, and that the elements themselves had testified their abhorrence of the heretic. Luther, however, lived long enough to publish a contradiction, and to expose to shame the propagators of these falsehoods.

"But bodily infirmity was not the only misfortune of Luther. That constitutional ardour which enabled him to brave the threats of ecclesiastical and temporal rulers was connected with a temper, pro-

ductive, in several respects, of much uneasy sensation to its possessor. The effect produced by the opinions of Zwinglius throughout a considerable part of the reformed body appears to have caused him much disquietude. His own arguments on the long disputed subject of the sacrament were by no means of that clear and forcible nature that enabled him either to persuade others or to establish completely his own conviction. The want of earnestness, too, in this point, of the friend of his heart, Melancthon, was a source of great vexation to him. That eminent man, as different from Luther in point of temper as can well be imagined, was contented to be regarded as a disciple of the Reformer. They had laboured together during many years, and had gone through life with a harmony and cordiality which has seldom been surpassed. Whether Melancthon privately favoured the Zwinglian notion of the sacrament, and was withheld from an open declaration by respect for his friend, is not known; but that he did not enter with any ardour into Luther's tenets on that subject, is abundantly apparent. By a man of Luther's zeal the slightest deficiency or acquiescence in religious doctrine was magnified into confirmed opposition. The elector of Saxony, apprehensive of the progress of disunion among the Protestants, thought it necessary to commission his chancellor Pontanus, to recommend forbearance to Luther on the subject of the sacrament.

"It happened also very unfortunately, that the evening of Luther's day was clouded by an altercation with the lawyers on the subject of clandestine marriages. So strong was the effect of this accumulation

mulation of chagrin, that Luther lost his attachment to his favourite city, Wittenberg, and left it, in the month of July, (1545,) apparently determined never to return. His wife remaining there, he charged her to inform his friends Pomeranus and Melancthon that he had retired, because he could no longer endure the contradiction and displeasure to which he was subjected. This intelligence, when it came to be publicly known at Wittenberg, was productive of deep and general regret; Luther having long been endeared to the inhabitants, both by the sincerity of his heart and by the extraordinary services which he had rendered to their city. His fame in early life, as a professor, and his wonderful reputation after becoming a reformer, had attracted crowds of students to the university, and had been the source of great advantage to the citizens. Melancthon's affection for him continued unabated, and so deeply was he distressed by his departure, that without inquiring whether his grievances were well founded, he was eager to follow and pass in his society the remainder of life. The consequence of this concurrent feeling was an application, on the part of the university, to the elector (on 1st August) intreating him most earnestly to use his influence and authority to prevail on Luther, whom they called their dear and reverend father, to return. They promised that whatever had given him offence should be corrected. The elector wrote forthwith to Luther, in the kindest and most affectionate manner, and even took the trouble to send his physician, Razenberg, to whom he begged that he would unbosom himself in the most confidential manner. Luther

yielded to those cordial solicitations, and consented to resume once more his residence at Wittenberg. Here, though declining health necessarily contracted the degree of his exertion, he continued to write against the doctors of Louvain and other adherents of the papacy with an energy that revived the recollection of his better years.

“ Though Luther continued in his original poverty, and had little ambition to interfere in affairs of business, his integrity and high character for judgment induced many persons to apply to him for advice. A dispute had for some time existed between the counts of Mansfeld respecting the brass and silver mines at Eisleben, his native place. He had been prevailed on to undertake the difficult task of attempting to compose these differences, and had actually made a journey thither, but without success. The parties now appearing more disposed to reconciliation, he was again induced, notwithstanding his infirmity, to undertake a repetition of the journey. In doing this he complied with the wish both of the counts of Mansfeld and of the elector of Saxony, who had interested himself in the business. That Luther was in a very feeble state will appear from the following extract of a letter to a friend, written on 17th January, 1546, only six days before he set out. ‘ I write to you though old, decrepid, inactive, languid, and now possessed of only one eye. When drawing to the brink of the grave, I had hopes of obtaining a reasonable share of rest, but I continue to be overpowered with writing, preaching, and business, in the same manner as if I had not discharged my part in these duties in the early period  
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of life.' Razenberg had some time before prescribed the opening of an issue in his left leg. This was found to afford him considerable relief, and to enable him to walk to church and to the university to lecture. On going to Eisleben, however, he neglected to take proper dressings with him, and, from the pressure of business, unfortunately paid it little or no attention, a neglect which was evidently a cause of accelerating his death.

"Nothing could be more indicative of Luther's ardour than the undertaking of a journey in the month of January, under such a pressure of bodily infirmities. The river Issel having overflowed its banks, he was five days on the road. His companions were his three sons, John, Martin, and Paul, and his steady friend, Justus Jonas. The counts of Mansfeld rode out, attended by a hundred horsemen, and followed by a crowd of adherents to the reformed doctrine, to meet the illustrious stranger. Soon after entering Eisleben, Luther suffered an access of extreme debility, a circumstance not unusual with him on engaging in a matter of deep interest. But this attack was more serious than on former occasions. He recovered, however, and seemed to enjoy the hospitality which his friends were anxious to show him. His time was past in attention to his customary hours of daily prayer, in the transaction of the business which had called him to Eisleben, and in cheerful and good humoured conversation. He partook twice of the Lord's supper, and preached three or four times before the progressive advance of his malady led to the exhaustion of his frame. After passing nearly three weeks at Eisleben, his illness was productive

of a fatal termination. He expired, surrounded by friends, and under a full sense of the nature of his situation. A letter written by Jonas to the elector of Saxony, a few hours after the occurrence of this melancholy event, gives a clear and faithful account of the circumstances attending it:

"It is with a sorrowful heart that I communicate the following information to your highness. Although our venerable father in Christ, Doctor Martin Luther, felt himself unwell before leaving Wittenberg, as also during his journey to this place, and complained of weakness on his arrival; he was nevertheless present at dinner and supper every day in which we were engaged in the business of the counts. His appetite was pretty good, and he used humorously to observe that in his native country they well knew what he ought to eat and drink. His rest at night also was such as could not be complained of. His two youngest sons, Martin and Paul, were accustomed, along with me and one or two men servants, to sleep in his bed-room; accompanied sometimes by M. Michael Coelius, a clergyman of Eisleben. As he had for some time back been accustomed to have his bed warmed, we made it a rule to do this regularly before he retired to rest. Every night on taking leave of us, he was accustomed to say 'pray to God that the cause of his church may prosper, for the Council of Trent is vehemently enraged against it.' The physician who attended caused the medicines to which he had been accustomed to be brought from Wittenberg; and his wife, of her own accord, sent some others. The affairs of the counts of Mansfeld continued to require

quire his attention every other day, or sometimes at an interval of two days. He was accustomed to transact business for one or two hours, along with Welfgang, prince of Anhalt,, and John Henry, Count Schwarzburg. But yesterday, Wednesday the 17th of February, prince Anhalt, Count Schwarzburg, and the rest of us, prevailed on him to remain in his study till mid-day, and to do no business. He walked through the room in his undress, looked at times out of the window, and prayed earnestly. He was all along pleasant and cheerful, but took occasion to say to Cœlius and me; 'I was born and baptized at Eisleben, what if I should remain and die here.' In the early part of the evening he began to complain of an oppression at his breast, and had it rubbed with a linen cloth. This afforded him some ease. A little after he said, 'It is not pleasant to me to be alone,' and repaired to supper in the parlour. He ate with appetite, was cheerful and even jocular. He expounded several remarkable passages in scripture, and said, once or twice in the course of conversation, 'If I succeed in effecting concord between the proprietors of my native country, I shall return home and rest in my grave.'

"After supper he again complained of the oppression at his breast, and asked for a warm linen cloth. He would not allow us to send for medical assistance, and slept on a couch during two hours and a half. Cœlius, Drachsted, the master of the house, whom he called in along with his wife, the town clerk, the two sons and myself, sat by him watching till half-past eleven. He then desired that his bed might be warmed, which was done

with great care. I, his two sons, his servant Ambrose whom he had brought from Wittemberg, and other servants, lay down in the same room; Cœlius was in the adjoining room. At one in the morning he awoke Ambrose and me, and desired that one of the adjoining rooms might be warmed, which was done. He then said to me, 'O Jonas, how ill I am; I feel an oppressive weight at my breast, and shall certainly die at Eisleben.' I answered, 'God, our heavenly Father, will assist you by Christ whom you have preached.' Meantime, Ambrose made haste and led him, after he got up, into the adjoining room. He got thither without any other assistance, and in passing the threshold said aloud, 'Into thy hands I commit my spirit.' He then began to walk about, but in a short time asked for warm linen cloths. Meantime we had sent into the town for two physicians who came immediately. Count Albert likewise being called, he came along with the countess, the latter bringing some cordials and other medicines. Luther now prayed, saying, 'O my heavenly Father, eternal and merciful God, thou hast revealed to me thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. I have preached him, I have confessed him, I love him, and I worship him as my dearest Saviour and Redeemer, him whom the wicked persecute, accuse, and blaspheme.' He then repeated three times the words of the psalm, 'Into thy hands I commit my spirit—God of truth, thou hast redeemed me.' Whilst the physicians and we applied medicines, he began to lose his voice and to become faint; nor did he answer us, though we called aloud to him and moved him. On the countess again giving him a little cordial, and the physician requesting

questing that he would attempt to give an answer, he said, in a feeble tone of voice to Cælius and me, 'yes' or no,' according as the question seemed to require. When we said to him, 'Dearest father, do you verily confess Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Saviour and Redeemer,' he replied, 'Yes,' so as to be distinctly heard. Afterward his forehead and face began to get cold, and although we moved him and called him by name, he gave no answer, but, with his hands clasped, continued to breathe slowly until he expired between two and three o'clock. John Henry, Count Schwartzburg, arrived early and was present at his death.—Though much affected by the loss of him who has been our teacher during twenty-five years, we have thought it proper to give your highness the earliest intimation of his death, that you may be pleased to give us directions concerning the funeral. We shall remain here until we receive them. We pray also that you may write to the count how to proceed. He would like to retain the body in Luther's native country, but he will obey the orders of your highness. We also beg your highness to write to his wife, to Melancthon, Pomeranus, and Cruciger, because you know better how to do it than we. May God, our omnipotent Father, comfort you and us in our affliction.

'Eisleben, Thursday, 18th Feb. 1546.'

"This affecting letter reached the elector of Saxony on the day on which it was written. He immediately intimated to the counts of Mansfeld how much he was affected by Luther's death, and requested them to permit the body to be brought away, that it might be bu-

ried in the church of All Saints at Wittenberg. Jonas has given a minute account of the removal of the body and of the interment.

"The day after his death, 19th February, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the body was brought with great solemnity into the church of St. Andrew, the largest at Eisleben. It was attended by the Prince of Anhalt, the prince's brothers, and many other noblemen, along with a number of ladies of rank, and an immense concourse of the lower orders. Jonas preached the funeral sermon from the fourth chapter of 1 Thessalonians, verse 14th, 'If we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus, will God bring with him.' When he had concluded, the congregation separated, having left the body in the church under the care of ten citizens, who were to guard it during the night. On hearing that the body was to be carried to Wittenberg, Michael Cælius gave a discourse next morning, taking his text from Isaiah lvii. verse 1st. 'The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart—none considereth that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come. He shall enter into peace.' After mid-day, all the persons whom we have mentioned, accompanied the body from the church through the city and beyond the gate. The countrymen, assembled by the ringing of bells, came, with their wives and children, with tears in their eyes, to meet the melancholy procession. The body was brought to Halle about five in the afternoon, and was met at the gate by the senators and clergy. The streets of the city were so crowded by the multitude, that the procession moved on with difficulty. The hour was too late for the delivery of a discourse, but  
a psalm



a psalm (the 130th) was given out, and sung in solemn harmony by the numerous assemblage. Early next morning the senate, clergy, and scholars attended the departure of the body. On Monday, 22d, the funeral reached Wittemberg, and was received at the gate by the senate, the members of the university, and a numerous body of citizens. From the gate the procession moved, in solemn order, to the church, the Prefect of Wittemberg, with the Counts of Mansfeld and their horsemen, leading the way. The body followed in a carriage, and Luther's wife and family, accompanied by his brother James from Mansfeld, were immediately behind. Next came the rector of the university and several sons of counts, princes, and barons, who were students at Wittemberg. Pontanus, Melancthon, Jonas, Pomeranus, Cruciger, and other elderly ecclesiastics, now appeared, and were succeeded by the professors, the senators, the students, and the citizens. An immense crowd of the lower orders followed in the rear. The body was deposited in the church on the right of the pulpit. After the singing of hymns, Pomeranus ascended the pulpit, and delivered an excellent discourse. When he had concluded, Melancthon pronounced a funeral oration, which, while it bore affecting marks of his personal sorrow, was intended to afford consolation to others, and to alleviate the grief of the church. These melancholy offices being performed, the body was committed to the grave by several members of the university. A stone was placed over the grave, with a plain inscription, expressive merely of the name and age. A picture of Luther and an epitaph were afterwards affixed

to the wall by order of the university.

"We are now about to bring our account of this distinguished man to a close. We have followed him throughout a career, which, if not lengthened in point of time beyond the ordinary course of nature, was rendered for ever memorable by his indefatigable activity of mind. At whatever age we contemplate Luther, we find the traits of no common disposition. While yet a boy, we have seen him devoting himself with ardour to study, and outstripping his youthful competitors in classic attainments. Advancing towards manhood, he loses indeed a valuable portion of time in acquiring a familiarity with the barbarous jargon of the schools; but his progress in this unprofitable department is such as to afford a satisfactory indication of his success in a better cause. When arrived at the time of life for making choice of a profession, he exhibits striking marks of a decided character. Young as he was, he had determined to devote himself to the service of God, and no intreaty of friends, no temptation of emolument could shake his resolution. Having taken the conclusive step and become an inhabitant of a monastery, he avoids the idle and un instructive habits of his brethren, and, without the aid of any advising friend, devotes himself to theological research. In this he resolutely perseveres, notwithstanding the ridicule of those around him, whose knowledge of their duty was confined to the repetition, by rote, of a few prayers, and who had allowed a copy of the Bible to lie for years neglected in a corner.

"By one of those remarkable dispen-

dispensations of Providence, which rendered Luther the instrument of so much public good, he was early placed in a situation to distribute to others the fruits of his study. Though called to officiate as a teacher of philosophy, and for some time, perhaps, inadequately qualified to fill the theological chair, the bent of inclination remained as before, and he embraced the first favourable opportunity of making his duty consist in that which had long been his delight. By this change he was placed in the situation best fitted to enable him to instruct others, and to prosecute his researches into the true nature of Christianity. We find him accordingly holding for several years an assiduous, but tranquil course. The time which thus elapsed was sufficient to shake in him the foundation of the false impressions of youth, without being of a length to carry him beyond the years of enterprising exertion. Under these circumstances, it is so ordered that the abuses of papal corruption shall be brought under the eye of himself and his countrymen in their most offensive shape. Luther is revolted at the sight, and ventures to commence an opposition which, under a different sovereign, or in any other country in Europe, could hardly have failed to have been unsuccessful and disastrous. This opposition bears no mark of selfish motives—it implies, on the contrary, a relinquishment and forfeiture of professional advancement. In all Luther's proceedings, various as they are, in his preachings, his treatises, and disputations, we discern no step taken for the gratification of personal advantage;—all is disinterested and zealous;—all is prompted

by an anxiety to understand and promulgate the word of God.

“ Though learned beyond his contemporaries, Luther had much to acquire after coming forward as an author. His theological knowledge was derived, in great part, from the writings of the Fathers, and, familiar as he was with Scripture, he had to study its most difficult passages without the assistance of intelligent commentators. It was more suitable, however, to his constitutional ardour to attack corruption at once with the weapons which lay at hand, than to allow time to pass in preparing arms of a less defective character. Hence those changes and inconsistencies in particular topics, which, however suspicious in the eyes of the weak or the malignant, afford to the considerate observer a complete evidence of his sincerity. Conscious of pure intention, Luther felt no shame in acknowledging the errors arising from haste, or engendered by early prejudice. He journeyed along the track of inquiry without assistance; he was obliged to feel his way; and it was only step by step that he acquired a knowledge of the true path. He was long in the hope that the head of the church would disapprove of the indecent sale of Indulgences, and would extend support to the man who came forward to denounce it. When less confident of this support, he was inclined to ascribe to bad advisers that protection of vice of which he accounted the pontiff incapable. Nor could he prevail on himself to think otherwise, till after the most conclusive proofs that no integrity of motive was accounted a justification of the capital crime of developing the corruption of the church.

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When this was clearly ascertained, Luther's choice was no longer doubtful—the establishment, which refused to listen to reform, became in his view an object for direct and unmitigated hostility. Many years of his life were yet to pass, and his views in points of doctrine were destined to undergo several changes; but no solicitation or argument had effect in altering his behaviour towards the church of Rome.

“After his rupture with the pope, and the adoption of the new doctrine by a numerous body of converts, Luther became one of the most conspicuous men in Europe. Princes embraced opportunities of conversing with him, and senates were not backward in applying to him for advice. These distinctions, and the influence attached to them, were enjoyed by Luther above twenty years, yet in no single instance did he seek to turn them to his personal advantage. Indifference to money is not unfrequent among men of his secluded habits, but how few individuals would have possessed Luther's power without making it subservient to the acquisition of rank or honours? All these were disdained by him, and his mind remained wholly occupied with the diffusion of religious truth. Even literary fame had no attractions for Luther. The improvement of the condition of his fellow creatures was the object which with him superseded every other consideration. No temptation of ambition could remove him, in his days of celebrity, from his favourite university of Wittemberg. While his doctrines spread far and wide, and wealthy cities would have been proud to receive him, Luther clung to the spot where he discharged the

duty of a teacher, and to the associates whom he had known in his season of humility.

“In considering Luther as an author, we are struck with the extent and variety of his labours. They consist of controversial tracts, of commentaries on Scripture, of sermons, of letters, and of narratives of the chief events of his life. The leading feature of his controversial writings is an unvaried confidence in the goodness of his arguments. It never seems to occur to him to entertain a doubt of the accuracy of the proposition which he undertakes to defend. It unavoidably followed that he bestowed too little time on analyzing the reasoning of others, and on reconsidering his own. His natural temper led him to conceive strongly, and his triumphs over the Romanist powerfully seconded this constitutional tendency. The same warmth led him to avail himself of the aid of whatever weapons were calculated to reach his adversary. Sarcasm in all its shapes, raillery, ridicule, direct personality, and even punning, abound in his controversial tracts to a degree which is hardly justified by the example of other writers of the age. Impatience and irritability were his great faults, and they are abundantly conspicuous in his writings. No sooner had he formed an idea of the motives, or of the doctrine of an individual at variance with himself, than he made it the object of unsparing condemnation. Hence the endless complaints from adversaries of his precipitation and rudeness. Without desiring to excuse such exceptionable characteristics, it is due to his memory to observe that they originated in no malignant intention. They were  
not

not displayed towards inoffensive persons, nor were they meant as the foundation of lasting animosity. They were often the ebullition of the moment, and appear to have been carried, in the heat of composition, to a greater length than was intended at the outset. The freedom of his language in treating of the conduct of the great, arose partly from constitutional ardour, and partly from an habitual impression of the all-powerful claims of truth. The lofty attitude so often assumed by Luther is not therefore to be attributed to pride or vanity. In treating of the Scriptures, he considered himself as acting in the presence of God, whose majesty and glory were so infinitely exalted above all created beings, as to reduce to one and the same level the artificial distinctions of worldly institutions. Under this conviction the prince or the king who ventured to oppose what Luther considered the word of God, seemed to him no more exempted from severe epithets than the humblest of his adversaries. However we may censure the length to which his freedom was carried, the boldness of his conduct was, on the whole, productive of much good. An independent and manly tone in regard not only to religion, but to civil liberty, literature, the arts and sciences, was created and disseminated by his example.

“ His compositions of all kinds, including sermons and epistolary disquisitions, are calculated by his distinguished biographer, Seckendorff, at the extraordinary number of eleven hundred and thirty-seven. When we consider, in addition, the extent of his public duty, and the variety of his correspondence, we cannot fail to admire the prodigious

efforts of his industry. Where the mass of writing was so large, we must expect little polish of style. Luther's imagination was vigorous, but the cultivation of taste engaged no part of his attention. His inelegance of style has been chiefly remarked in his Latin publications. His taste in early life had been corrupted by the barbarous diction of the scholastic divines, and in his riper years he was too impatient to communicate the substance of his thoughts, to bestow much attention on the dress in which they appeared. It suited his ardour to commit to paper the impression of the moment, and to give free course to that excitement which grows strongly on men of his temper in the progress of composition. The consequence is that his sentences are generally of great length; the succeeding members appearing an expansion, and not unfrequently a repetition, of what had gone before. No pains were taken to promote clearness, and very little to correct ambiguity. As he was wholly indifferent to the praise of elegance, he gave himself no trouble about the choice of words. When classical vocables did not readily occur to him, he had no scruple in making a new word by giving a Latin termination to an expression borrowed from the Greek, or some other language. His arrangement is equally defective, and the result of all this is, that his works are full of obscure passages. Some of them are so much involved, that it is next to impossible to make out the meaning. In his German compositions the case is different. His translation of the Bible has been always admired, and his hymns have given way to versifications of later date in consequence

quence only of the progressive change in the language.

"His theological system he professed to found altogether on the authority of Scripture. Such, it must be allowed, was in a great measure the case, although his predilection for the writings of Augustine influenced his creed to a degree of which he was perhaps unconscious. Of his commentaries and sermons, many were printed from the notes of hearers, and, though generally shown to him beforehand, he was so indifferent to fame, so immersed in business, and so intent on the object of the moment, that he allowed them to go forth without much correction. The plan of his discourses, if plan it can be called, was not calculated to procure him reputation on the score of composition. The leading points of controversy between him and the Catholics are introduced on all occasions, and some of his favourite doctrines, such as justification by faith without works, could never, he seems to have thought, be out of season. On the other hand, few writers discover greater knowledge of the world, or a happier talent in apalyzing and illustrating the shades of character. In this respect Luther is greatly superior to those who form their notions of mankind in the stillness of their closet. It is equally remarkable that no man could display more forcibly the tranquil consolations of religion. Though unable to subdue his impetuosity of temper, he was anxious to moderate it, and seems to have been perfectly acquainted with the means which it is incumbent on us to use for that purpose.

"Let us now turn aside from Luther's public character, and con-

template him in the scenes of private life. Warm as he was in temper, and unaccustomed to yield to authoritative demands, he yet possessed much of the milk of human kindness. Few men entered with more ardour into the innocent pleasures of society. His frankness of disposition was apparent at the first interview, and his communicative turn, joined to the richness of his stores, rendered his conversation remarkably interesting. In treating of humorous subjects, he discovered as much vivacity and playfulness as if he had been a man unaccustomed to serious research. The visitor of Luther's domestic circle was assured of witnessing a pleasing union of religious service with conjugal and paternal affection. His fondness for music continued during life, and spread a charm over the discharge of his serious duties. He was always a zealous advocate for the use of music in public worship. In an evening before parting from his family and his friends, he was in the habit of regularly singing a hymn. This he usually did in a high key, and with all the advantage of a delightful voice. In his hours of occasional dejection, music proved his most pleasant and effectual restorative. It was much to be regretted that his constitution, though apparently robust, by no means afforded him the steady enjoyment of health. Whether from taking too little exercise, or from the repeated occurrence of mental agitation, he was subject to frequent and severe head-aches. In respect to diet, he was remarkably abstemious, a habit probably acquired in the monastery, and continued in consequence of the sedentary nature of his occupations.

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"The diffusion of religious knowledge being always foremost in Luther's mind, he was fond, when along with his friends, of turning the conversation in that direction. Nor was there any objection to it on the part of his associates. The fluency of his arguments, and the spirit of his illustrations, were calculated to divest serious topics of whatever might be forbidding, and to give them all the attraction of subjects of amusement. The study of Scripture elucidated by Luther, appeared no longer in the light of a task, and the ponderous writings of the Fathers seemed in his hands divested of their customary incumbrance.

"If among the numerous virtues of Luther, we seek for that which more particularly characterized him, we shall fix, without hesitation, on his contempt for the terrors of power. It was to this undaunted spirit that he was chiefly indebted for his usefulness and celebrity. To maintain the cause of truth, as a servant of God, was a task in which no danger could appal him. His courage arose from no hasty resolution, and still less from any hidden ambition—it was a firm, deliberate determination, founded on thorough conviction, and unconscious of abatement under the most embarrassing circumstances. Regardless of the threats of foes, or the expostulations of friends, he persevered in his course, and looked forward, with patience

and confidence, 'to reap in joy what he had sown in tears.'

"Again, if we pass from the examination of his mind to a view of the different capacities in which he came before the public, we shall see him to greatest advantage in the character of a preacher. He mounted the pulpit full of his subject, and eager to diffuse a portion of his stores among his audience. The hearer's attention was aroused by the boldness and novelty of the ideas; it was kept up by the ardour with which he saw the preacher inspired. In the discourse there was nothing of the stiffness of laboured composition; in the speaker no affectation in voice or gesture. Luther's sole object was to bring the truth fully and forcibly before his congregation. His delivery was aided by a clear elocution, and his diction had all the copiousness of a fervent imagination.

"Luther left the little property which he possessed to his dear Catherine de Bora. She removed after his death to Torgau, and survived him nearly seven years. His family, consisting of a daughter in addition to the three sons already mentioned, were relieved from hereditary poverty by the liberality of the Elector of Saxony, and the counts of Mansfeld. The grandson of Paul, the youngest of Luther's sons, lived in the time of Seckendorff, and occupied a respectable situation."

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF MR. GEORGE FREDERICK COOKE, OF COVENT  
GARDEN THEATRE.

[From Mr. Dunlap's Life of him.]

"I RETURN with reluctance to Mr. Cooke at Mechanic Hall, where the progress of those diseases, which had long before fastened their fangs upon him, was now rapid, and threatened a speedy termination of his eventful life.

"Happily for him, the hour of acute pain and mortal illness had not found him struggling with poverty, or harassed by creditors; he enjoyed all that affluence can bestow to alleviate disease; and had every attention paid to him, which kind and skilful physicians, sympathizing friends, and above all, a faithful and exemplary nurse in the person of Mrs. Cooke, could devise or bestow.

"The strength of his iron constitution was gone; no skill could arrest the approach of death, and on the 26th September, 1812, George Frederick Cooke breathed his last, aged 57 years and 5 months.

Among the persons he remembered with particular affection on his death-bed, were Mr. Harris, Mr. Charles Kemble, and Mr. Brandon. A ring which had been given to him by Mr. Charles Kemble, he desired might be sent to him, and the assurance of his affectionate remembrance to the three. His book of the 'The Man of the World,' with the part of Sir Pertinax M'Sycophant unmarked, has been sent, since his death, to Mr. John Philip Kemble; with what intent I know not.

"I owe to the kind politeness of Dr. Hosack the following letter on

the subject of Mr. Cooke's diseases, last illness and death.

"New York, March 16, 1813.

"DEAR SIR,

"Upon referring to my memoranda of the illness and death of Mr. Cooke, I find I have very little to communicate that will prove interesting to your readers, except to those who feel an interest in whatever relates to that distinguished character. His case does not, like that of his predecessor Garrick, repay the physician for its perusal, by the communication of an important medical truth; nor, like that of Macklin, does it directly illustrate the effects of regularity and temperance, in attaining to great length of days; but it adds another lamented example, to the long catalogue of those who have prematurely fallen the victims of intemperance; for by this species of suicide, as it ought to be denominated, Mr. Cooke destroyed one of the best constitutions both of mind and body, that man could have possessed. You observe I withhold nothing; but disclose the whole truth. I trust, as his biographer, this you also will do; for, to be a true portrait, the picture should have its shades and background.

"It will be proper to observe, that on his passage from Europe to this country, Mr. Cooke was indisposed by an inflammatory fever, with which he was attacked two weeks after he left England. It ended in a deranged state of the bowels,

bowels, attended with costiveness, hæmorrhoids, and occasional discharges of blood.

“ ‘During his convalescence from that illness, he was deprived of his accustomed spirituous drinks; for by the length of the voyage, the liquors of the ship had been all expended, when he was compelled to confine himself to water. This privation, though discomfiting to Mr. Cooke, produced a very salutary change in his constitution, for he arrived in the most perfect state of health.

“ ‘Mr. Cooke landed in New-York on the 16th of November, and took lodgings at the Tontine Coffee-house, from whence, in a few days, he removed to the family of Mr. Price, the manager of the theatre.

“ ‘His fame having preceded him, his society was immediately sought for by the lovers of the drama, and those who were acquainted with his professional excellence. Notwithstanding the temptations to indulgence, to which he now necessarily became exposed, he observed, with very few exceptions, great abstinence and regularity until the month of December. In the mean time, he completed his theatrical engagements in this city, without the least imputation of excess. I am informed, but whether correctly or not, your constant intercourse with Mr. Cooke will enable you to state, that during the whole period of his engagement, he was so rigidly abstemious, that on the days of playing he regularly left the table at five o'clock, and prepared for his evening exercises; with the exception of his benefit night, when, indeed, as Sempronius wished,

“ — the storm blew high,

“ And spent itself on Caro's head.

“ ‘Having terminated his engage-

ment in New-York, Mr. Cooke proceeded to Boston. On his journey to and from that city, he endured much fatigue and distress from the roughness of the roads, the rapidity with which he travelled, and the coldness of the season, which was more severe during that winter, than we usually experience in the United States.

“ ‘Of the weather, Mr. Cooke especially complained, and to it ascribed many of his sufferings which ensued. But in addition to these sources of his disease, it is also to be remarked, that he had returned to the same habits of excess that, for many years before, he had indulged in Europe. The consequence was, a severe and alarming indisposition.

“ ‘I was first requested to see Mr. Cooke on the 13th of March, 1811; but his friend Dr. Hugh M'Lean, an eminent physician of this city, informed me, that previously to my attendance, he had prescribed for him during several less severe attacks, of what he considered approaching apoplexy, but which were readily removed by blood-letting, and other depleting remedies.

“ ‘When I was first called to Mr. Cooke, I found him in a state of stupor, unable to converse, or to communicate to me any account either of feelings, or the causes of his distress.

“ ‘He also laboured under great oppression of the chest, which was manifested by a hurried and anxious respiration. These symptoms were attended with a full and frequent pulse, a heated skin, a furred tongue, and other evidences of excitement and general plethora. I also learned from his attendants that, for some days before, he had been indulging in his wine, his favourite beverage, much more freely than usual.



“ ‘Considering his complaints to be the result of an unusual fulness of his habit, and the too liberal use of stimulant drinks, I immediately directed twenty ounces of blood to be taken from his arm. By this evacuation, followed by an active cathartic, he was in a few hours sensibly relieved. In the evening of the same day, he had so far recovered from the oppression both of his brain and lungs, that he conversed with me very freely of his situation, and the causes that had induced it. He then informed me, that prior to his confinement to bed, he had also complained of pain in his right side, referring it more immediately to the region of the liver; he, however, at that time, wanted some of the characteristic symptoms of an acute inflammation of that organ.

“ ‘I observed that his spirits were greatly depressed whenever he conversed upon the subject of his complaints; for he had now become conscious of the nature of his disease, and appeared to be fully apprized of the consequences, if he could not command fortitude enough to abstain from the causes that had produced it. In one of those moments of despondency he asked me, with an earnestness and solicitude of manner which I can never forget, if I thought his disease had proceeded to such a degree as likely to prove fatal to him; and if I then considered him in immediate danger; adding, that in such case he was desirous of making some communication to one or two persons in England, and particularly referred to his old friend, an eminent surgeon of London, James Wilson, Esq. of Windmill-street, of whom he always expressed himself in terms of the greatest affection and respect.

“ ‘Upon assuring him that he was, for the present, relieved, and that Richard would soon be himself again, his countenance lighted up, and for the moment he was re-animated.

“ ‘He then became fearful that I had misconstrued the source of his anxiety about his own situation, and with some animation observed, ‘Doctor, I hope you do not conceive that I ask you these questions because I am afraid of dying—be assured I am not.’ Notwithstanding this assurance, however, I was convinced that Mr. Cooke was not so firmly steeled upon this subject as he would wish us to believe; on the contrary, he had his share of that ‘cowardice’ which generally attachs itself to human nature at the approach of dissolution, for

‘Conscience does make cowards of us all.’

“ ‘Perceiving, as I believed, the necessity of rallying his spirits, and of counteracting his despondency, whatever may have been the real source of it, I instantly replied, ‘that it would indeed be strange, if a man who, like Mr. Cooke, had been so much in the habit of dying, should be afraid of it.’

“ ‘This reply, though trifling in itself, and which by some, perhaps, may be considered as misplaced levity, had the effect I intended as a *malicia mentis*; for it more effectually conveyed my affected unconcern for his situation, and imparted more confidence to his mind than the most grave or solemn declaration that I could have expressed.

“ ‘In a few days, by attention to his manner of living, Mr. Cooke recovered, and proceeded to Philadelphia.

“ ‘During his stay in that city he was so much caressed by his numerous friends and admirers, that we  
are

are not surprized to find him again forgetting himself. He accordingly, while in Philadelphia, was obliged to undergo some occasional medical discipline.

“ After fulfilling his engagement in that city, he returned to New-York in the month of May. I now found that he had not profited, except in pocket and in fame, by this visit to Philadelphia, for he had brought back with him an increased attachment to his old habits, with less power of resisting them.

“ On the 20th of that month I was again called, to witness a similar attack, though in a slighter degree than that in which I had at first attended him; it however was readily removed by mild evacuations.

“ Finding now that his repeated excesses, and the means necessary to counteract them, had left him somewhat debilitated, I directed for him a bitter infusion, and other tonic medicines; these, with attention to his diet, greatly improved his appetite and general health.

“ Having terminated his theatrical engagements, for that season, he passed a great part of the ensuing summer at the springs of Ballston, and in travelling through the northern and western parts of this state.

“ About the beginning of the September following, his health being much improved by the excursions of the summer, and his release from professional duty, he returned to the city. The winter campaign which followed, and occasional departures from that temperate system of living which had been enjoined upon him, for he had not sufficient firmness to resist his old enemy, renewed his complaints.

“ In the following spring he removed from his lodgings at the

coffee-house, where he had passed the winter, to another part of the town. For some weeks he now lived in the most perfect retirement.

“ His friend, Dr. McLean, again called upon him, at his new place of residence, and observing Mr. Cooke to manifest some fulness of the abdomen, and swelling of the lower extremities, he immediately endeavoured to alarm him, by expressing, in as strong terms as possible, the consequences which would inevitably ensue, unless he could change his mode of life. For a few weeks this admonition had the most salutary effect. Mr. Cooke immediately abandoned the use of spirituous drinks, except in the form of very weak punch, and which he used in great moderation. He also rose early, and took daily exercise, at the same time that he again occupied his mind in miscellaneous reading, to which, when in health, he was greatly attached. These habits were continued for some weeks, and were followed by the most beneficial changes in his constitution.

“ The swelling of his abdomen and extremities were both totally removed. His general health became improved, and his mind recovered its natural strength and cheerfulness. At this time, as was the case upon his first arrival in this country, Mr. Cooke had the most ample evidence of the salutary effects of temperance and exercise, in the removal of his complaints.

“ Thus restored, he proceeded in the month of July to Providence, Rhode Island, to fulfil an engagement in that town, and where he closed his theatrical career. But upon his arrival in Providence, he unfortunately fell into the society of some kindred spirits, and was again

again seduced into his former habits. As predicted by Dr. M'Lean, his dropsical complaints immediately returned, and soon increased to so alarming a degree, that it was feared he could not live to return to New-York. He, however, was brought back to this city in September, and took lodgings at the Mechanic hall, where he remained until his death. Dr. M'Lean visited him on his return, and prescribed for him such diuretics, and other evacuants, as his condition indicated; but his complaints had assumed so formidable an appearance, that the doctor despaired of his recovery, and expressed his opinion to the friends and connections of Mr. Cooke. At that time his abdomen had become very much enlarged, attended with great hardness in the region of the liver, and a sensible fluctuation, occasioned by water in the cavity of the belly. His bowels, at the same time, were in a constant state of constipation, except when excited by the most drastic purgatives. His lower extremities were almost anasarcaous, and a general yellowness was diffused over the surface of the body, all evidently pointing out the deranged condition of the liver, as well as the debilitated state of his whole system.

"During the period of Dr. M'Lean's attendance, Mr. Cooke was confined to his bed, excepting upon one day, when, by an extraordinary exertion, he left his room for the purpose of dining with his friend Mr. Holman, who had just arrived from England. On the 17th of September I was again called upon to see Mr. Cooke, in consultation with Dr. M'Lean. I immediately visited him, accompanied by Dr. John W. Francis, a young physician with whom I had lately form-

ed a connexion in practice, and who afterwards, by his constant attendance upon Mr. Cooke, very much contributed to soothe and allay the distresses which he endured in this his last illness. Mr. Cooke's strength was now so far expended, that we found it impossible to prescribe any thing that was likely to prove useful for the removal of his disease; we therefore, from this period, directed our attention chiefly to the relief of particular symptoms; as they occasionally appeared during the progress of his complaint. On the evening of the 25th, he was seized with sickness at the stomach, which was soon succeeded by violent vomiting, and the discharge of a large quantity of black, grumous blood; by this evacuation his strength was suddenly exhausted; but the vomiting was at length allayed by a mixture of laudanum and mint-water, directed for him by Dr. Francis, who remained with him throughout the night, hourly expecting his decease. Mr. Cooke, however, survived until six in the morning, when in full possession of his mental faculties, and the perfect consciousness of his approaching change, he calmly expired.

"A few hours after his death, having obtained permission from Mrs. Cooke, accompanied by Dr. Francis, I examined the body, for the purpose of ascertaining the state of the abdominal viscera, and especially that of the liver. Upon opening the belly, we found it to contain about four quarts of water; but the liver, to our great surprise, did not exceed the usual dimensions of that viscus; it was, however, astonishingly hard, and of a much lighter colour than is natural to that organ; its texture, too, was uncommonly dense, making considerable resist-

ance to the knife; in its internal structure it was so hard and unyielding, that very few traces of its vessels could be found, and the circulation through it had evidently long since ceased to be regularly performed: it exhibited precisely that peculiar tuberculous appearance, which was first pointed out by Dr. Baillie of London, in his *Morbid Anatomy*. It also deserves to be remarked, that in the case of Mr. Cooke, as in those described by the distinguished anatomist referred to, the tubercles were not confined to the surface, but extended throughout the greater part of the substance of the liver, as I ascertained by making several sections of it in different directions. The other viscera of the abdomen exhibited no departure from their natural condition, either in their structure or appearance.

“Such, sir, are the most important circumstances which have fallen under my observation relating to the illness and death of Mr. Cooke; whose loss, in his professional character, we all deplore; for in that justly celebrated tragedian were united a quickness of perception—a correctness of judgment—a knowledge of human nature—a flexibility of feature—a strength and variety of voice—a dignity of form—and a majesty of deportment, which singly are seldom met with in the same degree, and still more rarely are combined in any individual.

“With my best wishes for the accomplishment, and success of the work which you have so landably undertaken,

“I am, with great regard and respect,

“Yours,

“DAVID HOSACK.

“*William Dunlap, Esq.*”

“Doctor John W. Francis, Doctor Hosack's associate in practice,

who attended Mr. Cooke in his last illness with Messrs. M'Lean and Hosack, and who witnessed his dying moments, has furnished me with the following anecdote connected with the veteran's last exhibition of his favourite character of Richard the Third in the city of New-York. It was on the 20th of March, 1812. The next day Dr. Francis called upon him, and expressed the pleasure he had received from witnessing the last evening's exhibition.

“‘Why,’ says Cooke, ‘I was not well, and I had forgotten in the day that I was to play at night. I was sitting here very quietly when I was told that I was wanted at the theatre. ‘For what?’ says I. ‘To play Richard, sir.’ “I had no devotion to the deed, but I went. I made out to get through the first act. In the second, sir, I was somewhat better. In the third act, I began to feel. In the fourth act, I was alive; and in the fifth, I think I may say Richard truly was himself.”

“Dr. Francis says, that a very short time before his dissolution, he told him that he was born in Westminster. He likewise mentioned his having entered as a midshipman on board a king's ship, when he was fifteen years of age.

“The declaration of Mr. Cooke, on his death bed, must put to rest the question respecting his birth-place; and is a confirmation of his repeated assertion when in this country. I am sorry to pluck so brilliant a flower from the wreath which Mr. Phillips has woven, to deck his ‘*Emerald Isle*,’ but that beloved and injured land is so rich in the flowers of genius, and so free from the mean passion of envy, that she will cheerfully resign her pretensions to Cooke, when convinced that they were founded in error.

“The

"The reader will be pleased to find here the lines of Mr. Phillips, above alluded to. After an enumeration of sages, poets, orators, and players, who have reflected lustre on the green Isle, the poet proceeds:

\* \* \* \* \*

"The rival muses own'd the alter'd reign,  
With mutual feeling, each their fends for-  
sook,  
Combined their efforts, and created Cooke.  
Lord of the soul! magician of the heart!  
Pure child of Nature! foster child of Art!  
How all the passions in succession rise,  
Heave in thy soul, and lighten in thine eyes!  
Beguiled by thee, old Time, with aspect  
blythe,  
Leans on his sceptre, and forgets his scythe;  
Space yields its distance—ancient glories live,  
Ages relapse, remotest scenes revive—  
For thee, creation half inverts her reign,  
And captive reason wears a willing chain."

"On the twenty-seventh of September, his remains were deposited, with all the respect due to departed genius, in the burying ground of St. Paul's church, attended by a great concourse of respectable citizens.

"Thus ended the life of George Frederick Cooke; a man endowed by nature with an athletic frame, and vigorous constitution; a mind quick to conceive, and combine; and a heart open to receive every good impression; and strong in its impulse to every good action.

"With such a mind, a good early education would have done wonders; and notwithstanding every adverse circumstance and habit, his discrimination was unusually acute, and his taste pure. Specimens have been given of his critical acumen, and of his style; and I have mentioned a poem projected and begun, called the Stage. Besides these literary labours, projected or accomplished, he appears to have had an intention at some period unmarked, to have

written for the stage, and, I presume, a tragedy. I find a small manuscript book, entitled, 'Materials for the Duke of Mercia.—No. 1.' It consists of extracts on the subject of early English history.

"The powers of his mind are to be estimated by his excellence in his profession. As an actor, with all his imperfections, from omission or commission, he stood towering above his male contemporaries, alone, and unrivalled.

"I wish not to recapitulate what I have said on the subject of Mr. Cooke's acting, but rather to seize this opportunity of supplying, in some measure, my omissions.

"His powers of discrimination, and his unrivalled manner of adhering to nature in his recitation, has been dwelt upon; but his mode of anticipating, extending, and improving, the conception of his author, his not been remarked, or elucidated. I would give as an instance, his acting in *Iago*, at that point, where *Othello* being wrought up to frenzy, kneels to seal his purpose of revenge by a vow; *Iago* says:

"Do not rise yet:—[*I take him.*]  
Witness ye ever-burning lights above,—  
Ye elements that close us round about,  
Witness,—that here *Iago* doth give up,  
The execution of his wit, hand, heart,  
To wrong'd *Othello's* service!—Let him  
command,  
And to obey shall be in me remorse,  
What bloody work soever."

"They rise, and *Othello* says:

"I greet thy love,  
Not with vain thanks, but with acceptance  
boonteous,  
And will upon the instant put thee to it:  
Within these three days, let me hear thee say:  
That *Cassio's* not alive."

"Mr. Cooke used then to start, and the spectator might plainly read in

in his expressive face,—‘What, murder my friend and companion?’—he then covered his face with his hands, and gradually lifting his head, when he withdrew his hands, his face and eyes were turned upward—he then started again, as if remembering the oath he had just taken, and after a second mental struggle, said, as if submitting to necessity, and the obligation imposed on him by his oath—

“ ‘My friend is dead.’ ”

“How invaluable would it be to actors, if they could have handed down to them clear and minute descriptions of the manner in which the great masters of the art delineated their most effective characters; such a description of the acting of Cooke I cannot give, but it may be of use to some, and gratify, however imperfectly, the curiosity of others, to notice some very few points which I remember. Such as the quick transition from the fawning boo of Sir Pertinax M’Sycophant, where, with the right hand upon the breast, and the left expanded with the expression of obsequious humility, even the awkward position of the legs seemed to convey an intended idea of inferiority and servility, to the suddenly assumed, arrogant, and upright position, with which he addressed his dependants, or supposed inferiors; when, with every muscle in rigid action, his head erect, his left hand thrown behind him, and his right advanced in front, the forefinger alone extended, as dictating with imperious precision his will, the whole man presented the most perfect contrast to what had preceded, and finely displayed the intimate connexion be-

tween purse-swollen pride, and the most abject meanness.

I take up Mr. Cooke’s marked book of Richard the Third, to assist my memory. The edition is Roach’s, 1802, and the first four lines of Gloster’s first speech is in this edition omitted; but on the opposite (otherwise blank) leaf, Mr. Cooke has inserted them. I have before remarked the effect which the high pitched tone of his voice produced on his first playing Richard in America when he began this speech: I will now only notice his action. During the first three lines,

“ ‘Now is the winter of our discontent  
Made glorious summer by the sun of York;  
And all the clouds that lower’d upon our  
house—’ ”

he was without motion, his hands hanging at ease; at the beginning of the fourth,

“ ‘In the deep bosom,’ ”

he lifted the right hand a little, with a gently sweeping motion, and then turning the palm downwards, he continued,

“ ‘Of the ocean——’ ”

and made a short pause; then sinking his hand (the palm parallel with the earth) and his voice at the same time, finished the sentence by the word,

“ ‘——buried.’ ”

“The impatient twitching at his sword during King Henry’s speech, previous to Gloster’s crying, -

“ ‘I’ll hear no more——’ ”

is the next circumstance that I remember with particular vividness: this,

this, if imitated, might be as great a deformity in another actor as it was a beauty in the acting of Mr. Cooke; all depends upon the perfect unison of the mind and body, and the mind and body being identified with the character. It is needless to say that many passages in which I can remember, I cannot describe him. How should I convey an idea of his saying,

“ — the Tower ?  
“ Ay—the Tower—the Tower ! ”

or of his departure from the unfortunate Buckingham, with,

“ ‘ I’m busy—thou troublest me—I’m not  
i’ th’ vein. ’ ”

“ Richard’s scene in the last of the fourth act with Stanley, beginning;

“ ‘ Well, my lord, what is the news with  
you ?  
Stanley. Richmond is on the seas, my lord. ’ ”

“ Who can forget, that ever heard Mr. Cooke, the burst at,

“ ‘ There let him sink—and be the seas on  
him,  
White liver’d renegade—what does he there ?  
Stanley. I know not, mighty sovereign, but  
by guess—  
Gloster. Well, as you guess. ’ ”

“ This last line, given in a manner so perfectly contrasted with ‘ there let him sink ’—yet with a transition as natural as it was rapid, and the whole soul thrown into the sneering expression of the face and tone of voice, said in the four words such unutterable things as defy language.

“ Mr. De Wilde has succeeded, perhaps as far as the pencil can succeed, in perpetuating Mr. Cooke’s manner of giving this passage.

“ The following lines of Richard’s last speech of the fourth act, as given

by Mr. Cooke, are omitted in this edition :

“ ‘ And as the wretch whose fever-weakened  
joints,  
Like strengthless hinges, buckle under life,  
Impatient of his fit, breaks like a fire  
From his fond keeper’s arms, and starts away;  
Even so these war-worn limbs, tho’ now grown  
weak  
From war’s disuse, being now enrag’d with  
war,  
Feel a new fury, and are thrice themselves ! ’ ”

“ These lines, not uncommonly fine in themselves, are of infinite consequence to the succeeding ‘ Come forth, my honest sword,’ &c. and it is by omissions of this kind, made by ignorant editors, or lazy players, that the finest dramas are ruined. The preparatory lines being omitted, the passage, however fine, may come too abruptly on the auditor, and its effect lost, or perhaps a contrary effect produced.

“ I cannot describe with sufficient accuracy the playing of the last act—the scene in the tent, and the death of Richard, all who saw must remember, and to those who did not see, I have no hope of conveying an adequate idea.

“ In Macbeth;

“ ‘ Wherefore was that cry ?  
Scy. The queen, my lord, is dead. ’ ”

“ With a suppressed agitation he gave,

“ ‘ She should have died — ’ ”

and then, after a pause, with a tone lowered almost to a whisper,

“ ‘ — hereafter. ’ ”

“ So, again :

“ ‘ — it is a tale  
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,  
Signifying — — — ’ ”

he sunk his voice, and with a tone of suppressed feeling, and heart-breaking disappointment, repeated the word:

"—nothing."

"Mr. Cooke's orthoëpy was generally correct, yet he had fallen in with a vile custom of turning the pronoun *thy*, into the article *the*. This is said to be Mr. Kemble's custom likewise, and he has occasionally been lashed for it, as well as for his other singularities or affectations. Some of our newspaper critics pointed out this impropriety to Mr. Cooke, but he had no notion that he, who had come from the metropolis of England, should be schooled in his native tongue by yankee scribblers, and he stuck to the *the*, though Shakspeare suffered for it—but Shakspeare had little to forgive Cooke!

"Mr. Cooke, at one period of his life, undoubtedly studied his profession with great attention, and took more than ordinary pains, to render himself perfect, not only in the words and general manner, but in every minute movement of body, and inflection of voice, in those parts, from the just representation of which celebrity was to be gained. I have before me his part, written with his own hand, of Sir Archy McSarcasm, in which he has carefully scored the emphatic words, with one, and sometimes two or three lines, according to their respective value and importance.

"The part of Octavian, which he frequently performed before his coming to London, I also find in his own hand-writing, with notes on the opposite pages, pointing out the proper gestures, and marking the tone with which each passage is to be pronounced. I will present the reader with an extract from it. It is to be observed, that the lines are wrote into one another, probably with a view, by removing one characteristic of verse, to avoid as much as possible, the danger of falling into the common sing-song of persons reciting poetry.

#### OCTAVIAN.

##### *A. 2d. Enter from the Cave.\**

"I cannot sleep! the leaves are newly pulled! and as my burning body presses them, their freshness mocks my misery; † that frets me! and then I could out-watch the Lynx! ‡—'tis dawn!—thou hot and rolling sun, I rise before thee! for I have twice thy scorching flames within me, and am more restless!—Now to seek my willow; that droops his mournful head across the brook; he is my calendar—I'll score his trunk with one more long, long day of solitude! I shall lose count else in my wretchedness; and that were pity—§Oh, Octavian! where are the times thy ardent nature painted? when fortune smil'd upon thy lusty youth, and all was sunshine? when the look'd-for years, were gaily deck'd with fancy's ima-

\* "A platform runs from 2d entrance L. H. to the middle of the stage.—At the termination, (the platform slopes to the stage,) a stump of a tree, with a board stretching to the R.—He rushes down, though faintly, to it; falls upon it, the right arm extended over the branch, the full front to the audience—after a proper recovery, begins, 'I cannot sleep,' &c.

† "Comes from platform.

‡ "Quickly, to L. H.—afterwards as fancy directs, always remembering to keep the character in view.

§ "A pause—recollection strikes forcibly, and the tender passions are aroused.



gery, while the high blood run-frolic through thy veins, and boyhood made thee sanguine? \* let 'em vanish!—† Prosperity's a cheat! Despair is honest, and will stick by me steadily;—I'll hug it!—will glut on't.—‡ Why, the greybeard tore her from me, even in my soul's fond dotage!—Oh! 'tis pastime now to see men tug at each other's hearts!—I fear not—for my strings are crack'd already!—§ I will go prowl—|| but look, I meet no fathers—¶ now willow—\*\* Oh, Floranthe!

*Exit.* 1st. E. R. H.

"Before I take leave of my subject and my reader, let me record three unconnected, but characteristic anecdotes.

"During one of his provincial engagements, Mr. Cooke had offended the public, by disappointing or disgusting them, and on a following night the audience was thin, and the gentlemen in the boxes near the stage, by concert, turned their backs on the scene when Cooke came on. He was dressed for Falstaff, and immediately noticing this unusual appearance, and comprehending the intent, instead of beginning the part, he said in a voice sufficiently audible for those who were reproving him, 'Call you this backing your friends?—a plague of such backing, I say.'

"When he was the object of the universal curiosity, soon after his coming out in London, a certain nobleman, filled with that insolence which rank and riches, when not

accompanied by worth, generate in little minds, seeing Mr. Cooke, who had stopped to gaze at the pictures in the window of a print shop, sent his servant to desire him to turn round that his lordship might view him. Astonishment first, and then indignation, filled the mind of Cooke. 'Tell his lordship,' says he, 'that if he will step this way, I'll show him what he never saw when he looked in his mirror—the face of a man.'

"On occasion of some offence which he conceived against the people of Liverpool, he uttered this eloquent burst of invective. 'It is a place accursed of heaven, and abhorrent to nature—their wealth is the price of human misery; and there is not a brick in their houses that is not cemented with human blood.'

"To conclude. All those high and rare natural endowments; which we have seen united in Mr. Cooke, were obscured and marred by unfortunate circumstances in the early portion of his life, and by long continued habits of indulging those debasing propensities, which those unfortunate circumstances had generated. Though his talents as an actor were obscured and lowered by these causes, he still retained enough of the form impressed by the 'bountiful goddess nature,' to stamp him in men's minds the legitimate successor of Garrick: but these causes had made of him, as a man, a mass of contradictions, not merely oppo-

\* "The anger of grief.

† "The rage of despair, *under*, and at the conclusion of the present note, falls in front of the stage—a despairing satisfaction, with a proper pause.

‡ "Recollection of his loss, and increased despair, grief and rage mingled.

§ "Sullen determination.

|| "A despairing threatening accent.

¶ "The satisfaction of grief.

\*\* "The remembrance of all his former happiness."

sité, but in the extremes of opposition. With manners the most urbane, polished, and refined, and a mind delighting in the society of wit and reason, a large portion of his life was passed in the haunts of vice, or in the solitude imposed by poverty, or sickness, the consequences of voluntary madness; and that benevolence which opened his heart and hand, to relieve the distresses of his fellow-creatures, was converted into the extremes of anxious parsimony, or indiscriminate profusion: the

latter, as more congenial to the natural impulse, prevailing over the former, to the utter exclusion of common sense or justice.

"Such was George. Frederick Cooke; one among the very many instances on record, of the insufficiency of talents, and genius, without the aid of prudence, to procure happiness to their possessor, or to benefit mankind; otherwise than by the lesson which their deplorable failure imparts for the instruction of others."

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MEMOIRS OF GUSTAVUS IV. OF SWEDEN, AND OF THE SWEDISH  
REVOLUTION.

[From Dr. Thomson's Travels in Sweden.]

"BEFORE I went to Sweden I was strongly impressed with a high opinion of the late King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus IV. as it had been drawn with so much zeal and apparent truth in the British newspapers. I disapproved of the Swedish revolution, and was eager to learn the opinion entertained of it by well informed people in Sweden. I had many opportunities of conversing on the subject with people of all ranks, both Swedes and foreigners, who had the means of accurate information on the subject, and no motive whatever to disguise their real sentiments. I found every person concur in the same opinion, while the picture drawn of the conduct of Gustavus Adolphus was so different from what I had conceived from the statements in the English newspapers, that I was unwilling to admit it, and I yielded only to the evidence of well authenticated facts. Before I enter upon an account of the revolution itself, it will be proper to give a short account of the late

king, and of his conduct during the whole of his reign, which at last brought the country into such a situation, that nothing but the revolution could have saved Sweden from being divided between the Russians and the Danes.

"Gustavus IV. possessed certain qualities which gave him a resemblance to Charles XII. the prince whose conduct he considered as a model for his imitation. Like Charles, he had an obstinacy of character so great, that it was impossible to induce him to alter any resolution, however absurd or ridiculous, which he had once formed, even though it were demonstrated to him by the clearest evidence that persisting in it could lead only to disaster and ruin. Another quality in which he resembled Charles XII. was in his capacity of enduring cold, which was uncommonly great. He used to travel in the winter with only a slight covering, when his courtiers were trembling with cold under the load of two or three great

great coats and surtouts. But in all the eminent qualities which distinguished Charles XII. there was a sad falling off in Gustavus IV. Instead of that impetuous bravery, bordering on foolhardiness, which characterized Charles XII. and to which at last he fell a sacrifice, Gustavus IV. was an absolute coward, and, though exceedingly fond of military glory, too timid to venture to appear at the head of his troops. Instead of that comprehensiveness of plan, and that celerity and steadiness of execution, which distinguished Charles XII. and to which he owed in a great measure his success, Gustavus IV. never attempted to form any plan whatever; and by frittering down his army into small detachments, and leaving them totally unsupported by each other, and to contend with forces more than double their own numbers, he always rendered success impossible. Instead of defending his own frontiers, he left them defenceless to the invading enemy, while the whole of his attention was turned to romantic schemes, altogether beyond the power of his resources to realize. He had early become the submissive votary of religion, or more accurately speaking, of superstition, and during his travels in Germany he got hold of a commentary on the Revelation, by a man of the name of Jung, which, though originally written in German, had been translated into Swedish. This book became the subject of his assiduous study; the opinions which it contained were implicitly adopted, and regulated all his conduct. The second beast described in the 13th chapter of the Revelation, whose power was to be but of short duration, was considered by him as Buonaparte; because some commentator had shown

that the letters in the name of Napoleon Buonaparte make out the number 666, which is the mark of the beast.

"In consequence of this discovery, he ordered the name of the French emperor in all the Swedish newspapers to be always printed N. Buonaparte, and as the real reason of this whimsical charge was concealed by his ministers, it excited considerable curiosity in the country, and nobody was able to explain it in a satisfactory manner. He easily persuaded himself that he was the person destined by heaven to overturn the dominion of the beast, and that the verse in the 6th chapter of the Revelation, which is as follows, applied to himself:

"And I saw and behold a white horse; and he that sat on him had a bow, and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering and to conquer."

"Gustavus IV. possessed some skill as a practical painter. At Gripsholm he drew a picture of himself seated upon a white horse, and trampling the beast under his feet. So firmly was he convinced of the truth of all these predictions, that he thought nothing more was necessary than to refuse to treat with Buonaparte. No preparations on his part would be requisite to enable him to fulfil the intention of heaven. When besieged in Stralsund by a French army, he expected the visible interposition of an angel in his behalf. But when this angel, who was to be four German miles in height, did not appear, and the French batteries were nearly completed, he thought it requisite to attend to his own safety, and retreat to the Island of Rugen.

"One of the greatest faults of Gustavus IV. was a total disregard

to the sufferings and feelings of his subjects. All oppressions, and all toils and hardships he conceived them as bound to endure without murmuring, and seemed to consider them as created for no other purpose than to fulfil his sovereign will and pleasure. His own notion of military tactics, like that of some other princes, was that it consisted in nothing else than regulating the military uniforms: this was with him a point of such importance, that when the supplementary troops were raised, he spent the greatest part of a year in devising the shape of their coats, while, in the mean time, the poor recruits were left so entirely without every means of comfort that many actually died of cold and hunger.

“ Let us now take a short view of the way in which he conducted the war against France, and afterwards against Russia and Denmark. This will lay open his conduct as far as the welfare of his country was concerned, and shew clearly the necessity of a revolution, in order to preserve any remnant of their country.

“ After the murder of the Duke d'Enghein, and the coronation of Buonaparte as Emperor of France, the King of Sweden returned the insignia of the order of the black Eagle with which he had been decorated by the King of Prussia, because that monarch had acknowledged the title of Napoleon, and had even bestowed upon him the order of the black eagle. This step produced a coolness between these two kings, afterwards productive of the most disastrous effects during the subsequent war in Germany. Meanwhile he had recalled his ambassador from Paris, had prohibited the introduction of French news-

papers, and had threatened to declare war against that powerful kingdom. Notwithstanding this disposition, he very nearly quarrelled at the same time with the Emperor of Russia, because the person sent with the badge of the order of the Seraphim which had been worn by the emperor Paul, was not of a rank sufficiently elevated; and because Gustavus insisted upon painting with the Swedish arms that half of the bridge of Aborrfors which was on the Russian side. But this last quarrel was fortunately got over, and Gustavus entered keenly into the first coalition against France after the breaking out of the present war between France and Great Britain. The King of Sweden at the head of 25,000 Swedes, and 15,000 Russians, was to attack Holland. But after a sum of money had been given him by the British ministry, Gustavus very nearly broke off from the coalition, because they would not declare that the object of the war was the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France; but his eagerness for war induced him, at last, to waive this scruple, and to proceed without any specific declaration.

“ A subsidiary treaty was concluded with Great Britain, and the King of Sweden with about 25,000 troops, Swedes and foreigners, encamped in Pomerania, and issued a pompous proclamation. The King of Prussia being still irresolute, Gustavus sent a peremptory letter to him by Count Lövenhjelm, desiring to know his intentions, and informing him, that a Russian and Swedish army was going to take possession of Hanover. It is said that the Emperor of Russia, who was then at Berlin, had just induced the King of Prussia to enter into his views. The  
British

British and Russian ambassadors, afraid that this letter, if delivered, might irritate the King of Prussia, and alienate him from their cause, prevailed upon Count Lövenhjelm not to deliver it, and the King of Prussia was led to conceive that he had been sent not to him, but to the Emperor of Russia. Count Lövenhjelm wrote to the King of Sweden, and urged him to recal the letter, but Gustavus wrote back a preremptory order to deliver the letter, and observed, that he was not a man to put up with a refusal to receive his letters.

"The King of Sweden was so much provoked that he threw up the command of the Russian troops, and refused to allow any Swedish troops to leave Pomerania. At last the Russian minister, Alopæus, in some measure pacified him by receiving the letter, and promising to send it to the King of Prussia. In consequence of this misunderstanding, the projected invasion of Holland was prevented, and an army of troops, paid by Great Britain to act against France, was recalled without attempting any thing.

"At last a declaration was obtained from Prussia, that no attack was intended upon Pomerania; but still the King of Sweden continued to negotiate, insisting upon a declaration, from that power, that the Swedish troops would not be molested in Hanover, or on their march to Holland. The Swedish troops were then allowed to approach Luneburg; the king regulated their line of march himself, and frequently ordered them to stop for the night in villages that did not exist. No provisions were provided, and they who were ordered to form magazines

were left ignorant where they were to be placed; the guards and king's regiment were left without shelter at the end of November, and in the most dreadful weather.

"Meanwhile, after the surrender of Mack, the capture of Vienna; and the battle of Austerlitz, the Swedish troops were ordered to march into Hanover. They took possession of Harburg, and attempted the most iniquitous exactions, which it was found impossible to enforce. The Emperor of Austria had been forced to accede to a treaty dictated by Buonaparte, and the Emperor of Russia had retired in disgust to Petersburg. The situation of the Swedes became critical. Louis Buonaparte menaced them in front, while Augereau and Baraguay d'Hilliers threatened their rear. Thus situated, Gustavus offered to resume the command of the Russian troops, but was informed that it had already been bestowed on the King of Prussia, who had expressed his determination to occupy Hanover, and protect the north of Germany from the war.

"The British troops, who had never lost sight of their transports, returned home; and the British ministry intimated to Gustavus that any attempt on his part to protect Hanover was superfluous; but his enmity to Prussia induced him to remain on the left bank of the Elbe. He insisted that the King of Great Britain should officially desire him to retreat; but was informed that such a step would be authorizing the King of Prussia to occupy Hanover. The Prussians continued to advance: Gustavus prudently retired himself, but left Count Lövenhjelm with 1800 men, and peremptory orders to fire upon the Prussians if they

they attempted to cross the Elbe. A long negotiation took place with the British ministry which it is needless to detail: mean while the Swedish troops were all withdrawn except about 300; the Prussian alliance with France became publicly known; the troops of the King of Prussia advanced, refused to fire upon the Swedes, opened a passage for them to retire, and when the Swedish soldiers fired, and prepared to fight, the Prussian officers declared that there was no wish whatever of entering into hostilities with Sweden. Gustavus immediately blockaded the Prussian ports, and ordered the towns upon the coast to be bombarded, unless they agreed to pay for their security. This extraordinary step was persisted in notwithstanding the remonstrances of Great Britain and Russia, and notwithstanding the risk of the loss of Pomerania; till at last the King of Prussia, who was now preparing for the impending conflict with France, agreed to evacuate Laüerbourg. The Swedish troops took possession of that dukedom, and soon after Count Lövenbjelm occupied Ratzeburg.

“The King of Prussia was now too far advanced in his unfortunate and fatal quarrel with France, to pay any attention to the petty efforts of the King of Sweden. During the short but decisive war between Napoleon, and Prussia and Russia, nothing short of infatuation can account for the conduct of Gustavus. He was urged repeatedly by the French to make peace, and offered his own terms. How far the French were sincere in these offers it is impossible to say. For my part, I firmly believe that if the King of Sweden had entered zealously into

the new system which Buonaparte established immediately after the conquest of Prussia, and had excluded all British vessels from his harbours, in that case Buonaparte would have allowed him to retain his territories, and he would have avoided the Russian and Danish war. The consequence would have been that the Baltic would have been more completely shut against British commerce, and Russia would have been obliged to alter her politics at a more early period than she has done. She might have even made common cause with Austria in the late short and disastrous war which that power carried on against France. It was probably fortunate for Europe that this did not happen. So miserably poor was the conduct of Austria, such a want of abilities, firmness, and patriotism was displayed by the Emperor of Austria and his family, that no assistance either from Russia or Britain would have been of the least avail. The late invasion of Russia, and the loss of three or four hundred thousand men was a greater blow to Buonaparte than could have been inflicted by any two of the continental powers united against France.

“During the whole of the Prussian war the Swedes remained quiet, in Pomerania, in consequence of an armistice with the French army in that district. But as soon as the peace of Tilsit was concluded, the King of Sweden declared the armistice at an end, and refused either to renew it, or enter into any negotiation with the Emperor of France. The Swedish troops, amounting to a few thousand men, were speedily driven into Stralsund, and that town, which had been entirely neglected, was not capable of making much defence against

against a besieging enemy. But the king, relying upon assistance from heaven, refused either to give it up, or to make any preparations to defend it. But when the French advanced, and began to throw up batteries, he prudently withdrew to Rugen, and soon after the town was abandoned to the enemy.

"About 8,000 British troops were lying in Rugen, under the command of Lord Cathcart. The British ministry formed the project of seizing the Danish fleet at Copenhagen, and sent a sufficient fleet and army for that purpose into the Baltic. The command of the army was given to Lord Cathcart, and he was ordered in consequence to withdraw his troops from Rugen, and land them in the island of Zealand. This order being communicated to the King of Sweden, he not only refused to allow them to go; but though he had only 800 Swedes at most, threatened to throw the whole British army into prison. At last he was pacified, the British troops were carried to Zealand, and the result of the expedition is sufficiently known. The King of Sweden withdrew to Soonia; and the island of Rugen, not being capable of defence, was speedily evacuated by the Swedish troops.

"It was firmly believed by all the Swedish gentlemen with whom I conversed on the subject, that at the meeting at Erforth, between Bonaparte and the Emperor of Russia, it had been agreed upon that Sweden should be divided between Russia and Denmark, and that the river Motala and ridge of mountains that runs north from it, should be the boundary between these two kingdoms. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that at the treaty of Tilsit it had been agreed upon to

force Sweden to accede to what Bonaparte chose to call the continental system. Russia speedily announced this resolution to the King of Sweden, and urged him to unite with Russia and Denmark, in an armed neutrality, similar to that of 1780 and 1800. This Gustavus had peremptorily refused. He must have been aware therefore, from the beginning, of an impending war with Russia and Denmark; yet no preparations were made to resist the threatened invasion. Unless we consider a treaty with Great Britain, and a subsidy from that power of 1,200,000*l.* annually as a preparation.

"The war lasted little more than a year, and notwithstanding the prodigious disparity of force, if we consider the situation of Sweden, the zeal of her population, and the great number of troops she had on foot, not fewer than 100,000 men, there can be little doubt that, with common prudence, and with the assistance which they would have received from Great Britain, they might have been able victoriously to oppose the enemy, and maintain the integrity of the Swedish dominions. But the conduct of the King bid defiance to all prudence and common sense, and made it impossible either for his generals or ministers to be of the least service to their country.

"The Russians invaded Finland on the 11th of January 1808, with an army of about 30,000 men. The Swedish troops in that country amounted to 9540 men, 6261 of whom were posted in the north, and 3279 in the south. Besides this, Sveaborg, a very strong fortress, built upon several islands, on the south coast of Finland, had a garrison of 6000 men. The small band of

of Swedish troops near the southern frontier, under the command of Lieutenant-General Von Klercker, retired before the enemy, after making a gallant and spirited resistance. The object was to make good their retreat into East Bothnia, in order to join the Finnish militia, and the army of the north. General Count Cronstedt, who retreated by another road, succeeded in his object, in spite of the inclemency of the season, and the opposition of the enemy, and joined the main army with little loss. Field Marshal Count Klinckspor took the command of the division led by Von Klercker, at Tavastehus. It was repeatedly attacked by the Russians, particularly at Pyhäjocki and Sikajocki. In the last of these, General Adlercreutz distinguished himself at the head of the Finns; broke through the centre of the Russians, took several hundred prisoners, and compelled the rest to retreat. No immediate attempt however was made by the King of Sweden, either to reinforce his small army in Finland, or to concentrate his troops for the defence of his kingdom.

"But as soon as he heard of the invasion of Finland by the Russians without any previous declaration of war, he immediately ordered Mr. Alopæus, the Russian minister, to be confined to his house, his papers to be seized, and information to be given to him, that he had no longer any diplomatic character. The governor of Gottenburg was ordered to seize the papers of the Russian Consul, and to confine him to his house. A courier sent from Russia to the Russian ambassador at Stockholm was arrested, and his dispatches published. Next day, a declaration of war on the part of Denmark was received. The Danish

ambassador was ordered to leave the kingdom, and the hour of his departure fixed, and these orders were conveyed to him by means of a military officer.

"Meanwhile the whole of South Finland was occupied by the Russians; the important fortress of Sveaborg was shamefully given up by the treachery of Vice-Admiral Cronstedt; and the islands of Oland, which were not defended by any military force, were occupied without opposition by a detachment of Russians. As the season advanced, when the ice round these islands began to break up, and all communication with the neighbouring continent was interrupted, the inhabitants rose upon the small Russian force left to protect their conquest, and made them prisoners of war. Thus these islands were recovered without difficulty, and the same thing happened to some Russian soldiers who had landed in the island of Gothland, and taken possession of it.

"But Gustavus was now intent upon the conquest of Norway, and of the Danish islands in the Baltic, and therefore gave himself little concern about what took place in Finland. The Swedish army on the western frontier, amounting to about 12,500 men, were ordered to enter Norway in two bodies, and they were spread over so great an extent of country, as to form a very weak and inefficient line. They gained some advantages at first, but being left totally unsupported, and even without a supply of provisions, they were soon obliged to retreat into their own country, and take up a defensive position. Gustavus had already altered the whole of his plans, and had determined, with the assistance of a body of British troops,



to invade and conquer the island of Zealand.

"He had from the commencement of the war solicited an increase of the subsidy from Britain, and a body of troops to enable him to oppose his enemies with more efficacy. The Swedish ambassador at London, aware of the desperate state of his country, had prevailed upon the British ministry to send 10,000 men to Gottenburg, under the command of Sir John Moore, pledging himself that they would be immediately landed and treated with the greatest attention at Gottenburg, till a plan for their future services should be concerted between the King of Sweden and Sir John Moore. The troops were accordingly sent under the following conditions stipulated by the English ministry: that the troops should be under the immediate command of their own general, that they should not be obliged to march to any great distance from their transports and vessels of war, and that it should be in the power of the British ministry to recall them whenever their services should be requisite in any other quarter. When the British troops arrived at Gottenburg, the King of Sweden prohibited them from landing; and when he was applied to for the purpose by the British ambassador, he answered that he considered the application as an insult, and expected therefore that it never would be repeated. Sir John Moore came to Stockholm to form a plan of operations with the King. The first proposal of Gustavus was, that the British troops should unite with a Swedish army, and invade the island of Zealand. Sir John Moore answered, that he was expressly prohibited by his instructions from joining in any such scheme. This refusal greatly irri-

tated the King, as it thwarted his favourite project, from which his ministers and generals had in vain attempted to divert him, by showing that he was not provided with a sufficient quantity of troops, or warlike engines, to make an attack upon Copenhagen with any chance of success.

"His next proposal was that the British troops should land in the neighbourhood of Petersburg, in order to make a diversion in favour of the Swedish army in Finland. Sir John Moore declined this plan, observing that it was very well conceived if the object of the King was to give the Russians some thousand British prisoners of war; but that the neighbourhood of Petersburg was at too great a distance to be of any service as a diversion to the Finnish army.

"Driven from these two objects, the King of Sweden again turned his attention to Norway, and proposed that the British troops in conjunction with the Swedes should make a new invasion of that country. Sir John Moore replied, that the British troops had been already confined for two months on board their transports, greatly to the injury of the health both of the men and horses; that it would be the beginning of August before the Swedish troops could be ready to take the field, a period much too long to continue on board the vessels. On that account, since the King of Sweden had no immediate occasion for the British troops, he was determined in obedience to the orders of his own government, to return home. The King urged him to remain at Gottenburg, at least till new dispatches arrived from the British government. Sir John Moore at first consented to this; but when he went home,

home, and considered the orders of the English ministry which he had received, he conceived himself bound to return home directly without waiting for any farther orders, unless the British troops were immediately permitted to land. He wrote a note to that effect to Mr. Thornton, the British ambassador at Stockholm; who laid it before the King. Gustavus was incensed, and without farther ceremony ordered Sir John Moore to be confined to his house. Strong remonstrances on the absurdity and danger of this step were made by Mr. Thornton; but without effect. At last Sir John Moore made his escape to Gottenburg, and the British troops returned home to England.

"All this while Finland and the Swedish army in that country were abandoned to their fate, while 15,000 Swedish troops lay in Sconia because the king had again resumed the project of invading Zealand. With this small army he proposed to besiege Copenhagen, and conquer Zealand: the proposal was referred to a committee, who pronounced it altogether impracticable. Supposing it even possible for this little army to take Copenhagen, it was clear that they could not keep it, because the Danes had it in their power immediately to besiege them with a much greater army. Gustavus sailed for Oland, and after writing some ridiculous letters to the Russian general, and sailing about for weeks in quest of the Swedish galleys, he at last established his head quarters at Grelsby. Mr. Thornton had recommended opening a negotiation with the Russians and Danes; but Gustavus treated the proposal as an insult, quarrelled with Mr. Thornton, and insisted upon his recall, a demand which was

soon after complied with by the British ministry.

"The army in North Finland had all this time been left to itself, yet it had begun to oblige the Russians to retire; and had it been properly reinforced, there can be little doubt that Finland might have been recovered. Two expeditions were indeed sent out by the King for the recovery of South Finland, consisting each of a few hundred men; one to land at Obo, the other at Vasa; but they were too insignificant to accomplish any thing, and served only to diminish the strength of the Swedish army. Early in the summer the Russians in North Finland, who had been much weakened by their winter campaign, were not able to stand their ground before the Swedish army, which, including the Finnish militia, amounted to about 13,000 men. The Swedes recovered a considerable space of ground, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry and skill; but they were left totally unsupported, and by the month of September were reduced by continual fighting to about 6000 men. All the losses of the Russians had been supplied, and they were now stronger than when they first entered the country. Some trifling expeditions were indeed sent to assist the Swedes; but by the express orders of the King, they were obliged to land at so great a distance, and to fight their way through so great a space, that they were destroyed piecemeal without being of the least service to the common cause of Sweden. Baron Vegesack, indeed, at the head of six battalions, by disobeying the king's commands and landing at Christinestadt instead of Björneborg, succeeded in reaching the northern army, when it was driven

driven almost to the polar circle, and quite unable to oppose the Russians. The King upon this occasion expressed the greatest displeasure that his orders had not been exactly obeyed, though it was demonstrated to him, that if the troops had landed at Björnebourg not one of them could have escaped the Russian troops.

"South Finland, which was already lost, and covered with Russian troops, was more an object of consideration with him. He sent a standard bearer to Obo to collect information respecting the state of the country: this man brought back intelligence that 13,000 peasants were ready to rise in arms against the Russians. He sent back this man and one of his life guards to take the command of this supposed army of peasants; 2600 troops were to be sent at the same time under the command of Count Lantingshausen. These troops were supplied with only sixty rounds of ball cartridges apiece: and though the general remonstrated on the insufficiency of such a supply, which would be exhausted immediately, he could procure no more. This little army was ordered to land at Lokalax, take Obo, and then to join General Vege-sack's corps. After various delays, this small body of men landed at Varanpä, and took possession of a strong fort about four miles from the place of debarkation. They were immediately attacked by the Russians, who were repulsed; but the Swedish ammunition being speedily expended, while the number of their enemies had increased, they were obliged to return to their transports, which they effected without loss.

"An army of 6000 men was collected at Gefle, and ordered to sail to the northern coast of Oland,

where they would find ships that would make them acquainted with their destination. They did so, but found no vessels at the appointed place. The orders given to the different commanders were inconsistent and contradictory, so that they had no means of dividing the object of their expedition. A storm arose and scattered the transports; some were wrecked, and some totally lost. Meanwhile two sets of orders had been issued by the king; one ordering them to the north, and the other to the south. One battalion and two companies of Colonel Skjöldebrand's brigade meeting at sea with the vessels carrying the first orders, joined the army in the north; but only served to increase the confusion, arising from the want of provisions and resources of every kind. Most of them perished in these dreary regions, not more than 90 returning again to Sweden.

"I shall pass by several other expeditions to Finland, undertaken during the course of this year, all of them small, and all of them as injudiciously contrived as possible. Had the object of Gustavus been the loss of Finland, and the destruction of the Swedish army, he could have taken no steps better calculated to accomplish them. No valour on the part of the Swedish troops, no skill on the part of their commanders, could be of any avail: because, by the consummate folly of the King, they were exposed every where to ten times their number of Russian troops, without any of the requisites which constitute an army; and every expedition was left to its fate without inquiry, and without reluctance. The Swedes are unanimously of opinion that Finland was lost;

lost, and their army ruined, by the extreme folly and incapacity of the King; that the resources of the country were quite sufficient to have defended it; and that the Swedish army, had it been judiciously placed, would have bid defiance to all the efforts of their enemies, at least for several years. But Gustavus was dreaming of conquests, and his eager desire to copy after the example of Charles XII. could ill brook the idea of defence, to which, in his circumstances, any King of common sense would have restricted himself. Of all the race of Gustavus Vasa, he was by far the weakest that had ever sat upon the throne of Sweden, whilst his passion for war, and the erroneous opinion that he had formed of his own abilities and qualifications, made him the most injurious to his country of any prince that Sweden had ever obeyed.

"I am conscious that this picture of the conduct and capacity of Gustavus IV. is very different from what is generally entertained in this country. It is very different from what has been uniformly inculcated in all our newspapers, and, indeed, as different as possible from the opinion which I myself entertained before I went to Sweden. But it is an opinion which must be adopted by every person who will make himself acquainted with the facts which took place in Sweden during his reign. I have already stated a considerable number of these; but more are still wanting to complete the picture.

"In consequence of the quarrel between Mr. Thornton, the British ambassador, and Gustavus, that gentleman had been recalled by the British government, and Mr. Merry sent out in his place. In his first conversation with the King of Swe-

den, that monarch, whose finances were in the most deplorable state, imperiously demanded an increase of the subsidy advanced to him by Great Britain, and the immediate payment of a sum of money to answer his exigencies. Mr. Merry informed him that he had no powers to enter upon any such negotiation; but to prevent an immediate quarrel between the two countries, he allowed him to draw bills for 300,000*l.* without any orders from his own government. These bills were returned dishonoured by the British ministry, and a note was written at the same time, advising Gustavus to make peace with the belligerent powers, assuring him that the British ministry would with pleasure release him from his engagements, and keep up the usual communications between the two kingdoms, even supposing him to make peace with France and Russia. Gustavus was indignant at this note. He again declared his unalterable resolution never to make peace with Buonaparte or the Emperor of Russia. He immediately ordered an embargo on the British merchant ships at Gottenburg, commanded that pilots should be refused to the British ships of war, and that if they attempted to sail without pilots they should be treated as enemies. He wrote a letter with his own hand to the King of Denmark, informing him that he was already at war with England, and requesting an immediate cessation of hostilities, and a negotiation for peace. But before this letter was sent off he received information that the Dapes had circulated revolutionary proclamations in Sconia. He immediately tore his letter in pieces, recalled the embargo of the British vessels, and entered into a  
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new treaty with the British minister.

"The crisis of Sweden was now at hand. The Swedish army in Finland had been driven out of the country and nearly annihilated. The army of the west had been equally unsuccessful in Norway, and the Norwegians had actually invaded Sweden. The Swedish supplementary army of 30,000 men had been nearly destroyed, partly by want of clothing and exposure to severe cold, and partly by being sent upon services quite unsuitable to the tender age of the troops, who were mostly boys not more than 19 years of age. The treasury was absolutely exhausted, and the violent taxes to which the king had recourse were so tyrannical and unjust that they could not be levied. The whole money remaining for carrying on the war, I had been credibly informed, did not exceed 2,000*l.* sterling. Meanwhile four separate armies were preparing to invade the kingdom on every side. Two Russian armies were ready to march; the one from Obo over the ice was destined to take possession of Stockholm, an open town, and incapable of any defence; the other was to proceed from the north and fall down upon Delecarlia and Nerike. A French and Danish army in conjunction were to cross the Sound upon the ice. But they were fortunately prevented by the sudden breaking up of the ice, and the appearance of some British ships of war. Finally, the Norwegian army, under the command of Prince Augustenburg, was to take possession of Wermeland and West Gothland. Such was the weakened state of the Swedish army, which in one year had been reduced from about 160,000 men to a comparatively

small number; such the discontent both of the officers and men; such the want of provisions and ammunition, that very little resistance could have been opposed, and Sweden must infallibly have been overrun and divided. In this dreadful dilemma, when no hope was left, the country was saved by an unforeseen revolution, which wrested the sceptre from the unworthy hands of Gustavus, and saved the country from partition by a speedy and necessary peace. I shall give an account of this revolution, with as much precision as my information on the subject will permit.—

"It is a fundamental maxim in the British constitution that it is the duty of a prince to promote the welfare of his subjects and country; and that whenever his conduct becomes unequivocally inconsistent with the interests of his people, resistance becomes not only innocent but an indispensable duty. It was by this maxim that the revolution of 1688 was justified, which hurled the family of the Stuarts from the throne, and introduced a new and a foreign dynasty. Never did a greater necessity for a revolution exist in any country than it did in Sweden in the beginning of the year 1809. The finances of the country were in the most deplorable state, the army was harassed and cut up in detail, as if it had been the professed object of the king to annihilate it. Three powerful nations were preparing to invade and divide the kingdom of Sweden among them. Gustavus had quarrelled with his only ally, and obstinately refused to listen to any terms of peace with France and Russia; though it was demonstrated that such a peace was essentially necessary for the interests of his country, and

and that perseverance in the war could lead to nothing else than complete ruin.

"The liberty of the press had been totally annihilated in Sweden, so that the people in consequence were but imperfectly acquainted with the state of Europe. The King had all along been very popular with the people, who, ignorant of his real character, ascribed all his errors in Germany to the want of capacity of his ministers. Even the commencement of the Russian and Danish war did not alter their sentiments, and, the losses sustained in Finland served only to irritate the minds of the people. Popular enthusiasm was raised to the highest pitch, and the most glorious results would have taken place had the throne been filled by a prince who understood how to profit by the disposition of his subjects. But the management of the war in the summer and autumn of 1808 opened the eyes of the whole Swedish nation. The army were disgusted with a prince who expected from them impossibilities, who paid no attention to their lives or their comforts, and who refused to share the toils and hardships to which he exposed them. The barbarous treatment and cruel fate of the supplementary army excited the compassion of all ranks, and raised a corresponding abhorrence at the unfeeling mind of its author. The deplorable state of the finances, the determination of the king never to make peace, and the absurd plans which he had projected for the next campaign, awakened in the mind of every thinking man the necessity of taking some immediate step to save their tottering country.

"It was impossible to obtain in Sweden any very satisfactory ac-

count of the origin of the conspiracy. Every body asserted that the Duke of Sudermania was altogether unacquainted with it. This is possible, though from the subsequent conduct of that prince I can hardly bring myself to believe that this was the case. The two gentlemen, from whom my principal information was obtained, were neither of them actors in the conspiracy; though they took a very active part in the framing of the new constitution, and one of them indeed was for a short time a secretary of state. I must satisfy myself with giving the particulars, such as I learned them, without being able to throw much new light either upon the origin, or the names of the original conspirators. But the conspiracy appears to me to have originated in the army, and to have been very general all over the kingdom. The actors in it were all officers in the army, and even some battalions of common soldiers were let into the secret.

"Various projects and consultations about a revolution took place at different times, and were so publicly talked of, that if the government of Gustavus had possessed the least vigilance, the whole project must have been discovered. Different schemes were proposed and abandoned in succession, and the ardour of the conspirators began to cool. At this time an officer of high rank, in the disguise of a servant to his own adjutant, arrived from the army of the north. He found about twenty persons in Stockholm anxious to bring about a revolution; but not determined either about the time or the measures to be pursued. After some consultation, the different sentiments of this body were reconciled, and

and the 8th of February appointed for putting their plan in execution. The King was to be arrested opposite to a particular tavern on his way to Haga, a palace where he almost always resided, in consequence of a disgust which he had conceived against his capital.

"Meanwhile the western army, having concluded a truce with Prince Augustenburg, the Governor of Norway, published a manifesto, stating their grievances, and their determination to redress them, and began their march for that purpose towards Stockholm. The leaders of this army seemed to have corresponded with the conspirators in Stockholm, and to have been perfectly aware of their designs. That the motives of all the conspirators were not of the purest kind, and that several of them were in the interest of France and Russia, is generally admitted. I could even mention the names of some who were most vehemently suspected of being in the pay of France; but am prevented from taking such a step from motives of delicacy, lest I should injure innocent men by accusations founded only on vague report, and drawn chiefly from the proposals which they made to bring about the revolution by dissolving the government.

"Colonel Adlesparre, who commanded the western army, conducted his troops to Carlstadt, harangued the different regiments in succession in the market place, informed them of the hazardous enterprize which he had undertaken, and the necessity of such measures for the safety of their country. The troops unanimously entered into his views, and offered to sacrifice their lives for the salvation of their country. A detachment was sent to

take possession of Gottenburg, while Colonel Adlesparre marched with the rest of his army to Orebro. Meanwhile the spirits of the conspirators in Stockholm had failed them, and they had allowed the 8th of February to pass by without attempting any thing.

"On Sunday the 12th of March, an extra post arrived in Stockholm with the proclamation of the western army, and a full account of their proceedings. In the afternoon the King went from Haga to Stockholm, and as soon as he entered the palace ordered the gates to be shut; guards were placed at all the avenues of Stockholm, with orders to allow no person to enter without the strictest examination, and to permit no one, whatever, to leave the city. All the great officers of state were ordered to repair to Nyköping, all the troops were to be withdrawn from Stockholm, and a German regiment was ordered to oppose the western army. The King was upon the point of seizing all the money in the bank, and of erecting his standard at Nyköping; the consequence would have been a civil war added to all the other miseries to which Sweden was already exposed. The conspirators, at Stockholm, were sensible that the king's retreat ought at all hazards to be prevented, and, therefore, resolved upon attempting to seize his person next day, the 13th of March, before he should have leisure to put any of his plans in execution. Baron Adlercreutz, who had come to Stockholm on purpose, and who had acquired reputation by his conduct in the Finland war, agreed to take the lead on this occasion.

"Baron Adlercreutz, Count Klingspor, Colonel Silfversparre, and many other officers who were  
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in the secret, assembled in the palace by eight o'clock in the morning. Only four of the life guards remained in the palace, the rest having gone to prepare themselves for their journey. The number of conspirators within the palace amounted to about fifty. Little danger was to be apprehended from any opposition which these four men could make. The gates of the palace had been shut by the king's command. The conspirators assembled in considerable numbers in a room adjoining the king's bed-chamber; Count Ugglas was first called in to his majesty; the Duke of Sudermania soon after arrived and went in to the king, just as Count Ugglas came out. It is said that the Duke was requested, by Baron Adlercreutz, to remain in the palace; but that he declined, saying, he had received orders from the King which must be immediately executed. Baron Adlercreutz insisted that Count Ugglas should remain, informing him, that a moment of infinite consequence approached, and that the King must be prevented from leaving Stockholm; Count Ugglas said, that he had used every endeavour to persuade the King to stay, but in vain, and begged that any further remonstrance might be offered with caution: the baron answered, that it was now intended to speak to the king in a manner which he thought would be effectual. When the Duke of Sudermania came out, Count Klingspor was called in to his Majesty, and during the conversation strongly represented the imprudence of leaving the capital. Baron Adlercreutz now went round and desired those who were stationed at the gates and the other parts of the palace to be vigilant on their parts, and having

collected a number of officers, he entered the king's room. When the door opened the king seemed surprised; the baron immediately approached, and said, 'That the public mind was in the utmost irritation from the unfortunate state of the country, and particularly from his majesty's intended departure from Stockholm: that the higher officers of state, the troops, and the most respectable citizens had encouraged him to represent the consequences to his majesty, for which purpose'—here the king loudly exclaimed, 'Treason! you are all corrupted and shall be punished!' The baron answered, 'We are no traitors, but wish to save your majesty, and our country.' The king immediately drew his sword, the baron rushed upon him and seized him round the waist, while Colonel Silfversparre took the sword out of his hand; the king then cried out, 'They are going to murder me, help! help!'—They endeavoured to re-assure the king, and he promised to be more composed if they would return his sword; this request they endeavoured to evade, and when the king obstinately insisted on it, he was told that in this respect he could not be gratified, nor be permitted any more to interfere in the management of the kingdom.

"The king's outcries had alarmed some of the body guard, who had just arrived, and the servants of the palace, who endeavoured to force open the door; but not being able to succeed, they broke the upper panel with pokers and sabres. Baron Adlercreutz commanded the door to be opened, and rushed into the middle of the crowd, seized a sabre from a hussar, snatched from the adjutant-general his staff of office, and holding it up before him said,



said, that he now considered himself as adjutant-general, and in that capacity, commanded the guards to retire; this command was obeyed with some hesitation, and several officers who were not in the conspiracy were put under arrest. The baron then went up to the room where the guards usually assembled; he assured them that the king's person was not in the smallest danger, and that the only object in view was to save the country from ruin; he conjured them not attempt any thing that might occasion bloodshed and endanger the life of the king. After some hesitation and argumentations, the baron had the address to persuade them to remain tranquil. Proper regulations were then made for the security of the capital. The citizens mounted guard at the bank and public offices, and the streets were kept quiet by patrols of the burgher cavalry and cuirassiers, who had orders not to molest any person who was not openly riotous.

"Meanwhile the king had entreated to be spared the mortification of seeing the officers who had been concerned in his arrest, and who had been left with him by Baron Adlercreutz in order to secure his person. They retired in consequence, and Count Ugglas and General Count Strömfelt were sent in to his majesty to endeavour to tranquillize him. The king contrived to draw General Strömfelt's sword from the scabbard, and when the general missed it, and entreated to have it returned, his majesty answered, that the general was just as good a general as he a king without a sword. Baron Adlercreutz, who had just returned, being informed of the circumstance, thought it necessary that some officers should

be placed in the room as a guard upon the king. He went out accordingly to procure them, and the king seeing him return with two officers through the door that had been demolished by the guards, immediately made his escape through the opposite door, and locked it behind him.

"The baron was alarmed at the danger which would result from the escape of the king, leaped against the door and burst it open, and ran in pursuit of him. In the next room there is a spiral staircase, open all round, which leads up to the floor above. When the baron entered the room, he saw the king on the highest step of this stair. He threw a bunch of keys in the baron's face, and immediately disappeared. When Baron Adlercreutz got to the top of the stair, the king was nowhere to be seen. By accident he took the same road as the king, and meeting some servants in the way, was by them directed in his pursuit. But he reached the court of the palace without having seen the king. Gustavus had been so precipitate in his escape, that he fell on the stair, and hurt his arm severely.

"When the king's escape was made known, the whole conspirators were filled with consternation, and rushed in a body to the court of the palace to endeavour to intercept his majesty's flight. Greiff, keeper of the king's game, had precipitately descended the great stair, and was the first that reached the court. He saw the king, with his sword in his hand, making towards the only gate that had been left open. As soon as Greiff overtook him, the king made a violent push at him, but with so unsteady an arm, that the sword passed up the sleeve of Greiff's coat, and only slightly

slightly wounded him. His sword being thus entangled, his breath gone, and his strength exhausted, he was easily overpowered. He was carried up stairs, and at his own desire taken into the white room. He was there set down upon the chair nearest the door, and exactly opposite to the portrait of Maria Antonette, the late unfortunate Queen of France. He remained quiet the whole day. Not the smallest disturbance took place in the capital, no displeasure was testified by the people, and the theatre in the evening was crowded by an unusual number of spectators.

"The Duke of Sudermaria took upon him the government. The change was immediately proclaimed, and received with acclamations by the people. Hardly any revolution was ever brought about with greater facility. No tumult ensued; no blood was shed in any part of the kingdom, and not a single murmur expressed at the dethronement of the king. At two o'clock in the morning, the king was conveyed to Drottningholm, and a few days after to Gripsholm. Intelligence of the revolution was dispatched all over the kingdom, and Baron Von Döbeln, who commanded in Oland, was requested to endeavour to conclude an armistice with Russia. One Russian army was descending from Torneo, another was crossing the Gulf of Bothnia upon the ice, and the little Swedish army in Oland was surrounded by 30,000 Russians. The Russians insisted that the Swedish troops in Oland should surrender prisoners of war; but Von Döbeln declared, that sooner than submit to such terms, he would put an end to the negotiations, and fight to the last man. Considerable difficulties took place in the negotiations with Russia; but as the re-

sult of them is well known, and likewise the terms upon which peace was concluded between Sweden and Russia, I conceive it needless to enter into any particulars. Soon afterwards peace was concluded likewise with France, and with Denmark.

"Most of the Swedish ministers retained their places, and every proper precaution was taken to quiet the minds of men, and prevent those commotions which even the mildest revolution never fails to provoke. A proclamation of the protector announced that the war taxes were not to be levied, and on the same day the states of the kingdom were in the usual form summoned to assemble at Stockholm, on the 1st of May. An account of the state of the nation was published on the 15th of March. A proclamation on the 20th of the same month informed the nation of the necessities of the state; and partly by loan, partly by contributions of money, trinkets, and jewels, the sum of 300,000 rix-dollars, or about 50,000*l.* sterling was immediately raised to defray the immediate exigencies of government.

"On the 29th of March, Gustavus Adolphus voluntarily abdicated the throne of Sweden. The terms of the abdication, which was written by the king himself, are so characteristic of the man, that I shall here insert a literal translation of the paper.

"In the Blessed Name of the Most Holy Triune God.

"We Gustaf Adolph, by the Grace of God, king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, &c. Duke of Schlesvig, Holstein, &c. make known, that since on this day 17 years ago, we were proclaimed king, and with a bleeding heart ascended

a tenderly beloved and revered father's bloody throne, it has been our endeavour to advance the prosperity and honour of that ancient kingdom, indispensable to the happiness of a free and independent people. As we can now no longer exercise the royal functions, according to the purity of our intentions, nor preserve peace and order in the kingdom, in a manner worthy of ourselves and our subjects, we consider it a holy duty to resign our kingly calling, which we now do freely and without compulsion, in order that we may be enabled to live the

remainder of our days to the honour of God, wishing to all our subjects the grace and blessing of the Almighty, and better times to them and their posterity. Yes! Fear God and honour the king. For farther proof, we have composed with our own hand, subscribed, and with our royal seal confirmed, these presents.

“ At the palace of Gripsholm, the 29th day of March, in the year after our Lord and Saviour's birth, one thousand eight hundred and nine.

“ ‘ GUSTAF ADOLF X.’ ”

## CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF NATIONS.

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### DESCRIPTION OF CHRISTIANIA, THE CAPITAL OF NORWAY.

[From M. VON BUCH'S Travels.]

" SKYTSJORD lies five hundred and fifty-three English feet above the sea. The distance to Christiania was fourteen English miles, and the way lay through deep vallies among the hills. These miles we passed in a most delightful summer morning, a favour which seemed to be conferred on us by heaven that the view of the wonderful country round Christiania might be enjoyed by us in all its glory. What variety! What astonishing forms of objects, looking down from the height of Egeberg! The large town at the end of the bay, in the midst of the country, spreads out in small divergent masses in every direction, till it is at last lost in the distance among villages, farm-houses, and well-built country-houses. There are ships in the harbour, ships behind the fascinating little islands before the bay, and other sails still appear in the distance. The majestic forms in the horizon of the steep hills rising over other hills, which bound

the country to the westward, are worthy of Claude Lorrain. I have long been seeking for a resemblance to this country, and to this landscape. It is only to be found at Geneva, on the Savoy side, towards the mountains of Jura; but the lake of Geneva does not possess the islands of the Fiord, the numerous masts, and the ships and boats in sail. Here we have the impression of an extraordinary and beautiful country, united in a wonderfully diversified manner with the pleasure derived from the contemplation of human industry and activity.

" We descended by numerous serpentine windings the steep height of the Egeberg, through the remains of the old town of Opalo, and through a continued row of houses along the bay to Christiania, which we reached about mid-day of the 30th of July. What makes Christiania the capital of Norway, is not merely the presence of the principal constituted authorities and public bodies

bodies of the country, nor is it the superiority of its population, for Bergen contains double the number of inhabitants; but it is rather the extensive influence of this town over the greatest part of the country, the various connections of the inhabitants partly with the capital of the kingdom, and partly with the foreign countries, and the social mode of life and cultivation of these inhabitants. Whatever change takes place in any part of Europe, is in the same manner as in Germany keenly felt and eagerly followed: but this is not the case in Bergen. Many means of assistance, which are generally looked for in a capital, and where men meet actively together in great bodies, are to be found united in Christiania much more than in Drontheim, and still more than in the narrow-minded Bergen: as for Christiania and it is too small.

"Whoever is acquainted with northern towns, will discover, from the exterior of Christiania, that it is a distinguished, a thriving, and even a beautiful town; for the streets are not only broad and straight, and nearly all intersect one another at right angles, which gives a gay and animated appearance to the whole: but almost all the houses are built of stone; and wooden log-houses are, for the most part, banished to the remotest streets of the suburbs. When a Norwegian descends from his hills to the town, he stares at these stone houses as an unparalleled piece of magnificence; for perhaps he never saw before, in the interior of the country, a single house of stone: and those who have lived some time in Drontheim or Bergen, where stone houses are rarities, and wholly

concealed among the wooden houses, are willingly disposed to consider the houses in Christiania a very great luxury; they attribute to them a beauty which they do not in themselves possess, and they involuntarily connect with it the idea of a general prosperity, of a brisk trade, and of the superiority of this town over every other.

"In this case, however, they would not judge altogether correctly, for it is not optional with the inhabitants to build as they do, as log houses have been long prohibited by the government in the circumference of the town; and the wisdom of the prohibition has been confirmed by experience. There is not a town in Norway which has not been once, at least, burnt to the ground. The fire rages terribly among the dry boards. Whole streets burst into flames at once, and it is in vain to think of either extinguishing the fire or saving the property. How much has Bergen suffered from fire, where the houses are closely crowded together among the rocks! How much Drontheim and Skeeh! Moss was twice, in the course of the year 1807, devastated by fire; and in Sweden, Gottenburg, Uddewalla, Norköping, Gefle; a slight inattention lays the whole town in ashes; and what costs centuries to build is annihilated in a few moments. Christiania bears also the alarm drum as often as other Norwegian and Swedish towns; but since its origin, during nearly two whole centuries, it has never lost entire streets, and seldom more than ten houses at once.

"If it were not for the prohibition, the inhabitants would, in general, soon return to wooden houses; and the greater cheapness as yet, and

and greater quickness of erection, would overbalance in their minds the idea of safety, of life, and property. The government itself, with no great consistency, thought proper, in 1806, to erect a large, beautiful, and excellent military hospital of logs, on an eminence at one of the ends of the town: a considerable fabric, which appears full in view all the way from Egeberg. With this royal building in sight at every corner of the town, we are less disposed to suspect that the building with stone was not perfectly free on the part of the inhabitants. It is a pity that so few of the houses will bear a narrow inspection: some of them are neatly built; but these are rare. Even the rich chamberlain, Berndt Ancker, who was surrounded with such extravagant luxury, left behind him no buildings to do honour either to his native town or himself.

“Formerly the proprietors of houses seem to have deemed it a very great ornament to mark the initials of their name, and the year of erection, with great iron hooks, on the outside of the houses. It deforms the houses very much.

“The town is by no means uniform, but is divided into several small towns, the boundaries of which may almost be laid down with certainty; and in these the exterior, the houses, trades, and manner of living, are very different from one another. In great towns we are accustomed to see this; but in a town like Christiania we are hardly prepared to expect it. There is an exact boundary between the part of the town occupied with the inland trade and that where the foreign trade is carried on.

“The straight streets, which

cross at right angles, run up from the harbour, but do not extend all the way to the country. The capitalists, the wholesale dealers, the ship owners, those who hold government offices, find more room here than elsewhere for their large houses; and the consequence is, a greater stillness, and almost a dead silence in these streets. They are called the *quartale*, and every person in the *quartale*, according to the way of thinking here, is considered richer, finer, and more polished than the inhabitants of the other streets.

“On the other hand, there is more stir in that part of the town which runs out into the country. The houses are more closely crowded together, and every bit of ground is carefully occupied. Whatever comes from the country must pass through these streets. All the artisans, shopkeepers, and retailers, who wish to dispose of their commodities to the country people, draw near to them; and signs and posts without number invite the entrance of purchasers. I have often considered, with astonishment, the multitude of small shops and booths. How is it possible, said I to myself, that so many people can derive a living in so small a town from the same trade? I looked over the lists, and found; that of nine thousand and five inhabitants, which Christiania contained in 1801, including the garrison, one hundred and ten were shopkeepers, two hundred and twenty retail dealers, and two hundred and forty-two master artisans. In what other town, with the same population, shall we find even the quarter of this number?—But let a person wait for the weekly market, and still more for the annual fair, or winter, which connects

every place together, and he would then be almost tempted to believe that different nations were collected together in this place; for the Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians, assuredly do not differ more from one another than the inhabitants of various vallies, who assemble from all parts to the annual fair. This is one of the most interesting spectacles for every stranger who visits Norway, and for every person who wishes to examine human nature, and to trace by what founts and associations man gradually advances in the progress of cultivation towards his destination.

“ For several days before the annual fair, which is held on the thirteenth of January, the town is filled with country people from all quarters; and figures make their appearance, such as before were not seen in the streets. The strong and robust inhabitant of Guldbrandsdalen, in his long coat of the seventeenth century, and with his little red cap on his head, walks by the side of the comparatively elegant boor of Walders, who, in features and dress, is as unlike him as if he came from beyond the sea. The rich proprietors from Hedemarken pass along as if they were of the inferior order of townspeople; and their coats of home-made cloth are cut in an antiquated fashion, as is usual in country places. From Oesterdalen, on the Swedish boundaries, appears a higher class of men; but we may easily see, from their carriage, that it is borrowed from their neighbours. On the other hand, we see the rough and almost stupid native of Hallingdalen, in a true national uniform, and the sturdy men of Oevre Tellemarken, still more rough and stupid. They alone yet continue to wear the broad northern

girdle round the waist; which the native of Tellemarken embroiders and ornaments in quite a different manner from the other; and in this girdle they fix a large knife like the Italians, which was formerly as often used by them for attack and warfare as for conveniency. They wear a short jacket, with a sort of epaulette on it, and a small cap on the head: thin short leathern breeches contain in the side pockets all the wants of the moment, and almost always the important small iron tobacco-pipe. Every step and movement of these men is characteristic and definite. They have only one object in view, and nothing which surrounds them can deaden the eagerness with which they pursue that object. The boor of Foullong and Moss is far from having this distinct character. Nearer to the town, his business is also more various, and he looks around him with attention and caution to discover any little advantages which may bring him easier and more securely to his end; he no longer lives insulated in his valley, relying on his own individual physical strength, but has become, through common interest and connections, a part of a nation.

“ This has been effected by the capital: it, and it alone, has effected this diversity among the country people, and it proves itself to be a capital in gradually burying, and even altogether changing, and extirpating, all nationality through so great an extent. Who would believe that in the times of Harald Haarfager, or Saint Oluf, the people in Guldbrandsdalen lived and dressed as at present? Who would suppose that the people of Oesterdalen, and the people of Hedemarken, possessed many remains of those times? But to be convinced that

"but all these changes have proceeded from the town, we need travel but a very short way. An inhabitant of Guldbrandsdalen, in his long bottomed coat, and monstrous stiff and indented flaps over his coat pockets, has quite a strange appearance when he appears in the streets of Christiania; but the form of the dress and the men change upon us imperceptibly when we travel through their vallies.

"In the suburbs of the town we find the same fashions that were prevalent in the quartale three or four years before; and there they again follow the fashion shortly before set by Paris and London. The peasant nearest the town, particularly in the neighbourhood of the streets leading to the country, takes a pattern from the coat he sees worn in the suburbs. He seldom penetrates farther into the town, and to the quartale he is altogether a stranger. It appears as if he changed his nature and habits with his dress; and this is natural enough; for it is only through more important connections he acquires the knowledge of this new fashion. In the clothes of the boors of Hedemarken and Fouloug, there is not the smallest trace of the national dress. The same fashion prevailed twenty-five years ago in Germany, and probably also in Christiania. As we ascend the country, the cut becomes older and older, but the dress of their ancestors is always perceptible; and when we come to the strange dress in Guldbrandsdalen, what else is it but the regimental uniform of the times of Eugene and Marlborough? It is the same with the women; they change perhaps slower and later; but they must also at last yield to the influence of the town.

"When we see a woman from

Guldbrandsdalen in her full dress," said the noble and intelligent chamberlain Rozenkrantz in Christiania to me one day, "we imagine ourselves standing before our old northern grandmothers, as they are occasionally to be seen in our antiquated family portraits."

"If Hallingdalen, Walders, and especially Oevre Tellemarken, have yet retained in their exterior something exclusively peculiar to the country, they owe it to the remoteness of their vallies, and the difficulty of communication with the town. They are consequently seldom to be seen in the towns on the coast.

"That the national character is in this manner limited to a few remote districts; and that the towns have so powerful and extensive an influence on the surrounding country, and render the Norwegian a quite different being from what he was in the time of Snorro Sturleson, is lamented by many, and those among the most exalted characters, as a national calamity; and they earnestly wish that it were possible to arrest the further progress. But why? Are men to remain for ever stationary like insects? Do they imagine that they have gained the golden fleece with that degree of virtue which can be practised in remote vallies? And though this virtue may have somewhat of a national physiognomy, shall we concede to it any thing more than a relative excellence? And can, or should this excellence endure through the length of time? It is certainly great and becoming to assert ones freedom boldly and vigorously in remote vales: but what if this freedom is never endangered? Through social institutions, a still higher freedom may be acquired.



quired. Virtue has no national physiognomy, but belongs to all men, and to all ages. If it is ever produced by a particular national character, if the Norwegians, the Germans, the French, and the English, have each their particular virtue, however respectable this virtue may be, it is not pure, it is not like the medicinal spring which restores health to the infirm, though superfluous to the strong.

"We may therefore congratulate ourselves, and consider it as a fortunate circumstance, that we thus see a gradual change spreading from Christiania to the remotest provinces. Though evils formerly unknown may follow in the train, let them be weighed against the mass of newly developed good, and and let us never forget that a free and happy man is a much more respectable and distinguished being than a free and happy Samoidé.

"How different is the appearance of the more upland vales, from what it was before the town secured to the inhabitants a constant sale for their commodities! How many conveniences, nay, almost necessities of life, they can now have in exchange for their produce, to which formerly they were strangers! And how many places of the country may now be turned to account, which were formerly doomed to remain uninhabited and waste! It is certainly a great pleasure to meet on the days of the annual fair whole caravans of country people with their full-loaded sledges on all the roads leading to the town. They bring such a quantity of tallow, cheese, butter, and hides, with them, that we can hardly conceive how they can find a market for them in the town. But every landlord and householder waits for the

time of the sledges: the boors are seldom embarrassed in the disposing of their tallow; and they have it generally in their power to set their own price on their commodities. Yet in October, shortly before the commencement of the snow, thousands of oxen are driven to Christiania to supply the inhabitants with the necessary winter provisions. They take in return, corn, malt for beer at weddings and holidays, iron and ironmongery, and also, perhaps, fish, and some other small articles, which serve more for comfort than necessary support. This is the true division which nature and climate have made of the land: grazing in the highest perfection among the hills, and grain from the town. Men are collected together in societies, that every situation may be applied to what is most suitable to it, and that the surplus may be exchanged for wants which other places can more easily supply.

"The corn is mostly brought from Jutland, Fladstrand, Asalborg, or Flensburg, partly in large ships by great capitalists, and partly in such small vessels, yachts, and even large boats, that we cannot help wondering how they durst expose themselves to the hazard of so boisterous a sea. But the passage is made in a single night, and the sale and profit are certain. That in time of peace the best and heaviest corn from the Baltic was always to be found in the harbour of Christiania is alone a sufficient proof that the town and country possessed means which enabled them to procure more than the necessities of life. Those means were deals and iron, in return for which English gold flowed into Norway, and perhaps into no place more than Christiania; for the

the deals exported from Christiania have always been in high répute. It appears an easy matter to divide a tree at a saw-mill into deals and planks; and the saw mills themselves look exactly like those in other places; yet the greater prosperity of Christiania is entirely owing to the circumstance, that the deals exported from it are more skilfully sawed than elsewhere. The scrupulous and precise Englishman rejects the deals of Drontheim, and sends them to his less fastidious neighbours in Ireland, though the price of those of Christiania and Frederickstadt is much higher. This is not so much owing to the superior quality of the tree, as to the uniform thickness of the plank, and the accurate parallel of its two planes, and several other minute circumstances, that are only known to the sawer and to the delicate English merchant, but which nevertheless decide the happiness and misery, the wealth and poverty, of whole districts.

“ The activity and stir is great and striking in winter, when numberless sledges descend from the mountains with planks, and proceed with them to the great Timber Magazine. They are all accumulated in this place, which includes the whole space between the town and the suburb of Waterland, and stretches so far towards the bay, that the vessels seem to touch the piles of planks. Notwithstanding the extent, this magazine at the end of winter has the appearance of a great town of boards; and we lose ourselves in the multitude of avenues and streets leading through them. The noise of the country people bringing the timber continues without interruption so long as the snow lasts. They deliver over

their boards to the overseers, who mark on their backs with chalk in letters and figures the place to which the boards were brought, and the number of them. It is a singular enough sight to see these boors hurrying away with all possible expedition to the counting-houses of the merchants in the Quartale, with this original species of obligation on their shoulders. By stopping on their way, or engaging in any other business, they might rub out the marks on their coats, and thus extinguish for ever all evidence of the debt. When they appear before the treasurer at the counting-house, they have no occasion to say a single word. They present their shoulders, and are immediately paid. The brush which the treasurer applies to his shoulders is the boor's acquittance.

“ There may be perhaps some twenty houses which have thriven by the timber trade; some of them are even rich. The great fortune which the ingenious chamberlain Berndt Ancker acquired in a short time, principally by this trade, notwithstanding his expensive mode of living, and the immense sum of more than a million and a half of Danish dollars which he left behind him at his death, are certainly remarkable circumstances. His house is still standing; for he left his property to trustees, and destined the revenue to charitable purposes. It appears as if he could not bear the idea of breaking up this large sum, and that he wished it to remain a perpetual monument of what his talents enabled him to acquire. As the revenues must be expended in general charity, it is a pity that he did not take a pattern from the institutions of the worthy Pury, at Neufchatel, which still continue to have

have such a beneficial effect on that place. The objects of Ancker's charity are widows and orphans, the poor and needy, and the fitting out of travellers to foreign countries; but all this is very indefinite, and instead of producing good, must waste and dry up the stream, by turning it into numberless channels.

" If the power of controlling the expenditure of these revenues were vested in the town, as is the case at Neuschatel, a regular stone harbour would probably have been gradually erected, in the room of the present tottering and filthy wooden quay (Bryggen); the town would have perhaps received a decent town-house, which it at present wants; and the pavements and streets would have been, in point of cleanliness and ornament, suitable to a great town. The fine supplies of water would not have remained at the crossings of streets, as at present collected in wooden, but in stone reservoirs; and many other excellent improvements would have been adopted for the good of the town. What assists the town is returned over the whole country; and widows and orphans, the poor and needy, would have been easier provided for out of the great superfluity arising from it. Increased activity every where diminishes their numbers, which immediate pensions have a uniform tendency to increase. The memory of Ancker will always live in Christiania, from so many benevolent institutions; but in this way his honour would have extended throughout Europe, and the eternal gratitude of all Norway would have been secured to him.

" The wealthy inhabitants of the town are engaged, from their ex-

tensive connections in trade, in numberless and difficult pursuits; but they contrive admirably to lighten the burdens of life by the pleasures of society. The prevailing tone of conversation here is what one would by no means have expected: for we frequently meet with the delicacy and polish of a capital with the high pride and independence so eminently peculiar to the Norwegians. We are more agreeably surprised still to find that this cultivation is no foreign and short-lived plant. Many of the most polished among the inhabitants, whose society would be an honour to any person, have seldom, perhaps, extended their travels beyond the country around Christiania; and the visits of others have been so short in foreign countries, that they would never have been what they are, if their manners had not been formed before leaving home.

" Hence we observe in this what takes place in all capitals, where the art of social intercourse has made any considerable progress—the division of society into several classes, tolerably distinct from one another. That these divisions were effected, or in any considerable degree influenced, by riches, titles, influence, or personal connections with the state, I could never discover: they arose rather from a diversity of tone. Hence the boundaries of these divisions flow almost imperceptibly into one another, whatever may be the difference between the extremes. It is a proof of the refinement of manners in a town, when all are not united in one mass. The mind possessed of refinement ascends naturally to the top, and every thing like a common union in society is artificial, constrained, and cannot be permanent, because

because the parts which compose the union are heterogeneous. These divisions, marked out by nature, are no ways inimical to public spirit, or patriotism, as has been often proved by the example of England, and in miniature by the Canton of Schweitz, where shepherds and lords co-operate together in so singular, yet harmonious a manner.

"I have often thought that the decided predilection of the Norwegians for the theatre may have had no small influence on their character. It is certainly surprising to find no town in Norway without a theatre. The most polished of the inhabitants play in a manner in public before the better sort of people, frequently tolerably, and often excellently. I saw several well-known persons in Bergen perform their different parts with the fervency and truth which belong only to the most skilful professional actors. Drontheim, Christiansand, and Frederickshall, have all of them their theatres; and when I was at the small town of Moss, I heard a very earnest deliberation respecting the means of constructing a theatre there also. Christiania has no less than two, and the whole winter through two different societies of Dilettanti tread the boards for the amusement of themselves and their fellow-citizens. The most beautiful and delightful music is spread and generally diffused, not merely by little occasional pieces, but by the representation of operas. Though the expression of the higher passions in the tragedy requires a continued practice and study which the acting of Dilettante will not admit of, yet I shall always remember with lively pleasure the splendid representation of the national tragedy

of Dyvecke, a piece certainly however praised beyond its deserts, in which the first families of the town distinguished themselves equally by their magnificence and their skill. They had an excellent poet among them, who seems to have given a good direction to their taste, and who entered with great enthusiasm into the management of their theatre. This was M. Falsen, counsellor of state, president of the highest tribunal in Christiania, and one of the three members of the government commission for Norway, during the Anglo-Swedish war. The town was deprived of him by a sad accident in the winter of 1808: but his influence will long continue in circles dedicated to joy and festivity, through his sweet poetry, his translations of so many excellent French pieces for the theatre in Christiania, and still more through his original and affecting comic-opera of *Dragedukken*, with the lively music of Kuntze, in Copenhagen: and the Norwegians ought long to remember, that to the passionate but energetic official paper *Budstikken*, edited by him, they owed their courage and their confidence in the beginning of the Swedish war, when their own strength was unknown to them. His mind appears to have been of too vehement a cast for the cold blood of his fellow-citizens: it consumed itself.

"The Gymnasium in Christiania, which bears the modest appellation of school, may be mentioned with distinction as a public establishment for education. Its merits are proved by the abilities of the teachers, and the progress made by the scholars. It supplies to a certain extent the want of a university in Norway, which has been so often warmly,  
but

but however reasonably, always fruitlessly demanded by the Norwegians, as a literary centre in the interior of a remote kingdom, which constitutes more than a third part of the whole monarchy. The school, which is situated in the best part of the town, is a large building, and has a serious and dignified external appearance. It contains, besides the rooms adapted for tuition, several collections, which are not very distinguished, and the library, which is not more ornamental than useful and profitable to the town. This library is open to the citizens, and contains perhaps not many rare, but a number of useful works. It owed its origin chiefly to the collection of chancellor Deichmann, who died about twenty years ago, and who distinguished himself by his works on the modern history of Norway. This patriotic individual bequeathed his library to the town of Christiania, well judging that it would there be productive of the greatest benefit. In the same spirit several other more recent libraries have been incorporated with it, for which they are partly indebted to an Ancker; and they now continue unremittingly to procure the most important productions of the German and Danish press, so far as the school-funds, which are by no means scanty, will allow them. How few towns of the same extent, or in the same situation, can congratulate themselves on such a library! And as it is not suffered to remain idle, we can hardly doubt that it will greatly contribute to the diffusion of knowledge.

"The excellent military academy, which directly fronts the school-house, is an object no less remark-

able. It is certainly one of the best institutions in the Danish state, and has been the means of supplying the Danish army with a great number of useful and accomplished officers. It is a pleasant sight to see the hundred cadets, who generally receive an education here, either assembled together, or in the streets. Their vivacity, their blooming complexions, and their dignified behaviour, dispel at once every idea of constraint; and we soon see when we enter the building that it is a much nobler institution than similar schools for cadets generally are; yet the institution is almost wholly supported by the contributions of wealthy individuals. The academy is indebted for the house (an elegant little palace), and perhaps the most beautiful in the town, to the liberality of the Aneker family, by whom it was formerly inhabited; their instruments and books are legacies; and only two years ago it received from the chamberlain, Peder Ancker, the rich library and instruments which devolved to him on the death of his brother, Berndt Ancker. By these means they have been enabled from a mathematical school, which was the origin of the institution, to convert it into an academy, in which the young officers, besides the mathematical sciences and drawing, are diligently instructed in history, natural philosophy, natural history, and foreign languages. During several days of the week they practise leaping, climbing, rope-dancing, swimming, and other exercises, which professor Treschow in Copenhagen very appropriately calls the luxury of education; but a good officer will perhaps not regret the time he spent in such exercises. It is an excellent regulation,

regulation, that the cadets neither lodge nor eat in the house; they are boarded with respectable people of the town, for the purpose of avoiding the monkishness of a secluded education. They wish to bring the young people as much as possible into contact with the world, and to break them at an early period of the narrow-mindedness which so circumscribed an occupation as that of a soldier has a necessary tendency to produce. The correctness of these principles has been confirmed by experience, even in the short space of a few years. So long as the state of Denmark deems it necessary to keep up a great army, and to dedicate so much of its attention to that object, it were heartily to be wished that all the Danish officers found such a school for their formation as the military academy in Christiania.

“We may easily conceive that such a beautiful country as the environs of Christiania does not in vain display its charms to the wealthy inhabitants, and that they will be disposed to quit the town in summer for the health and pleasure of a country life. The multitudes of country-houses round the town is in reality so great, that their appearance puts us in mind of Marseilles. A country-house is an essential piece of luxury in Christiania; and as a merchant in Hamburg does not suppose he can appear without his coach and his horses, so the country-house is the first expense of a rising citizen here. These small places are called Lükken in Christiania. Why they are so called I could never learn; and what is singular, this appellation is exclusively peculiar to this town. Many of their places are

indeed very diminutive—a little house with a small meadow; but they have all an enchanting situation: and there is a perpetual variety of prospect from the height of the amphitheatre, of the Fiord, the town, and the hills. Whatever may be the number of these Lükken, we may boldly assert that there is not one of them without a prospect peculiar to itself. Most of them have not much to recommend them except this prospect, as little has been done for the surrounding grounds. But this they cannot be blamed for. The great desire to possess a small piece of ground in the neighbourhood of the town has raised the price of them so immoderately high, that it is seldom in the power of the possessor one to ornament any part of it. A Lükke worth eight or twelve thousand dollars seldom exceeds the size of many a garden in Berlin; and a meadow worth a thousand rix-dollars may be over-looked at a glance. The occupation as a meadow is essentially necessary to the support of the town; for the country is not sufficiently inhabited to allow the market to be constantly supplied with every thing that house-keeping requires. Every family must keep their own cow; and the long winter requires great stores; hence a dry year, unusual warmth and drought in June and July, not unfrequently occasion great want and embarrassment; and although the upland vales of Ringerige or Walders send some hay to the capital, it is by no means equal to the consumption. Assistance is then looked to from abroad, and hay is commissioned from England and Ireland. I could hardly believe my eyes, when I saw in the harvest of 1806,

a number

a number of ships loaded with hay in the mouth of the bay of Christiania. Is this hay exported to the Baltic or Jutland, to countries fertile in corn? No, I was answered, it is hay from England, commissioned to supply the wants of the householders in Christiania and Drammen. It is well with the country that possesses means and opportunities to supply its wants in such a manner; but it is still better with the country which by its own industry can produce what nature in the ordinary course of things refuses. And why should it not? When we see the Aggers Elv, a considerable stream close to the town, falling in noisy cascades from wheel to wheel, from saw-mill to paper-mill, and again to saw-mill; when we see numerous little streams descending from the wood-covered hills; and when we view at Frogner a considerable rivulet running through the midst of these possessions, before it falls into the Fiord at the west end of the town, a stream which in the greatest heat of summer is never dry, it is surprising that all these supplies of water have not been long ago made to fall from Lükke to Lükke, and to spread in a thousand various channels over the parched hills, as has been so beautifully done in the Emmenthal and Valais in Switzerland, and with so much art even in Norway itself, in the valley of Les-söo, and in Leerdalen below Fillefieldt. For this an agreement of all the proprietors among themselves is no doubt necessary, and it may be attended with some difficulty; but are we not to consider it as a want of public spirit that such an agreement has never taken place? And are we not entitled to suspect some

error in the government, which, with such an excellent opportunity, prevents the inhabitants from finding their individual interest in the general good.

"The possessors, in truth, show no want of individual industry. Bare rocks are yearly thrown down and converted to meadows, and many a place is now attractive which was formerly repulsive from its sterility. The small possession of Frydenlund, about an English mile from the town, formerly nothing but dry slates hardly covered with moss, has become, through the incessant labours of the indefatigable lady of General Wackenitz, one of the sweetest and loveliest places imaginable. And what has been effected by the noble and active Collet on his possession of Ulevold, will, in point of agriculture, long serve as a model for Norway.

"Whoever takes a delight during his stay in Christiania in exploring the beauties of the surrounding country, must not neglect to visit the charming Skoyen, the country residence of Ploen the merchant; in point of situation, the crown of all the rural places in the neighbourhood of the town. The whole magnificence of nature is here unfolded to us: the Fiord, the town, and the hills, appear all entirely new, as if we had never before seen them. We never weary in looking down upon them, to follow the beautiful light spread over them, and to rivet our eyes on the picturesque forms of the hills of Bogstadt and Bärüm. And again, what rural beauty, what charming solitary prospects, when we lose ourselves among the woods and dales that border on Skoyen! Here alone we live with nature! In Bogstadt,

Bogstædt; the magnificent seat of the chamberlain, Peder Ancker, we may please ourselves with viewing the way in which a rich individual may create and beautify a residence to give delight to a cultivated mind; and in Ulevold we may gratefully recognize the endeavours of the noble possessor to diffuse joy and benevolence around him,

“ This high cultivation and beauty of the country around the town deceive us into a belief of a better climate than the place actually possesses. The appearance of the objects down the bay puts us so often in mind of Italy, that we would willingly associate the idea of Italian heat with them. It is confidently, however, believed by many, that the climate of Christiania is at all events better than might be expected from its high latitude. But this is not actually the case. By much too unfavourable an idea is entertained in other countries of nature under the sixtieth degree of latitude. Where oaks thrive, fruit-gardens may be cultivated with advantage and pleasure: and accordingly in Christiania not only apples and cherries, but even pears and apricots, grow in the open air: plums, however, do not succeed; and peaches and vines, as well as several sorts of pears, must be dispensed with. As to the trees, the high ash thrives admirably, and it is a peculiar ornament to the country. Limes grow vigorously and beautifully; and sycamores and elms are among the most common trees of the woods. The aspen tree, (*Populus tremula*), the alder, and the birch, grow always larger and finer; they are the true trees of the north; and the warmth of Christiania is even in some measure too great for their highest perfection: at least, the as-

per and birch seem here to love the shade very much.

“ Neither does the winter appear here much earlier than in the north of Germany: the snow is hardly expected to lie before the beginning of December; and continued frost is very rare in November. It is, however, sufficient to cover the harbour of Christiania with ice in the end of November, and the shipping is then for some months altogether at a stand. The inmost part of the bay, between the numerous islands and points, resembles a lake, and is therefore soon frozen. The Bonnefjord, an arm of more than fourteen English miles in length, is fully frozen, and in the main arm the ice extends frequently for nine English miles down the bay. The vessels are then frozen in, and lie in the harbour the whole winter through as if on land. People pass and repass between the yachts, galleys, and brigs, as through streets, and the land and water appear no longer separated. This continues for a long time. The fine season gradually makes its appearance. The snow has been long all melted on the hills of Christiania by the sun and the warm rains, and every thing has assumed a green and animated appearance, before the ships are disentangled from the thick ice. About the 24th of April the waves begin, at last, to beat against the moles of the harbour. The ship-owners then frequently lose all patience: for a few miles farther out in the Fiord, the ships of Droback, Laurvig, and even Frederickstadt, have been long out at-sea before the vessels at Christiania exhibit the smallest motion. They at last remove the obstacles by force, and break the ice. This is a most interesting moment. I heard



heard once in February, that several ships wished to break through the ice, and I knew that they had at least a German mile to proceed through the hard ice to the nearest open water: I immediately ran to witness the Herculean undertaking; but I was not a little astonished to see the ships advanced a great way through the ice, and still continuing in motion, though slowly, as if they were in open water. The whole work is, in fact, much easier than one would be led to imagine. About fifty men stand opposite one another like an alley; and the space they allow between them corresponds to the breadth of the ship which is to be moved through. They cut along the solid mass of ice as far as their line extends, and then they separate, by cuts across from the one line to the other, immense rectangles of ice, perhaps more than twenty feet in length. A wooden plank is next placed in the cut so opened: the men then all proceed over to the opposite side; some of them press the rectangle of ice with all their might below the water: in the same moment, all the others lay hold of a number of ropes fastened to the board in the opposite cut, and shove the immense loosened mass of ice, with one effort, below the ice which is firm. They then begin to loosen another rectangle. The work proceeds so quickly, that the ship which fol-

lows hardly ever stops, and in the space of a few hours makes its way through a covering of two feet of ice for almost five English miles from Christiania to the open water. In this way several English ships of the line wrought their way in the winter of 1808 from Gottenburg through the ice into the open sea. Hence we may easily see that where the art of working through ice is properly understood, ships which are frozen in, do not always necessarily fall into the hands of an advancing land army.

"When the ice has left the vicinity of Christiania, the warmth increases with indescribable rapidity; and May, instead of being a spring month, is completely summer. On the 3d, 4th, and 5th of May, 1808, I observed that the thermometer at its highest rose to 70° Fahr. In the middle of the month all the trees were in leaf, except the ash (*ask*, *fraxinus excelsior*); and towards the end of the month the thermometer was daily at noon 19 or 20. In the beginning of July garden stuffs were every where to be had: the mean warmth of the month rose to upwards of 65°, and at noon it was generally 81, nay, even sometimes 80 degrees. They commenced their harvest before August, but September was not fully over before they began to think of stoves in the town."

## LAPLAND VALLEYS AND VILLAGES.

[From the same.]

" **K**AUTOKEJNO, the 11th of September, 1807. The two rein-deer, with their driver, Mathes Michelsöon Sara, had agreeably to engagement come down from the Fieldts. These animals were loaded with the most necessary requisites for our journey, and with them, two Laplanders, a woman, and a child. I left Antelgaard as I would leave a home, on the evening of the third, and a few hours afterwards I reached Bosecop. This remote country, besides the attractions which it has received from nature, the grand and interesting style of the environs, the variety of new phenomena which strongly recommend it to our notice, possessed a superior charm for me in the highly distinguished and agreeable society which are here collected. Their repeated and incessant acts of kindness and benevolence continued for so many months towards a stranger whom they could never expect to see again, with the polish and the attraction of their conversation, could not fail to produce such an impression on my mind. Although strict justice, wisdom, and knowledge, are qualities which we ought not to look upon as extraordinary in any governor of a province, I felt a particular pleasure in the consideration that even the head of the most remote province of the Danish dominions possessed these qualities in so

eminent a degree. At the last habitation, about two miles beyond Bosecop, I took my leave of them, when I began to think, for the first time, that I was three degrees beyond the Polar Circle, among wilds and deserts.

" We soon entered the wood: the rocks of Skaana Vara appeared nearer and nearer, narrowed the valley, and formed perpendicular precipices along its sides. All traces of habitation disappeared. The high and majestic Scotch firs stood thickly around, with excellent stems, and the small marshes in the wood were surrounded with alders and aspens. On entering deeper into the valley the view became suddenly frightful. The trees lay in heaps above one another, torn up by the roots almost in every direction for large spaces, and the few solitary stems which remained erect were quite lost among them: an image of the alarming nature of the storms in winter. Most of the trees lay with their heads down the valley. The storm had swept down from the south, and when compressed between narrow ranges of rocks, the firs are not always able to withstand it.

" At the approach of evening the Laplanders took the rein-deer up several cliffs which were covered with rein-deer moss like snow, and there they tethered them. We passed the night ourselves contentedly

edly under the trees by the side of a clear blazing fire.

"These Fieldt or mountain Laplanders require time for their operations. I lost several admirable hours of the morning, before the woman had bathed her child in warm water, and then till the man had again loaded the rein-deer. We reached in half an hour a lateral valley; and a stream which pours down it, called the Curjajock. There we left the great valley of Alten, and began to ascend the new valley towards the west, which rises pretty rapidly for the space of five English miles at least. Hitherto we had still seen traces of the cows and horses which the inhabitants of Alten allow here to run about almost wild in summer; but the last vestige of cultivation at last forsook us. The Scotch firs became smaller and more scanty, and the birches became more frequent; and as we lay down at mid-day on the banks of a small lake we found ourselves beyond the region of firs. This lake, Gurjajaure, was actually 898 English feet above the sea, and consequently above the height which the observations on Skazane Vara had given as the boundary of their growth. Our ascent became now less rapid; the vallies began to widen; and the mountains to become marshy levels. On the long extended rockless mountains the birch bushes grew scantily and dwarfish, their growth being probably prevented by the storms; the ground was also less covered than usual with rein deer moss. All nature was here bare and dismal. Several leagues farther, towards the south-west, at the termination of these dreary levels, the northern ocean suddenly appeared in the distance, for the last time, like a

ray of light, piercing through the darkness. I never saw it again. It was a part of Reas Bottn to the right of the source of the Alten stream above the valley of Alten. We now descended a flat and broad valley, and prepared our night quarters on a sort of island in the Carajock, a small stream, which appears to be of some importance in spring, but which was then almost dry. It probably unites in its course to the eastwards with the Aiby Elv which is laid down on the maps, before it flows into the stream of Alten. We durst not have ventured much farther if we wished to avail ourselves of birches for our nightly fire. The small birches became visibly shrivelled, and were thinly scattered over the plain, so that it was evident, without the protection of vallies and cliffs, they could not have possibly stood. Our island in the Carajock was 1,531 English feet above the sea. We might have ascended about 19 or 20 English miles beyond the wood; we travelled but slowly; for a rein-deer is like a gazelle, destined by nature to run and not to carry. Notwithstanding a horse could, with the greatest ease, have carried more than double of the load with which these animals were burdened, they became fatigued however in a very short time, and we were obliged to halt, and allow them time to recruit their strength with the moss, which they greedily devoured. During the night we tied them with a long thong to some bush or piece of rock, round which the ground was thickly covered with excellent moss. They slept or lay very little, but continued to eat the whole night through.

"On the following morning, the 5th, we ascended an entirely flat, parched,

perched, and dismal valley for about five English miles, till we reached the height of Nuppi Vára, which is, according to the barometer, 2,655 English feet above the sea. This was the greatest height of this table-land; for we commanded from it a prospect of many leagues in every direction. The snowy chain of Lyngen appeared again in a long range towards the Fiord, notwithstanding it was at least 46 English miles distant; and we could now see very distinctly how these cones became lower and flatter where the Fiord terminates, and the chain continues to run along the main-land. The Fiord is a fosse (graben); the chain the wall above it. At the foot of Nuppi Vára a long marshy level runs towards Quaenangerfiord, containing a number of small marshy lakes, a desert and dreary prospect. Every thing is here solitary and dismal. The snow had long disappeared; but nature still remained dead and torpid. The dwarf birch (*Betula nana*), the true companion of these mountains, could only support itself here with weak and powerless branches; the mountain brambles (*Rubus chamaemorus*) in vain endeavoured to put forth fruit: they could only bear leaves; and here and there could alone be seen a spring-flower endeavouring, with great difficulty, to blow in harvest. A few solitary bushes of mountain willow seem to make their appearance here, more in defiance of the inhospitable climate than as a covering to the earth.

"The barking of dogs below announced the vicinity of a herd and the hut of a Lapland family. We made all the haste we could towards it; for the rising storm and rain from the south-west se-

riously admonished us to seek shelter for the night. We soon found the hut or gainme at the foot of the hill, and on the bank of the Great Marsh. They received us, but not in a friendly manner. The Laplanders are not Arabs. Where the spruce and Scotch fir, and where birches will not succeed, the nature of man seems equally defective. He sinks in the struggle with necessity and the climate. The finer feelings of the Laplanders are to be developed by brandy; and, as in eastern countries, a visit is announced by presents, the glass alone here softens their hostile dispositions. Then, indeed, the first place in the bottom of the tent, opposite to the narrow door, is conceded to the stranger. We lie in the circumference of a room containing at most eight feet in diameter; the fire or smoke of the hearth in the middle prevents the draft from the door: and hence this back space is the place of the master or mistress of the herd. The children sit next them, and the servants next to the door. When a stranger demands entrance he is commanded by Lapland politeness to keep himself on his legs in the inside of the door, and sometimes even before a half-opened door. The master of the house then asks him the cause of his arrival, and also the news of the country; and if he is pleased with the account, he at last invites the stranger to approach nearer. He then becomes a member of the family; a place in the house is allotted to him, and he is entertained with rein-deer milk and flesh. The Arab invites into his hut, and asks no questions.

"It was well for us that we passed this night under a roof. The storm raged furiously, and the rain struck

struck like sand against the roof of the gamme. It was not a little wonderful that the feeble hut could withstand such a hurricane. It is built of stakes, which are united together in the middle in form of a cone. Several other cross stakes hold them together below. Over the frame there is nothing spread but a piece of coarse linen, generally sail-cloth, in such a manner, however, that a quadrangular opening at the top remains uncovered for the smoke to issue out of. A great part of this covering lies also loose on the ground, and serves to protect their milk and other household concerns against wind and weather, and to cover over their stores; and then these articles, and the covering over them, form altogether a sort of mound, which prevents the entrance and draft of the external air into the gamme from beneath. Another large and loose piece of sail-cloth is drawn round this outward covering on the side from whence the wind blows. This side is therefore always protected with a double covering. The inside seat consists of soft rein-deer skins and white woollen covers. The quality of this skin and cover also determines here the rank of the place and the person who is to occupy it. This is certainly a slight habitation; and it is almost inconceivable how a large and frequently numerous family can find room in such a narrow space for many months together. But all the members of the family are seldom assembled together at the same time; the herd of rein-deer demands their presence and their attention even during the night, and such stormy and dreadful nights as the one we passed here in Nuppihy. Men and boys, wives and daughters, take the

post of watching by turns twice or thrice a-day; and each goes out with several dogs, which belong in property to that individual, whose commands alone they will obey. The former guards in the mean while their return with their hungry dogs. Hence it not unfrequently happens that eight or twelve dogs march over the heads of the persons sleeping in the gamme, in quest of comfortable spots for themselves to rest in. They certainly stand in need of rest, for all the time they are out with their master, watching the flock, they are in continual motion. The welfare and the security of the flock rests wholly on them. By them alone are they kept together in their destined situation, or, when necessary, driven to others. The wolves, the dreadful enemies of the Laplanders, are by them driven away from the rein-deers. The timid animal runs frightened up and down the wilderness when the wolf approaches; the dogs then by their barking and snarling keep the flock together, and by this means the wolf will not easily venture an attack. If the rein-deer is to the Laplander what his field is to the husbandman, the dog is to the Laplander what the plough is to the other. When he returns wearied to his gamme, he always willingly shares his rein-deer flesh and his soup with his dog, which he will hardly do with either father or mother.

"It is an unusual, a new, and a pleasing spectacle to see, in the evening, the herd assembled round the gamme to be milked. On all the hills around, every thing is in an instant full of life and motion. The busy dogs are every where barking, and bringing the mass nearer and nearer; and the rein-deer

deer bound and run, stand still, and bound again in an indescribable variety of movements. When the feeding animal, frightened by the dog, raises his head and displays aloft his large and proud antlers, what a beautiful and majestic sight! And when he courses over the ground, how fleet and light are his movements! We never hear the foot on the earth, and nothing but the incessant crackling of his knee-joints, as if produced by a repetition of electric shocks: a singular noise, and from the number of reindeer by whom it is at once produced, it is heard at a great distance. When all the three or four hundred at last reach the gamme, they stand still, or repose themselves, or frisk about in confidence among one another, play with their antlers against each other, or in groups surround a patch of moss. When the maids run about with their milk vessels from deer to deer, the brother or servant throws a bark halter round the antlers of the animal which she points out to them, and draws it towards her: the animal struggles, and is unwilling to follow the halter, and the maid laughs at and enjoys the great labour of her brother, and wantonly allows it to get loose that he may again catch it for her. The father and mother have quietly brought their's together, and filled many a vessel, and now begin to scold them for their wanton behaviour, which has scared the whole flock. Who would not then think on Laban, on Leah, Rachel, and Jacob? When the herd at last stretches itself to the number of so many hundreds at once, round about the gamme, we imagine we are beholding a whole encampment, and the com-

1813.

manding mind, which presides over the whole, in the middle.

"They were already returning from their summer pasturage on the high mountains along the sea, to the woods which surround the church of Kautokejno. Numbers had already gone before them, and numbers were still to follow. They descend, in fact, always more and more from the mountains the farther they advance into the country; for towards the interior there are no longer any ranges of mountains, and mountains are visible only above the Fiords: the highest are precisely where they are straightened between two Fiords. The view from Nuppi Vara, towards the south, stretches therefore over an endless level, on which Sallivara, Dasko-Vara, Stora-Lipza, &c. seem more like hills than mountains. On the other hand, towards Talvig, and above Kaafiord, the whole mass of mountains suddenly rose, covered with furze for the whole length of their course, as if mountains first began there. The rein-deer feed there in summer at a height of between two thousand and two thousand eight hundred Paris feet, and one thousand six hundred feet above the sea. The winter gammes of the Laplanders at Kautokejno are not above seven hundred feet above the sea. That the Laplanders, the nearer they approach to the sea, should also be obliged to drive their flocks higher up the mountains, is a singular peculiarity of these mountains.

"We left Nuppibye on the evening of the 5th, and reached, about mid-day, the border of the long and narrow Zjelmijaure, and the gamme on the brink of the lake. It was between four and five English miles

miles from the gamme below Nuppivara. The herd belonged to Mathes Sara, my guide, who was to exchange the exhausted rein-deer with fresh ones at this place. The herd, however, was at a great distance, and could not be expected before the evening. We entered the gamme. The grown-up son was within, but he did not rise up or welcome us, and nobody would have suspected that he had not seen his father for a number of days. Distrust had completely blinded him. In the evening he went out to the herd with the younger brother, and the daughters returned. Why did not the herd also come? Why were they not to be milked at the gamme as usual?—The women thought the distance too great, and it would be too difficult to drive them to the gamme that day. The son took the rein-deer that had been employed on the journey along with him, but he did not send back fresh ones. The night passed away. In the morning still there were no rein-deer. 'I must seek them myself,' said Mathes Sara. The women told him the place where the herd was feeding. He ran about the whole day, and returned breathless and worn out with fatigue in the evening, without having seen a single rein-deer. His wife and children had given him a false direction, and while he was seeking the herd in one quarter, it was driven to one directly the contrary way. It did not come home this evening any more than the former, and was nowhere to be seen in the neighbourhood of the gamme. Still less appeared the rein-deer which were stipulated for on the following morning. The will of Mathes, it seems, was not the will of his family. They

did not hold the stranger in sufficient estimation to consent to let him have rein-deer for the prosecution of his journey; and the bargain with the master of the house had no power over them. Mathes's exhortations and his threats were equally powerless. Certainly there was here no patriarchal authority of the father over his children: to cause the father purposely to wander among the desert mountains, and in the wilderness, was no display of submissive respect. But what breaks through all the resolutions of the Laplanders brought us at last also the rein-deer which we were in such anxious expectation of. The mother could not withstand the impression of the brandy. She was moved by a feeling of gratitude, whispered a word in the ear of her daughter when she returned home late in the evening, and in a few minutes the electric-like crackling of the cattle, and the barking of the dogs, announced the anxiously expected arrival of the herd. And yet we had in vain two whole days been seeking for them. Here the mother evidently had the management of matters: it was the same thing also in Nuppibye, where the feminine authority might be styled, perhaps, more hard and severe, for the movements of the mistress of the house there were by no means of a mild and gracious nature. The wife of Torbern Kaafiard, my other Laplander, who was daughter of Michel Sara, had also a decisive power over him. Yet how necessary it is to observe a foreign nation long and attentively before venturing to pronounce respecting its manners and customs. The internal state and condition of these families could hardly bear an application to the

the whole community. For how is it possible to separate the idea of a patriarchal authority of the father from that of a nation of Nomades?

"Zjelmijaure lies nearly 2,236 English feet above the level of the sea: its naked banks still bear no trace of birches. The Laplander can procure no firing except the dwarf birch (*Betula nana*), or mountain willow, both of which, it is true, grow very well here as shrubs of the height of two or three feet. They run along the banks of the small streams, and wherever they can find any moisture; and a small stream is frequently wholly concealed by them. We can scarcely, however, warm ourselves at a fire made of such materials: the leaves alone give out a flame; the moist wood goes off in such thick clouds of smoke, that even the Laplanders themselves rush out of their gamme to draw fresh breath. This prevents the people from residing here in the winter. They are compelled to return to the woods. Even on the mountains above Talvig, and above Langfiord, where the dwarf birches almost entirely disappear, the Laplanders have frequently an insufficiency of wood to cook their flesh and their broth, and on that account the gamme is then often at a great distance from the place where the flocks are feeding. The summer on such heights cannot be of long duration; it is as if we were living above the cloister of the Great Bernhardt. We never again experienced a fine day on this range of mountains. On the 6th of September there was a violent storm in the night from the north-west. In the morning, not only the mountains, but the plains along the lake were covered with snow. It is true it did not remain along the banks,

but on the height it was seen the whole of that and the following day. The sun could now no longer draw out flowers and herbs.

"We first put ourselves again in motion about mid-day of the 8th. The fog lay deep, and the thermometer stood at only four degrees and a half of Fahrenheit, above the freezing point. Mathes was of opinion that there was some risk in venturing ourselves in such weather through these wastes; for the fog prevents the view of the distant hills, which are the guides through the country, and traces of paths on the ground are no where to be found. But it succeeded. The fog ascended about 200 feet, and allowed us just a sufficiency of prospect to enable us not to lose the proper direction. We went between four and five miles down the banks of the lake. There we found the gamme of the rich Aslack Niels Sombals. He received us in a friendly manner, introduced us himself into the gamme, put the kettle on the fire, and cooked a rich and abundant supply of rein-deer flesh for Mathes. He mixed milk and meal with the broth of the flesh, and handed it to Mathes. The daughter brought me some milk, which she had brought from the distant flock in a tin flask, and she insisted with friendly earnestness that I should completely empty it. Without a doubt, the nature of Laplanders varies as well as that of other beings. Why should kindness and benevolence be strangers to this people alone?

Mathes conducted me through a lateral valley down towards the lake of Zjarajaure, which was narrowly confined between the steep clay-slate rocks. It seems it abounds in fish, which are not only caught by the Laplanders, but also very much



by the Finns of Kautokeino. They remain for several weeks in summer in a gamme not far from the outlet of the lake, catch the fish, dry it, and return with it to Kautokeino, where it serves them for a winter store. The high and bare rocks by the side of it give an indescribable dreary and dismal character to the water. They at last prevented us from following its banks; and we were obliged to ascend a height of about three hundred feet to the westward. Here we saw ourselves in an instant surrounded with rein-deer. As far as the eye could reach all was in motion, and far and near the barking of dogs was incessantly heard. 'That is the herd of Aslack Niels Sara, my brother's son,' said Mathes, with a tone of self-complacency. 'He is a rich man: he possesses well on for

a thousand deer. He has every day rein-deer flesh, and he possesses clothes in superfluity. We must pass the night in his gamme, for we can no where be better off.' When we got to the gamme, Niels came out. 'My dear Mathes,' said he, 'I cannot receive you. A few hours ago two Lapland strangers arrived here, who have taken up all my spare room.' So we were obliged to go on. After we had been half an hour on our way, Mathes said to me, with a tone that indicated the state of his feelings: 'It was not well done in Niels to refuse us a place in his gamme.' 'But how could he help it, when all his spare room was already taken up by strangers?' 'It is all very well,' answered he with keenness; 'but where there is room in the heart it is soon found in the gamme.'

#### DESCRIPTION OF GOTTENBURG.

[From Dr. Thompson's Travels in Sweden.]

"OUR vessel anchored at Mastugat, a village about a mile south from Gottenburg, and a kind of suburb. We were going ashore without any formality, when we were told by our captain that the laws of Sweden did not permit any passenger to land till the vessel had been visited by the custom-house officers; non-compliance with this condition, we were told, was punished by a fine of 300 rix-dollars. In consequence of this information, we thought ourselves obliged to remain aboard the vessel. The custom-house officers at last made their appearance at four o'clock, and after a slight inspection of our portman-

teaus, and receiving a little money, we were permitted to go ashore. We found afterwards that there was no necessity for staying aboard as we did; that deviations from the strict letter of the law were common, and that with regard to foreigners it was usually winked at, or easily made up by a little address.

"We prevailed upon the captain to row us up to town in the ship's boat. There is a canal which runs through the middle of the principal street in Gottenburg. When we came to the extremity of this canal, opposite to the governor's house, where the town began, a custom-house officer perceived us and our

boat

boat. He bawled out lustily, and made signs to us, in a threatening manner, to bring our boat to the margin of the canal. His whole manner indicated a confident expectation of a lucrative prize. When we opened our portmanteaus, in consequence of his orders, and when he saw that they contained no contraband goods of any kind, but merely a few books and clothes, he slunk away very much disconcerted, and allowed us to proceed. When the boat had rowed as far as the middle of the street, we went ashore to look for an inn. Our surprise was not small, and our disappointment extreme, when we traversed the whole city from one end to the other without meeting with any house that had the least appearance of an inn or a hotel. As we were unacquainted with the language, and therefore had no means of making inquiry, we were utterly at a loss what to do.

" Luckily we met our captain, who carried us to his broker, a gentleman who understood English: by him we were informed that Gottenburg contained no inns, but that there were two hotels at the east end of the main street, where we might perhaps find lodging and breakfast, but that they would not provide us with dinner. He told us likewise that the concourse of strangers at Gottenburg was always so great that these two houses were usually overflowing with lodgers. He immediately carried us to what he called the best of these houses, and we found to our mortification that they had not a single empty room. In the other, however, kept by a Swede, of the name of Blum, we got a couple of rooms, and began to feel ourselves pretty comfortable after the fatigues of our voyage.

" This total want of inns in a place like Gottenburg, which is at present a great thoroughfare, being the channel of communication of Great Britain and the continent, is quite unaccountable. There are indeed at Mastuget two houses kept by natives of Great Britain, a Mr. Tod and a Mrs. Ribbens, which are the great rendezvous of the captains of British merchantmen. But they are little better than ale-houses, and so crowded that you might as well attempt to lodge in the middle of Bartholomew fair. If any Englishman properly qualified for the purpose were to set up a good inn at Gottenburg, he would be certain of making a fortune in a few years. He ought to have an English, German, French, and Swedish waiter, and he ought himself to be so far acquainted with all these languages, as to be able to understand the orders of his guests. Were he to establish a stage coach between Gottenburg and Stockholm, running twice or thrice a week, it would be an additional source of emolument, and would contribute much to the convenience of his guests. It would not be necessary to have all the horses requisite for such a conveyance in his own possession. In a country, where there is no chance of rivalry in such undertakings, the common post horses of the country would answer. It would be requisite only to settle at the different post houses the time when the horses would be required, and to keep exactly to that time. A very small capital would be required to commence such an establishment; and if it were rightly managed, nothing could turn out more profitable.

" Gottenburg is entitled to the name of a magnificent city. It consists

sists of a long wide street called Stora Hamna Gatan (Great Harbour street.) The houses on each side of this street are three stories high, built of stone or brick, and covered with white plaster. The windows are large, and all of them are tolding windows after the French fashion. No sashes are to be seen in Sweden. The roofs are mostly flat and concealed. The houses are all large, and some of them are decorated with pillars. Along the middle of this street runs a canal, which is crossed at certain places by wooden bridges. There are two of these bridges which are built for the convenience of carriages, and are decorated with wooden figures of lions and men in armour. The other bridges are only for foot passengers. This principal street is crossed at right angles by three or four other streets, through some of which the canal also runs. The principal of these are distinguished by the names of Nord Hamna Gatan, and Soedra Hamna Gatan (North Harbour-street, and South Harbour-street). Parallel to Stora Hamna Gatan, both on the north and south, there run other streets which are much narrower and not nearly so magnificent. Towards the west end of the town, there is a hill about 100 feet in height, up which some streets run. On the east side there is a marsh which must be very disagreeable in summer, though it may have its conveniences in winter. The streets are all paved with round stones; but there is no foot-path for passengers either in Gottenburg or in any other town in Sweden. Indeed the scarcity of flag-stones in that country is a sufficient apology for this omission. In a church at present building in Gottenburg, and

which will be a very magnificent one, the stones for the pillars, and other ornamental parts, and indeed for the whole front, have been brought from Scotland at a very considerable expense.

"Gottenburg having been twice burnt down within these ten years, a law has been passed prohibiting the building of any more wooden houses. This law has contributed considerably to the embellishment of the city. Gottenburg is the seat of a Swedish bishop. The town contains two Swedish churches and a German church, and formerly it contained an English church. I do not know whether it exists at present.

"Gottenburg is perhaps the most thriving town in Sweden, owing in a great measure to the present state of communication between Great Britain and the continent. It serves as a kind of intermediate link, and of course has become a depot of British and continental goods. Great profits have resulted to the Gottenburg merchants, and the wealth which they have acquired is sufficiently apparent in their mode of living.

"In the year 1791, I am told, the population of Gottenburg was about 15,000. In 1804 it was 17,760, in 1811 it was 24,658. This is not equal to the rate of the increase of some towns in Britain, during the same period, as London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and some others; but it is nevertheless very considerable. As very correct registers of births and deaths are kept in Sweden, the population is known with more accuracy than in most other countries. I was at some pains to procure these documents all over the country, and therefore have it my power to state the

the population of all the Swedish towns, and of the whole kingdom, with considerable accuracy.

"Gottenburg lies upon the banks of the Gotha, which I conceive to be the largest river in Sweden. It comes from the lake Wennern, at the distance of about 50 English miles north. About ten miles from Gottenburg it divides into three branches, two of which speedily unite, inclosing a rock upon which stands an old fort called Bohus, intended to defend the city from the incursions of the Norwegians. The two branches of the Gotha, inclose a pretty large island called Hisingen, and fall separately into the sea. Gottenburg lies upon the most easterly of these branches.

"This city cannot boast of any great antiquity. Gustavus Vasa built a town called Lodese, and endowed it with such privileges as soon rendered it the great emporium of the north. Charles IX. when Duke of Gothland, in 1604, laid the foundation of a new town in the island of Hisingen, at no great distance from Lodese, and called it Gottenburg out of compliment to his dutchy. When he mounted the throne he granted this place many privileges, established in it a trading company, and placed there a number of British troops. He granted to the Calvinists the free exercise of their religion, and rendered his new town, next to Stockholm, the most flourishing in the kingdom. Being burnt by the Danes in 1611, it was rebuilt by Gustavus Adolphus, on its present site, and its privileges being confirmed and enlarged, it soon recovered its former thriving state.

"Gottenburg is regularly fortified with a ditch and wall; but is not in a state to make any resistance.

When the Danes suddenly attacked the Swedes in 1788, under the pretence of assisting their allies the Russians, with whom Gustavus III. was at war, they marched suddenly towards this city. Gustavus III. was at that time in a state of great distress. He had gone to Dalecarlia to solicit the assistance of the warlike peasants of that country, and having mounted the stone from which Gustavus Vasa had addressed them, harangued them with such effect, that they agreed to march in a body against the Russians. Hearing of the march of the Danes, he hastened with the utmost rapidity to Gottenburg, and animated the inhabitants to defend their city. The Danes had taken possession of the fort of Bohus and summoned the Gottenburghers to surrender. They were not a little surprised when they understood that the king was present in person, and that he meant to defend the place to the last extremity. Fortunately Mr. Elliot, the British ambassador at the court of Denmark, prevailed on him to accept the mediation of Britain, Prussia, and Holland, and succeeded in stopping the career of the Danes.

"The principal merchants in Gottenburg are Scotchmen. In consequence of letters of introduction which we carried to several of them, we experienced from that liberal and respectable body a profusion of kindness and politeness which it was impossible to surpass, and which it would be very difficult to equal. The want of inns, and our ignorance of the Swedish language, would have made it very difficult for us to have procured dinner while we stayed at Gottenburg, but this difficulty was obviated by the merchants, with one or other

other of whom we dined every day during our stay in that city. The entertainments which they gave were in the Swedish style, and possessed a degree of splendour at which I was not a little surprised. As the mode of dining in Sweden is very different from the mode followed in Great Britain, I shall give a general description of a dinner, that my readers may form some notion to themselves of the customs of that country.

"The houses in Sweden are fitted up with great magnificence. The public rooms are usually on the first floor, and vary from three to seven or more, according to the size of the house and the wealth of its master. These rooms always open into each other, and constitute a very elegant suite of apartments. The furniture though very handsome is not similar to ours. You seldom see mahogany chairs; they are usually of birch or of some other wood painted. As the table cloth is never removed they have no occasion for our fine mahogany tables, and as the dishes are brought in one by one, and the dessert and wine put upon the table before the company sit down, they have but little occasion for a side-board. Accordingly, except in the house of Mr. Lorent, who had a very splendid side-board made in London, I do not recollect to have seen one in Sweden, even in the houses of men of the first rank. The rooms are not provided with bells. This I am told is owing to the extreme cheapness of servants in Sweden, which enabled every person to keep such a number as rendered bells unnecessary. This reason, which I do not consider as a very good one, exists not at present, for since the loss of Finland the wages of servants have

considerably increased. Bells, therefore, might now be introduced with the greatest propriety; and to a foreigner, from Britain at least, they would constitute a great convenience. I have sometimes been obliged to go three times to the kitchen during the course of my breakfast to ask for things that had been neglected or forgotten by the servants.

"The Swedes are fond of great parties. I have more than once sat down to table with nearly 50 people in a private house. The hour of dinner is two o'clock. After the company are assembled they are shown into a room adjoining the dining-room. In the middle of this room there is a round table covered with a table-cloth, upon which are placed bread, cheese, butter, and corn-brandy. Every person eats a morsel of bread and cheese and butter, and drinks a dram of brandy, by way of exciting the appetite for dinner. There are usually two kinds of bread; namely, wheat-bread baked into a kind of small rolls, for I never saw any loaves in Sweden; and rye, which is usually baked in thin cakes, and is known in Sweden by the name of *nickebroed*. It is very palatable but requires good teeth to chew it.

"After this whet, the company are shown into the dining room, and take their seats round the table. The first dish brought in is *salmagundy*, salt fish, a mixture of salmon and rice, sausages, or some such strong seasoned article, to give an additional whet to the appetite. It is handed round the table, and every person helps himself in succession to as much of it as he chooses. The next dish is commonly roasted or stewed mutton, with bacon ham. These articles

are carved by some individual at table, most commonly the master of the house, and the carved pieces being heaped upon a plate are carried round the company like the first dish. The Swedes like the French eat of every thing that is presented at table. The third dish is usually soup, then fowls, then fish (generally salmon, pike, or streamlings), then pudding, then the dessert, which consists of a great profusion of sweet-meats, in the preparation of which the inhabitants of Gottenburg excel. Each of these dishes is handed about in succession. The vegetables, consisting of potatoes, carrots, turnips, cauliflowers, greens, &c. are handed about in the same way. During the whole time of dinner a great deal of wine is drank by the company. The wines are claret, port, sherry, and madeira. What they call Claret at Gottenburg does not seem to be Bourdeaux wine. It is a French wine with a taste intermediate between claret and port. At Stockholm I drank occasionally true claret; but scarcely in any other part of Sweden. As all the wine used in Sweden is imported from Great Britain, our wine merchants can probably explain this circumstance though I cannot.

"The Swedes employ the same articles for seasoning their food as we do, salt, pepper, mustard, vinegar, &c. I was struck with one peculiarity which I had never seen before: they always mix together mustard and sugar: I had the curiosity to try this mixture, and found it not bad. The dinner usually lasts about two hours. On a signal given the company all rise together, bow with much solemnity towards the table, or rather towards each other, and then adjourn into the

drawing-room. Here a cup of coffee is served up immediately to every individual. It is but doing the Swedes justice to say that their coffee is excellent, greatly preferable to what is usually drunk in England. This is the more remarkable because the Swedes import all their coffee from Britain: its quality, therefore, is not different from that of our own, and its superiority owing solely to their understanding better how to make it. You can get coffee in the meanest peasant's house, and it is always excellent. It is usually about five o'clock when coffee is over. The company separate at this time, either going home to their own houses, or sauntering about in the fields if the weather be good.

"They collect again in the drawing room about half past six to drink tea. Swedish tea is just as bad as their coffee is good. If an epicure could transport himself in a moment from one place to another, he would always drink his coffee in Sweden, and his tea in England. The Swedish tea is so weak, that happening one evening to sit by the lady who was pouring it out, it struck me that she had accidentally forgot to put in any tea, and was pouring out nothing but hot water: I took the liberty to notice this mistake, in order as I thought to prevent the lady, when the tea should be handed round, from being put out of countenance by the detection of the oversight. My blunder occasioned much mirth, and the company no doubt set me down as a person very little acquainted with tea. It is not the quality of the tea that is bad, but the quantity employed is so small that you do not perceive the taste of it in the water. So that in fact you are drinking in reality,

reality, hot water, sugar, and cream. The Swedish cream, to do them justice, is excellent. Though I have met with some Englishmen accustomed to the London cream who complain of it as too thick.

"After tea the company usually sit down to cards: supper is served up about nine, and the party separate for the evening between eleven and twelve. In some houses, the interval between tea and supper was filled up by music. The Swedish instrument is a kind of harpsicord, not equal in its tones to our pianoforte. The music played is always Italian, and some of the ladies usually accompany the instrument with their voice. I could not find out that the Swedes had any peculiar music of their own; at least I could not succeed in Stockholm in procuring any specimens of it. All the music exposed for sale was Italian.

"There is no money at present in circulation in Sweden; not even silver or copper. The only currency is paper, and as the notes are of very different value, they occasion considerable embarrassment to strangers. On that account it may be proper to explain them here; as it was at Gottenburg that we were supplied with such notes, and obliged to make ourselves acquainted with their value. There are two kinds of paper in Sweden: bank paper and government paper. The name of the notes issued by both is the same, but they are distinguished from each other by the word *banco* being added to the first, and *rickschels* to the second: they are of very different value. The government paper has suffered a depreciation of 50 per cent; but the bank paper continues at par. The bank of Stockholm was established about

the year 1688 by Charles XI.; and though it has undergone several fluctuations in consequence of various encroachments of the crown, it has upon the whole maintained its credit. It has been customary for many years in Sweden to suspend the cash payments of the bank whenever the state of their affairs render it necessary. This is the case at present. The bank issues no gold nor silver, but if you present a small note, you may have its value in copper money. Besides the national bank, there are several private banks, at least in Gottenburg, and their notes bear the same value as bank of Stockholm paper.

"The calculations are all made by means of government paper, so that when you pay in bank paper, or in copper, your payments go for one-third more than their denomination.

"The money in Sweden is rix-dollars, dollars, skillings (pronounced shillings), stivers, and runsticks. The following is the relative value of these denominations:

12 runsticks make. . 1 skilling.

4 stivers. . . . . 1 skilling.

8 skillings . . . . . 1 dollar.

48 skillings or 6 dol. 1 rix-dollar.

"A skilling, according to the present rate of exchange, is as nearly as possible equivalent to an English halfpenny, and a rix-dollar to two shillings; but what was formerly called a copper skilling (and which is still so marked upon the coin) goes for a skilling and a half, or is equal in value to three-farthings. The bank notes are of the following kinds:

	s.	d.
8 skillings equivalent to	0	6 sterl.
12 skillings. . . . .	0	9
24 skillings. . . . .	1	6
1 rix-dollar. . . . .	3	0

2 rix-

2 rix-dollars ..... 6 0  
 3 rix dollars ..... 9 0  
 And so on up to 30 rix-dollars, or  
 4l. 10s sterling, which is the larg-  
 est note I met with, though there  
 may be notes much higher. The  
 government paper is now scarce.  
 The only notes of it that I saw were  
 the following :

	s.	d.
16 skillings equivalent to 0	8	sterl.
and called a plote.		
32 skillings.....	1	4
1 rix-dollar.....	2	0
2 rix-dollars.....	4	0

“ In Denmark, at present there  
 is nothing but paper currency, as in  
 Sweden, and their paper has been  
 so much depreciated that their low-  
 est notes of eight skillings Danish  
 are only equivalent to a halfpenny  
 sterling. These facts serve to throw  
 some light upon the depreciation of  
 our paper currency, a question which  
 has been canvassed of late with so  
 much keenness.]

“ The gentleman at Gottenburg,  
 who appears at present to live with  
 the greatest splendour is Mr. Lorent,  
 originally a Hamburg merchant.  
 He afterwards settled in Copenhagen  
 as a sugar-baker. When Copen-  
 hagen was bombarded by the British,  
 his house happened to be the only  
 one in the row that was not burnt  
 down. On this account solely he  
 was accused of being in the English  
 interest, and obliged to leave Co-  
 penhagen. He settled first in Lon-  
 don, and afterwards went to Got-  
 tenburg. Here he established a  
 sugar-refinery, and seems to have  
 realized a great deal of money.  
 What appears very singular, con-  
 sidering the size of the town, he is  
 not able to procure in Gottenburg a  
 sufficient quantity of blood for his  
 purpose; but is obliged to import it  
 at considerable expence from Eng-

land. Any new mode of purifyin<sup>g</sup>  
 sugar would therefore be to him of  
 the utmost consequence. He is at  
 present setting up a porter-brewery  
 in Gottenburg. The Swedes are  
 very fond of this liquor, and always  
 drink it at their entertainments,  
 though it is not much cheaper than  
 claret wine: we were charged for  
 it about half-a-crown per bottle in  
 the inns or taverns where we lodged.  
 The whole of it is imported from  
 London, and it pays a high duty  
 when landed in Sweden. So that  
 if Mr Lorent succeeds in brewing a  
 tolerable porter at Gottenburg, it  
 will be conferring a very great  
 favour upon Sweden; though it  
 may at first deprive the Swedish  
 government of part of its revenue.  
 Mr. Lorent lives at a place he lately  
 purchased, about four English miles  
 from Gottenburg; the place is sur-  
 rounded with wood, and therefore  
 pretty. He has a large garden  
 under the charge of Mr. Ferguson,  
 a Scotchman, from the neighbour-  
 hood of Drummond Castle, in  
 Perthshire, who is introducing the  
 British style of gardening. He  
 praised the goodness of the soil very  
 much, but blamed, as is usual with  
 foreigners, the mode of gardening  
 practised by the Swedes. I saw  
 considerable plantations of Scotch  
 fir, which had been imported from  
 Edinburgh. Mr. Lorent employs  
 also Mr. Hornblower, known for  
 his patent steam-engine. His  
 patent was broke in consequence of  
 a prosecution on the part of Mr.  
 Watt. Mr. Lorent brought over  
 likewise several workmen from  
 England; but they proved so unruly  
 that he was obliged to send them  
 home again.

“ I have been thus particular in  
 my account of Mr. Lorent, because  
 I lay under greater obligations to  
 him



him than to any man in Gottenburg. He introduced me to Count Rosen, the Governor of Gottenburg, who was of essential service to me. He introduced me likewise to Mr. Smith, the British Consul at Gottenburg, one of the most agreeable and friendly men I ever met with. To him I am indebted for my introduction to the professors at Upsala, and to the mine of Danemora. Mr. Lorent likewise gave me letters of introduction to the principal literary characters of Stockholm, and by that means opened my way to every thing worth seeing in that capital. In short, he was indefatigable in his endeavours to be of service. I may say, without any risk of contradiction, that he was the most polite and obliging man I ever met with.

"The other persons in Gottenburg, to whom I lay under the greatest obligations, were Dr. Lampert, originally from London, but settled as a physician in Gottenburg. It was he that introduced me to Mr. Lorent—no small obligation. By his means I was introduced to the whole medical faculty of Gottenburg, in number about twelve, with whom I had the honour of dining twice, once in the house of Dr. Schultz, an old Librarian of Sir Joseph Banks, and once in the house of Dr. Dubb, Fellow of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, at the head of his profession at Gottenburg, and one of the most eminent physicians in Sweden. I was surprised to find the utmost cordiality reigning among these medical men, and nothing of that jealousy, envy, and rivalry so conspicuous among the medical men in most of the towns of Great Britain. Dr. Lampert likewise introduced me to Dr. Eckman, who had

travelled over most parts of Europe, and had a considerable collection of minerals, which he had made during his travels. This collection was not so interesting to me as some others that I saw afterwards, for the very reason that would make it more valuable in the eyes of a Swede. It consisted chiefly of foreign minerals, many of them English, and contained few or no Swedish. My principal object being to see the minerals peculiar to Sweden, I only looked over Dr. Eckman's slightly.

"Next to Dr. Lampert, I must rank Mr. Kennedy, a merchant originally from Edinburgh, but long settled in Gottenburg. He carried me out to his country house, about an English mile from town; I was much pleased with the style of his garden, and with the abundance of fruit which it contained. Among others was the Astracan apple, which when ripe is so transparent that you can count the cells containing the seeds. Mr. Kennedy was married to a Swedish lady, one of the most amiable and accomplished women that I met with during the whole of my tour. After Mr. Kennedy come Messrs. Barclay and Eisher, likewise two Scotch merchants, and Messrs. Dicksons, two brothers, settled for some time at Gottenburg. I ought also to mention Mr. James Sinclair, a clerk in the house of Mr. Kennedy, to whom I was indebted for my introduction to Mr. Kennedy, and for other favours.

"The prosperity of Gottenburg formerly very much depended upon the herring-fishery, which was carried on in the neighbourhood to a great extent; but for some years past the herrings have left the Swedish coast, so that the fishery has sunk to nothing. The food of the herring

herring appears to be a small species of crab. Hence their frequenting or leaving a coast must depend upon the abundance or scarcity of this minute animal. It would possibly be practicable to propagate the breed of this creature in any particular place, and thus the annual visit of the herrings might perhaps be secured.

"In travelling through Sweden, it is necessary to be provided with a passport from the governor of the province where you first happen to land. This passport was easily procured from Count Rosen. All that was requisite was to pay some small fees, amounting altogether to about six shillings sterling.

"As there are no public vehicles in Sweden, there is no other means of travelling but by purchasing a carriage. We bought a very light open one, but hardly strong enough for the purpose, for 267 rix dollars, or about twenty-seven pounds sterling. Our ignorance of the language obliged us likewise to hire a servant, to act as an interpreter. We hired a black-man from North America to conduct us to Stockholm, at the rate of two rix-dollars, or four shillings sterling per day, and his victuals on the road. We found afterwards that this was below the usual rate, because he had conducted some person from Stockholm to Gottenburg, and was anxious to get back to the place of his residence. He was very obliging, but we could not help suspecting that he had gone snicks with the man from whom we had purchased our carriage. For we told him to take a coach-maker to examine it, and see whether it was stout enough for our purpose. As the wheel afterwards gave way, we had reason to believe

that he had never taken any person to inspect it.

"Before leaving Gottenburg, it may be worth while to state a few particulars, respecting the charges made in the hotel where we lodged. These, the badness of the accommodation considered, were considerably higher than even in England. For two rooms, for four days, we paid twelve rix-dollars, twenty-four shillings sterling. Our breakfast cost us from eighteen-pence to two shillings, and the washing of a shirt came to eight pence sterling. A dozen years ago, the prices did not amount to one-fourth of the above sums. The rise has been sudden, and is still going on: it is to be ascribed to the immense concourse of people that pass through Gottenburg, and the necessity they are under of taking that route. The renewal of the intercourse between Great Britain and Russia will serve to increase this inundation of people still more. To travel by land from Gottenburg to Stockholm is so much shorter than to pass through the Sound, and so much safer during the continuance of our war with Denmark, that few persons, who consult only their ease and safety, will take any other road.

"The country round Gottenburg is the most singular which I ever saw. It consists of low precipitous ridges of rocks, running in various directions, and quite naked. They vary from 100 feet above the level of the sea to about 300. The highest which I measured, and it was the highest I observed, was 310 feet high. These ridges are separated from each other by valleys about a mile wide. These valleys afford a tolerable soil, and are cultivated. The only crops we saw were of rice,

rice, and big (a small barley): they were nearly ripe, but in a very filthy state, being in many places almost choked with thistles and other injurious weeds. Indeed the state of agriculture in this place is much

lower than in any other part of Sweden that I have seen.

"The rocks are all gneiss, interspersed with large beds of felspar and hornblende."

# ART OF TATTOOING, AND OTHER CUSTOMS, IN THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS.

[From Mr. *Langsdorff's Travels.*]

"THE most remarkable and interesting manner which the South-Sea islanders have of ornamenting their naked bodies consists in punctuation, or, as they call it, tattooing. This kind of decoration, so common among many nations of the earth, merits greater attention from travellers than it has hitherto received; and I am much surprised that the acuteness of a Forster has passed over the subject with so much indifference. It is undoubtedly very striking, that nations perfectly remote from each other, who have no means of intercourse whatever, and according to what appears to us never could have had any, should yet be all agreed in this practice.

"Among the Europeans, that is to say the pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, and the sailors of almost all the nations of Europe, in the Alautian islands on the north-west coast of America, in the Sandwich, Friendly, and Society islands, among the New Zealanders, and the people of Easter Island, in short, among the nations both of the northern and southern hemispheres, both of the east and of the west, in the old

and in the new world, are to be found traces of this custom; in some places more, in some less, but among all in a certain degree. It seems always done with the idea of ornament, but it is also highly probable that in the warmer zones it may have the farther view by cutting through the pores of the skin so much to diminish transpiration, and by that means supersede, in some sort, the necessity of anointing the body.

"Among all the known nations of the earth, none have carried the art of tattooing to so high a degree of perfection as the inhabitants of Washington's Islands. The regular designs with which the bodies of the men of Nukahiva are punctured from head to foot supplies in some sort the absence of clothing; for, under so warm a heaven, clothing would be insupportable to them. Many people here seek as much to obtain distinction by the symmetry and regularity with which they are tattooed, as among us by the elegant manner in which they are dressed; and although no real elevation of rank is designated by the greater superiority of these decorations,

erations, yet as only persons of rank can afford to be at the expense attendant upon any refinement in the ornaments, it does become in fact a badge of distinction.

"The operation of tattooing is performed by certain persons, who gain their livelihood by it entirely, and I presume that those who perform it with the greatest dexterity, and evince the greatest degree of taste in the disposition of the ornaments, are as much sought after as among us a particularly good tailor. Thus much, however, must be said, that the choice made is not a matter of equal indifference with them as with us; for if the punctured garment be spoiled in the making, the mischief is irreparable, it must be worn with all its faults the whole life through.

"For performing the operation, the artist uses the wing bone of a tropic bird, *phaeton æthereus*, which is jagged and pointed at the end after the manner of a comb, sometimes in the form of a crescent, sometimes in a strait line, and larger or smaller according to the figures which the artist intends to make. This instrument is fixed into a bamboo handle about as thick as the finger, with which the puncturer, by means of another cane, strikes so gently and so dexterously, that it scarcely pierces through the skin. The principal strokes of the figures to be tattooed at first sketched upon the body with the same dye that is afterwards rubbed into the punctures, to serve as guides in the use of the instrument. The punctures being made so that the blood and lymph ooze through the orifice a thick dye, composed of ashes from the kernel of the burning-nut, *aleurites triloba*, mixed with water, is rubbed in. This occasions at first

a slight degree of smarting and inflammation, it then heals, and when the crust comes off, after some days the bluish, or blackish-blue, figure appears.

"As soon as the inhabitant of Nukahiwa approaches towards the age of manhood, the operation of tattooing is begun, and this is one of the most important epochs of his life. The artist is sent for, and the agreement made with him that he is to receive so many hogs as his pay; the number is commonly regulated according to the wealth of the person to be tattooed, and the quantity of decoration bestowed, is regulated by the pay. While we were at the island, a son of the chief Katanuah was to be tattooed. For this purpose, as belonging to the principal person in the island, he was put into a separate house for several weeks which was *tabooed*; that is to say, it was forbidden to every body, except those who were exempted from the *taboo* by his father, to approach the house; here he was to remain during the whole time that the operation continued. All women, even the mother, are prohibited from seeing the youth while the *taboo* remains in force. Both the operator and the operatee are fed with the very best food during the continuance of the operation: to the former these are days of great festivity. In the first year only the ground-work of the principal figures upon the breast, arms, back, and thighs is laid; and in doing this, the first punctures must be entirely healed, and the crust must have come off before new ones are made. Every single mark takes three or four days to heal; and the first *sitting*, as it may be called, commonly lasts three or four weeks.

"While the patient is going through

through the operation, he must drink very little, for fear of creating too much inflammation, and he is not allowed to eat early in the morning, only at noon and in the evening. When once the decorations are begun, some addition is constantly made to them at intervals of from three to six months, and this is not unfrequently continued for thirty or forty years before the whole tattooing is completed. We saw some old men of the higher ranks, who were punctured over and over to such a degree, that the outlines of each separate figure were scarcely to be distinguished, and the body had an almost negro-like appearance. This is, according to the general idea, the height of perfection in ornament, probably because the cost of it has been very great, and it therefore shews a person of superlative wealth. It is singular, that the men of distinction should place their gratification in acquiring this dark hue, while the women place theirs in preserving their original fair complexion uninjured.

"The tattooing of persons in a middling station is performed in houses erected for the purpose by the tattooers, and *tabooed* by authority: A tattooer, who visited us several times on-board the ship had three of these houses, which could each receive eight or ten persons at a time: they paid for their decorations according to the greater or less quantity of them, and to the trouble the figures required. The poorer islanders, who have not a superabundance of hogs to dispose of in luxuries, but live chiefly themselves upon bread-fruit, are operated upon by novices in the art, who take them at a very low price as-subjects for practice, but their works

are easily distinguishable, even by a stranger, from those of an experienced artist. The lowest class of all, the fishermen principally, but few of whom we saw, are often not able to afford even the pay required by a novice, and are therefore not tattooed at all.

"The women of Nukahiwa are very little tattooed, differing in this respect from the females of the other South-Sea islands. The hands are punctured from the ends of the fingers to the wrist, which gives them the appearance of wearing gloves, and our glovers might very well borrow from them patterns, and introduce a new fashion among the ladies, of gloves worked *à la Washington*. The feet, which among many are tattooed, look like highly ornamented half-boots; long stripes are besides sometimes to be seen down the arms of the women, and circles round them, which have much the same effect as the bracelets worn by European ladies. Some have also their ears and lips tattooed. The women are not, like the men, shut up in a *tabooed* house while they are going through this operation: it is performed without any ceremony in their own houses, or in those of their relations; in short, wherever they please.

"Sometimes a rich islander will, either from generosity, ostentation, or love to his wife, make a feast in honour of her, when she has a bracelet tattooed round her arm, or perhaps her ear ornamented; a hog is then killed, and the friends of both sexes are invited to partake of it, the occasion of the feast being made known to them. It is expected that the same courtesy should be returned in case of the wife of any of the guests being punctured. This is one of the few occasions when

when women are allowed to eat hog's flesh. If, in a very dry year, bread-fruit, hogs, roots, and other provisions, become scarce, any one who has still a good stock of them, which commonly happens to the chief, in order to distribute his stores, keeps open table for a certain time to an appointed number of poor artists, who are bound to give in return some strokes of the tattoo to all who choose to come for it. By virtue of a *tatoo*, all these brethren are engaged to support each other, if in future some happen to be in need, while the others are in affluence. This is one of the most rational orders of freemasonry upon the globe.

"Our interpreter Cabri, who was slightly and irregularly tattooed all over his body, upon one of these occasions got a black, or rather blue eye; and Roberts, who had only a puncture on his breast, in the form of a long square, six inches one way and four the other, assured us that he would never have submitted to the operation, if he had not been constrained by the scarcity in the preceding year to become one of the guests fed by the chief Katanah. The same person may be member of several of these societies; but, according to what we could learn, a portion must always be given to the priest or magician, as he is called, even if he be not a member. In a time of scarcity also, many of the people who have been tattooed in this way unite as an absolute troop of banditti, and share equally among each other all that they can plunder or kill.

"The figures with which the body is tattooed are chosen with great care, and appropriate ornaments are selected for the different parts. They consist partly of ani-

1813.

mals, partly of other objects which have some reference to the manners and customs of the islands; and every figure has here, as in the Friendly Islands, its particular name. Upon an accurate examination, curved lines, diamonds, and other designs, are often distinguishable between rows of punctures, which resemble very much the ornaments called *à la Grecque*. The most perfect symmetry is observed over the whole body: the head of a man is tattooed in every part; the breast is commonly ornamented with a figure resembling a shield; on the arms and thighs are stripes, sometimes broader, sometimes narrower, in such directions that these people might very well be presumed to have studied anatomy, and to be acquainted with the course and dimensions of the muscles. Upon the back is a large cross, which begins at the neck, and ends with the last vertebra. In the front of the thigh are often figures, which seem intended to represent the human face. On each side the calf of the leg is an oval figure, which produces a very good effect. The whole, in short, displays much taste and discrimination. Some of the tenderest parts of the body, the eye-lids for example, are the only parts not tattooed.

"The clothing of these people consists of a piece of cloth round the waist, which among the men is called *tschiabu*, but among the women *teueu* or *teuweu*. The women have besides a large piece of cloth thrown over them: this is done less from modesty than to keep off the burning sun from injuring their complexions. Many of them would very gladly have given us their cloaks for a piece of iron, or a knife,

knife, if they had not been too far from their habitations, and afraid of being tanned by the sun in returning to them. A few of the men had a piece of cloth hanging partly down the back, and fastened together upon the breast or under the chin.

"The bread-fruit, which forms so essential an article of food among these people, is here, as in almost all the South-Sea islands, what corn and potatoes are in Europe, what rice is in India, and what the cassava root is in Brazil. This tree appears indigenous in these islands, and was first known to Europeans through the great English navigators, by whom the vast Archipelagoes of the South-Seas were discovered. Its importance and utility induced the English government, in 1787, to send out an expedition under the command of Captain Bligh, to carry a quantity of the plants to their West India possessions. Notwithstanding the miscarriage of their first attempt, Captain Bligh was ordered again to Otaheite for the same purpose, and in 1792, succeeded happily in transporting this precious gift of Providence to the West Indies: the plants have ever since flourished there exceedingly. The fruit, in size and form, resembles very much a cocoa-nut or a melon. The tree grows to a great height, is thick in the stem, and has a very luxuriant foliage; the leaves are much like those of the oak, but a great deal larger, growing to the length of a foot or a foot and a half. The fruit is not eaten raw, but roasted or broiled; the taste is different according to the manner in which it is dressed, but either way has a considerable similarity with that of the banana, only less sweet and not so greasy. It very much

resembles a cake made of flour, butter, egg, milk, and sugar; it has more the appearance of being a composition of flour than the banana.

"The usual manner of cooking the fruit is to make a hole in the ground, and pave it round with large smooth stones; a fire is then kindled in the middle, and as soon as the stones are thoroughly heated, the ashes are cleared away; bamboo canes and banana leaves are then laid over them, and the bread-fruit wrapped in a banana leaf laid into the oven, which is covered with leaves and hot stones. The fruit, when roasted in this way, and eaten with milk pressed from the cocoa-nut, is called *umikai*, and is esteemed very delicious. The chief of Taiöhaie once brought us a present of this dish, as a specimen of the cookery of his country, and we all liked it exceedingly. Another way of dressing the bread-fruit is to take off the outward shell after it is roasted, and mix it with water, or milk of cocoa-nut, with some of the nut scraped fine; this is called *kakuh*, and is also very pleasant.

"The ripe bread-fruit will not keep good many days: in times of great abundance, therefore, it is cut into small pieces, when a hole is made in the ground about eight feet long by four broad, and five or six feet deep, which is paved with large stones, and the pieces of fruit thrown into it. A strong fermentation ensues, and forms a leaven, which will then keep for months. This food is called *popoi*. When it is mixed with water, it makes a drink which has very much the appearance and taste of butter-milk, and is extremely cooling and refreshing. There are many other ways

ways of dressing the bread-fruit, mixed with taro, with yams, with bananas, or other fruits, concerning which I could not obtain any accurate information.

"The animal food of these islanders consists in man's and swine's flesh, in fish and poultry. The two latter are not held of any great account; but the flesh of swine, with, alas! that of their fellow-creatures, form very essential articles in their political economy. On the birth of a child, on a wedding or a funeral, on the tattooing of a person of distinction, at any dance, festival, or other ceremony, swine are always killed in a greater or less number, according to the circumstances. They are roasted in ovens such as have been described for roasting the bread-fruit, and eaten without salt: the latter is unknown among these islanders; it is only sometimes compensated by the use of sea-water. Fish and shell-fish are not held in any esteem, and fowls are rather kept for the sake of their feathers than as an article of food.

"The want of variety in objects of animal food seems the principal reason why a variety is made by eating slaughtered enemies, and human flesh procured by other means. On account of the importance of this subject, I propose in a future chapter to be somewhat diffuse upon it. In the time of scarcity, the people are glad to eat any thing, and content themselves with rats, and different kinds of fish; among others, *medusæ*, which are not usually considered as objects of food. We did not observe here the custom common among the other South-Sea islanders, of extracting an intoxicating liquor from the pepper plant, *piper-*

*latifolium*, although the plant grows here, and the manner of making the liquor seemed known to them. Probably much of the beauty and good health of the men is to be ascribed to their abstaining from a beverage so extremely unwholesome.

"The habitations of the people of Nukahiwa are different in size, though resembling much in their exterior European houses of only one floor. They are commonly about twenty-five feet in length, and six or eight in breadth, with a division across the middle; the hinder wall is much higher than that in front, the former being ten or twelve feet high, the latter not above three or four. They are made with four strong posts stuck into the earth at the corners, to which are fastened horizontal poles. The sides are composed of bamboo canes of equal thickness, placed perpendicularly about half an inch from each other, and lined in the inside with leaves of the cocoa-palm, and some sorts of fern dried. The roof is covered with several layers of leaves of the bread-fruit tree, which keep out the heaviest showers of rain; the entrance is in the low wall in front. It has always appeared to me extraordinary, that not only here, but in the habitations of all uncivilized nations, the entrance should be so disproportionately low. In cold climates, inhabited by a pigmy race of men, a good reason may be assigned for it, that the smaller the opening, the more easily can the cold be kept out: but it is incomprehensible how the custom can have become universal among the large and robust inhabitants of warm climates, who must find the inconvenience of it very sensibly.

"The best houses are built upon a plat-



a platform made of quadrangular smoothed stones, which sometimes extends several feet in front of the house: this undoubtedly makes the habitation more dry, and gives it a handsomer appearance. In these buildings one cannot but be very much astonished to see with what dexterity the people put together such immense stones; they are of a size scarcely to be moved by less than ten or twelve men, and are united without any kind of cement whatever, so that they are absolute Roman walls: they would, indeed, do honour to any European architect. In erecting a new house, the neighbours reciprocally assist each other. People often build houses merely for amusement, and those who are in affluence have frequently houses or huts in several parts of the valley they inhabit, which can be taken down again, and removed in a few days.

"The building of the larger dwellings, in which a numerous family can live altogether, is the business of the men and women conjointly. But when a man, without the assistance of his wife, brings together the stones that are to serve for the ground-plot of his house, the building erected upon it is *tabooed*, that is, the women are prohibited entering it. Every affluent islander has at least one such *tabooed* house, which is commonly at a little distance from the dwelling-house. He suits it entirely to his own convenience, and has above all a *salle-à-manger*, where, removed from the presence of his wife, he

can eat swine's flesh undisturbed; for this, as has been already hinted, is a food of which the women are rarely permitted to partake, and when they are, it is only by special grace and favour of the men. Such a *taboo-house* is called *popoi-taboo*.

"Every new-built house must be consecrated by a priest or magician, or whatever he may be called; he makes an oration upon the occasion, which is given in a language wholly incomprehensible to the people at large. He must then be feasted with swine and other good things, over which he makes strange ceremonies, and sleeps the first night in the new house; by these means it is for ever protected from evil spirits. Upon several occasions the women also have separate houses allotted to them, particularly for the purpose of lying-in. The interior of the houses is very clean, for the inhabitants are bound by the laws, or by taboos, to a great degree of cleanliness: it is divided by rafters into two unequal parts: in the first, which is the smallest, there is nothing but the stone pavement to be seen; but the other is strewed over with a soft grass, over which straw mats are laid, and on these all the inhabitants of the house, without distinction of age or sex, sleep. The walls are hung round with domestic utensils, such as calabashes of different sizes, coconut shells, fishing-nets, lances, slings, stilts, battle-axes, hatchets, sundry ornaments, drums, and a variety of other articles."

## PRESENT STATE AND PROSPECTS OF OWHYHEE.

[From the same.]

“ON the 7th of June, being in latitude  $19^{\circ} 34'$  north, we came in sight of the eastern point of the island of Owhyhee, then at the distance of thirty-six sea miles. This island, the largest of the group called the Sandwich Islands, is celebrated from its having been the place where the great navigator Cook so unfortunately lost his life. Vancouver, his worthy disciple, gave the world a few years after a complete map of these islands.

“Captain Krusenstern was desirous of reaching Nangasaki, a great trading town of Japan, before the end of September, hoping, by thus hastening his voyage, to avoid the change of the north-easterly monsoon, which often takes place about the middle of that month. In order, therefore, to gain time, he resolved not to anchor in Caracooa Bay, but without any delay to institute a traffic with the islanders for such objects as he wanted, so that in a few days he might be amply provided with swine and provisions of all kinds. With this view he cruized till the tenth along the southern coast of the island; but to our very great concern, during that time so few of the inhabitants made their appearance, and they demanded so high a price for whatever they brought, that he resolved to leave the island, and make the best of his way to Kamschatka. This he was the better enabled to do from the excellent state of health of his whole crew.

“The few islanders we had an

opportunity of observing were all naked, dirty, of a middling stature, not well made; and with skins of a dark dingy brown; they were covered with bruises and sores, probably the effect either of drinking kava, or of a well-known disease very common among them. Most of the men had lost their front teeth, which they said had been knocked out in battle by the slings. They were very good swimmers. Their arms and sides were tattooed in figures of lizards, goats, musquets, and other things, but by no means so well executed as the figures we had seen at Nukahiwa. The ill impression made upon us by these people was so much the more forcible, as but a very short time before, only on the 17th of May, we had left an island, the inhabitants of which, as to their stature and admirable proportions, are certainly to be ranked among the handsomest people upon the globe. For the rest, the Sandwich islanders, probably from their more frequent intercourse with European nations, appear to have much greater affinity with them than the people of Nukahiwa. Cabri was so little pleased with either the men or the women, that he could not resolve to live among them, and earnestly entreated Captain Krusenstern, who would have set him on shore here, to carry him on to Kamschatka. The language of Owhyhee seems to differ very much from that of Nukahiwa; since Cabri, who spoke the latter fluently, could not make himself

himself understood here. By the assistance of some English words we succeeded better.

"The canoes of these islands are light, and very neatly constructed; they prove that the people have made a much greater progress in naval architecture than those of Nukahiwa; they go out to sea in them many miles. The coast, in the part about which we cruized, is pleasant and well-cultivated: we observed many groves of bananas and cocoa-nuts. Our attention was particularly attracted by the majestic mountain Mowna Roa. According to former observations, its point should be two thousand five hundred and seventy-eight toises above the level of the sea, but our indefatigable astronomer, Doctor Horner, calculated it at only two thousand two hundred and fifty-four.

"This lofty mountain, which is between three and four hundred toises higher than the Peak of Teneriffe, rises so gradually from the sea-shore to its summit, that it has a very remarkable and most pleasing appearance; in no other place can any one ascend to so great a height with so little difficulty. A part of this facility arises from the warmth of the climate; since, notwithstanding its great height, even the very summit scarcely reaches the snow mark at so short a distance from the equator. At the time of year when we saw it, the summit was entirely free from snow. How many unknown plants might here be discovered, and what contributions might be collected towards the geography and natural history of plants! It were much to be wished that some zealous naturalist would remain at least a year

upon this island to study these subjects.

"We quitted Owhyhee on the 10th of June, without having been able to obtain the least information with respect to the present state of the island. As I afterwards passed the winter of 1805 and 1806 upon the north-west coast of America, I had then an opportunity of learning some particulars, which will perhaps be better given in this place.

"The group of the Sandwich Islands is very commodious for all ships going to the north-west coast of America, to the Aleutian Islands, or to Kamschatka, to touch at; it has very secure bays. Here may be procured abundance of swine, bread-fruit, bananas, cocoa-nuts, taro, yams, batatas, salt, wood, water, and other things particularly desirable for ship stores. The ships of the United States of America touch here almost every year, in their way to the north-west coast of their continent. The object of these voyages made by the Americans is to collect the sea-otter skins, which are so highly valued by the Chinese, and carry them to Canton. For these skins they give iron wares, cloth, knives, hatchets, kitchen utensils, rice, molasses, biscuit, powder, and flints. This trade has been carried on principally, since the English, as well as the Spaniards, have deserted Nootka Sound, and given up their former establishments there. The exchange must be extremely profitable, since not less than seven or eight ships annually go to Nootka, Queen Charlotte's, and Norfolk Sound. If they do not get a good cargo of sea-otter skins for Canton, they go in October or November to Columber river, or more commonly

to

to the Sandwich Islands, and winter there, so that they may be ready the beginning of March to go again to the north-west coast, and complete their lading.

"The number of ships that visit Caracacoa Bay, and the intercourse that takes place between them and the natives, has had already so great an influence upon the civilization of these islands, that they may be said to have advanced in it with giant strides, and Owhyhee is likely to take the lead among the South Sea islands, in becoming a polished and civilized country.

"Their king, Tomoomah, from his constant intercourse with the sea-officers of the American States, and particularly under the instruction of Mr. Young and Mr. Davie, who have already lived with him some years, and are, as it were, his ministers, has introduced many European customs, and has brought the English language so much into use, that most of the inhabitants of the island of any rank or distinction can now speak English. Tomoomah has found means to subject all the islands to his jurisdiction, so that he is become sole sovereign of the whole group. He was soon made to comprehend the value of silver, and to prefer selling the products of his country to the ships that visited it for Spanish dollars or piasters. As soon as he had got a tolerable sum together, he bought a ship of an American merchant, and manned it partly with his own people, and partly with foreign sailors, of whom there are many now living in Owhyhee. The seamen of the United States like so well to revel in a superfluity of the productions of nature without much labour, and to have handsome young girls at their disposal, that a ship scarcely ever

touches here without leaving one or more of its sailors behind; the king, however, will not permit any one to stay who has not a good character from his captain. Through the instruction of these guests, the islanders are become very fond of a seafaring life, and they make excellent sailors. While I was on the north-west coast of America, I saw and talked with several natives of Owhyhee serving as sailors on board vessels from Boston, who received as pay ten or twelve piasters per month.

"They have got to make cordage of all kinds, and fishing nets in so much perfection in Owhyhee, probably from the threads of the *phormium verax*, that ships are supplied with them, and they are considered as more durable for tackling than the European cordage.

"Tomoomah, in every thing he does, shews a strong understanding, and great activity of mind. He has increased his power at sea so much within a short time, that in the year 1806 he had fifteen ships in his possession, among which were some three-masted vessels, brigs, and cutters. In the same year he made known to the agent of the Russo-American trading company, Von Baranoff, at New Archangel in Norfolk Sound, that he understood from persons trading to that coast how much the Russian establishment had sometimes suffered in winter from a scarcity of provisions; that he would therefore gladly send a ship every year with swine, salt, batatas, and other articles of food, if they would in exchange let him have sea-otter skins at a fair price; and these he purposed to send upon speculation to Canton.

"But the thing which more than any

any other occupies his attention is ship-building, and he already can point out with great accuracy and judgment the excellencies and faults in the construction of a vessel. All tools and implements belonging to ship-building are therefore considered by him as of particular value, and are the most advantageous articles of traffic that can be carried to the island. Any sailor, who is at the same time a ship carpenter, is particularly welcome; he is immediately presented with lands, and almost any thing that he wants.

"A few years ago a most extra-

ordinary and valuable discovery was made at Owhyhee, of a sort of wood growing there, which it is said the worms, that do so much mischief in these waters by boring into the ships, will not touch. This, if ever duly established, will render the sheathing vessels with copper, an otherwise absolutely necessary precaution, wholly superfluous. Among the products of Owhyhee is the sugar-cane. If this were cultivated to any degree of perfection, in time Kamschatka, and indeed all Siberia, might be supplied with sugar from hence."

PRESENTATION OF THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR AT THE COURT OF  
UCHATTO, IN JAPAN.

[From the same.]

"IN this way did we pass several months in the place assigned us at Megasaki, shut up under locks and bolts. We had scarcely any intercourse with the Japanese, for even the interpreters could not visit us without a special permission from the governor; they came therefore but seldom, and not unless urged to it by particular business. Our principal occupation during this time was to clear the ship, to bring the presents on shore, and to unpack and set them in order. The repairs of the ship besides occupied our attention; and, strange enough, whatever was wanted in this way we might ask for freely, and it was brought immediately. As to every thing else, provisions excepted, we could not make any purchase without asking permission of the governor, and this was often refused, or if granted, not without

great difficulty; even such trifles as a live bird or a tobacco-pipe were sometimes refused. Provisions of every kind were furnished us free of expense. We were put off with fair words from one month to another. All possible freedom was promised us as soon as the answer should be received from Jedo, with a free intercourse between the two nations.

"After waiting about two months, the arrival of a *Great man* or messenger from Jedo was announced to us, when the whole matter seemed immediately to assume a new face. Our hopes of a journey to the capital diminished every day; the interpreters examined more minutely than before into the progress made in repairing the ship, and at length nothing remained but the hope of being able to establish a friendly intercourse of trade.

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"He who would put himself in our place can yet have but a very imperfect idea how disagreeable we found our situation. After encountering many storms, and experiencing much inconvenience, we had at last reached an interesting foreign country, where we hoped to be received, if not as friends, at least as strangers of distinction, entitled to all possible deference and respect. Instead of this, we were treated as criminals or state prisoners, confined in a place at the utmost not exceeding a hundred paces in the square, where we were locked up and watched on every side. This was equally hard and unjust.

"Spring was now coming on: all nature began to be alive, and we were shut out entirely from the view of so charming a spectacle by immense barricades of bamboo canes;—being deprived besides of our arms, we were wholly at the mercy of this suspicious nation. All means of exerting ourselves for the promotion of science and knowledge were precluded, so that the mind grew contracted for want of freedom and a wider range in which it might expand itself. The fish alone brought to us as provisions afforded an object of scientific investigation, and by secret promises we at length prevailed upon our caterer to bring us every time different kinds of fish: with these, Counsellor Tilesius and myself sometimes entertained ourselves very agreeably. We were not only precluded from all purchases, but were equally prohibited making the most trifling present to any Japanese. Some insignificant objects, such as Indian ink, a couple of pictures, some fans, tobacco-pipes, &c. were brought us secretly by such of the interpreters as were the most in our confidence;

but in so doing they incurred the risk of an examination; and if they had been detected their lives would probably have atoned the misdeemeanour.

"On the 27th of March, to our great joy, it was announced to us in due form on the part of the governor, that the *Great Man* from Jedo, with the emperor's answer, was expected at Nangasaki in two days. From our guards we learnt on the thirtieth that this bearer of his master's pleasure had been in the town several days, but it was not till the 2d of April that the intelligence of his arrival was communicated to us. We also remarked that it was a long time since we had seen any interpreters. At length on the third, some appeared, who, besides announcing the arrival of the *Great Man*, invited the ambassador to an audience the next day at the governor's house; they said, moreover, that they were commissioned to regulate the ceremonies proper to be observed upon the occasion.

"On this subject they informed the ambassador that the next morning, at eight o'clock, an Opperbanjos would come to conduct him to the governor's house. As the way by water was the shortest, it was proposed that he should go in the Prince of Fisi's barge to the great stairs of Ochatto (the Muscle), where he would be received by a civil and military guard, and from thence he would proceed to the governor's in a large Norimon or Sedan-chair, accompanied by several *Great Men*. This distinction, however, must be confined to him alone, the officers of his train must go on foot. They assured him, that the Norimon was very roomy and convenient, and that this mode of

of conveyance was confined entirely to the Daimios, the most distinguished personages of the country. When arrived at the governor's house, he would be introduced into a separate chamber by himself, and the officers of his train into another, there to *rest* till the opening of the audience. We observed that they avoided making use of the term *wait*. This was all, they said, done from particular respect, as it was the custom of the country that *Great Men* should at all times be separated from the inferior servants of the government. The ambassador, however, begged to decline this distinction, and requested that his officers might be in the same apartment with himself.

"In the Hall of Audience, the interpreters proceeded, the ambassador alone could be permitted to enter, since this was a place sacred only to the very greatest people of the country; and the Dutch never were allowed to come farther than the antichamber. To this the ambassador made many objections, and after much discussion, this point, together with the request not to be separated from his officers, were committed to writing, and reserved for the governor's decision.

"As to the question of compliments, the Japanese required that the ambassador, according to the customs of their country, should kneel to the governor and to the representatives of the emperor, and then bow the head, in the manner that has been mentioned, as a customary token of respect. Both these things the ambassador refused, and declared that he would salute these *Great Men* only after the European fashion, and in the same manner that he would pay his respects his own emperor. With

much difficulty, and after a good deal of discussion, this point was conceded to him. The interpreters farther desired to know in what position the ambassador would remain during the audience. As, according to the oriental custom, the use of chairs was unknown in Japan, and the people sat, or rather knelt, upon the carpets or mats, they hoped he would find it convenient to comply with this fashion, one which the greatest princes in the country were bound to observe, and that he would, like the *Great Man* from Jedo and the governor, kneel upon soft stuffed straw mats. This the ambassador at first refused, saying, that he would stand in the same manner as he would do in the presence of his own emperor: on being repeatedly urged upon the subject, however, and on being assured that this would be the most disrespectful thing he could possibly do, he consented to lie down with his feet stretched out sideways. The interpreters also intreated that the ambassador would not think of wearing his sword in the Hall of Audience, assuring him that notwithstanding the *Great People*, as he had seen, usually wear two swords, they were always laid aside in that place. After many animadversions, the ambassador yielded this point, assuring the interpreters that he did so only as a proof of his great respect for the Emperor of Japan.

"The persons selected to attend the ambassador to the audience were Major Von Friderici, Counsellor Von Fosse, Captain Foedoroff, Lieutenant Koscheleff, and myself. It was impossible to make the Japanese consent that the guard of honour, with their muskets, should attend: the utmost to be obtained was,

was, that a soldier should carry the Imperial Russian standard behind the ambassador as a mark of distinction. In the evening the interpreters came with the governor's answer, that the cavaliers of the embassy should be allowed to remain in the same apartment with the ambassador; and two of them should be admitted with him into the Hall of Audience.

"On the 4th of April, at eight in the morning, the Banjos and interpreters appeared. The Prince of Fisi's barge, decorated with flags and hangings of silk and cotton, received the ambassador and his train. A number of smaller boats, all carrying the flags of Fisi, accompanied it.

"Arrived at the stairs of Ochatto, we landed, and his excellency was received by several Japanese of great distinction. A numerous civil guard was in waiting here, bearing many insignia of honour, and all were kneeling in rows one behind the other. The houses, as well by the water-side as all round the place, with the fortresses and guard-houses, were covered with hangings, on which were the imperial arms and those of Fisi, so that we could see nothing of the houses or the people, nor could they see any thing of us: here and there only we saw a head, urged on by irresistible curiosity, peeping from behind the hangings. We were, however, in the main, unseen by the inhabitants, while our own eyes were equally restrained from making our observations upon them or their town. This was not only the case at the landing place, but in all the principal streets, through which we passed, and if in some of the cross streets, the hangings did not cover the houses entirely, their place was supplied by straw-

mats or trellis-work. The reason of this, the interpreters told us, was, that the common people might be kept off, since they were not worthy to see so *Great a Man* as the ambassador face to face.

"When we had landed upon the great place of Ochatto, our procession was arranged in the following order. First marched about forty persons of various ranks, among whom were several Banjos, every one followed by an attendant: next followed six Imperial soldiers without their muskets, but carrying long staves: after them came the Norimon, in which was the ambassador: it was carried by four persons, and followed by the standard-bearer carrying the Imperial Russian standard: then came the cavaliers of the embassy, with a number of civil magistrates and interpreters: afterwards a guard of sixteen or twenty Japanese soldiers, with an officer on horseback: and lastly, a great number of inferior officers of state and magistrates, with a long train of servants.

"The procession passed through several streets, the names of which were, taking them in the order that they came, Hokowra Mass, Omura Mass, Mottofacata Mass, Foru Mass, Honkose Mass, Bungo Mass, Satura Mass, Kaschijamma Mass, Jooscha Mass: at the end of the latter is the governor's house. In all the streets were guard-houses ornamented with garlands, some smaller, some larger, some with a civil, some with a military guard. The streets are broad and clean, with wide kennels on each side to carry off the water, but are not all paved. Some have a single row of small stones, others of large square ones, down the middle. Of the houses, as I have already said, we could see little or nothing: they are chiefly  
of



of wood, only one story high, and with a great deal of trellis-work about the windows and doors.

"At the door of the governor's house we were all obliged, the ambassador not excepted, to take off our shoes, that we might not dirty the straw mats, or the finely varnished floors. This is an universal custom, and did not now appear surprising to us, as we had been so long accustomed to see the Banjos and interpreters come into our room at Megasaki without their shoes.

"A vast number of officers were in attendance at the governor's house both within and without. We were carried through a long and wide corridor, the floor of which was highly varnished, into an apartment, which, like our's at Megasaki, was covered with fine straw matting: the walls were ornamented with landscapes extremely well executed, but there was no kind of household furniture, such as tables, chairs, benches, or the like: all the wood-work about the doors and windows was finely polished and varnished. The light came through the adjoining corridors. Glass windows are a thing not to be seen in Japan; thin paper stretched over the window-frames supplies their place. In the midst of the apartment to which we were now conducted were implements for smoking, consisting of pipes, tobacco-boxes, pans for lighted coal, and spitting vessels. A large porcelain spitting vase stood in one corner of the room. When we had finished smoking, tea was brought us without sugar: the cups were of porcelain, but massive, heavy, of ugly forms, and ill painted; the tea was, according to the general judgment of our company, by no means good,

"After a short half-hour the ambassador was introduced into the Hall of Audience, whither he was accompanied by Major Von Frideric and Lieutenant Koscheleff. The representative of the Japanese Emperor, and the governor, were kneeling nearly in the middle of the hall, and behind them were several persons holding their swords crossed, high over their heads. Thus it appeared that an untruth was told to the ambassador, when he was assured that no swords were allowed at the audience. The ambassador and the officers saluted the *Great Men* according to the European fashion, after which they retreated about six paces, and the interpreters knelt on each side of them. All round the hall were ranged some of the most distinguished persons of the country.

"The first questions asked by the governor of the ambassador were, Why, and for what purpose, he had come to Japan? Why the Emperor of Russia had written to the Emperor of Japan, since Lieutenant Laxmann had been explicitly informed that this was forbidden, as contrary to the customs and laws of the country, and as absolutely inconsistent with propriety? Whether Lieutenant Laxmann had failed in making this known, and whether he was still alive? The governor then remarked, that though in the permission that had been produced leave was given for a trading vessel from Russia to come to Nangasaki for mercantile purposes, no mention whatever was made of an embassy. He concluded with asking the reason why no use had been made of this permission till after such a lapse of years? and why, having been so long neglected, it was at last brought forwards? The audience broke

broke up about one o'clock, when we returned to Megasaki in the same order that we had come.

"In the evening some interpreters came to tell the ambassador that he might have a second audience the following day, if he wished it. The proposal was accepted; but at half-past seven in the morning it rained so hard that we all thought the audience must be postponed. About nine, however, the weather began to clear, and some Opperbajos, with the interpreters, came to escort us to the governor's. We were ready to accompany them; but the ambassador thought it right to remark, that his officers could not go on foot, as the day before, since the streets would, in consequence of the heavy rain, be extremely dirty, and the governor's house was quite at the other end of the town. To this the Opperbajos at first made many objections, but at length they dispatched some persons to the governor, to lay the matter before him, and to desire that Norimons might be prepared for the cavaliers of the embassy, while we were going by water from Megasaki to Ochatto. At the latter place, however, we were obliged to wait two hours on board the barge before we were informed that the five Norimons were ready for the officers. A very heavy shower had fallen in the mean time, accompanied by thunder; but the barge was so well sheltered that we felt no inconvenience from it: we very tranquilly partook of the tea and pipes which had been prepared for us.

"The captain of the barge was extremely polite and courteous. He wrote down the name of his guests, to keep them, he said, as a lasting memorial in his family of the ho-

nour he had received. We were not less observant of every thing around than the Japanese were of us, and remarked, among other things, a man who concealed himself behind some of his countrymen, and seemed occupied in drawing. We endeavoured to inspire him with confidence, and entreated him to shew us, without fear or diffidence, the interesting objects on which he was employed. He ventured upon this to exhibit his works, and we were not a little surprised at the talents displayed in them. He had, in a short time taken a sketch of every thing remarkable which he saw about him; as, for instance, the three-cornered hat with feathers, worn by the ambassador, his star, and the ribband of his order, with the different insignia about the uniforms of the officers; their sabres, their swords, and the scabbards; their buttons, scarfs, and keys of office as chamberlains, their watchstrings and seals. The celerity and address with which he sketched, almost at a glance, so many objects entirely new to him, was beyond the talents of most European artists; for they were done with Indian ink, on the fine Chinese silk-paper, as it is called; and what steadiness in the strokes, what lightness of pencil must be required, to give the proper expression in drawing with such materials! The time that we were detained here must have been of the greatest value to this man.

"About twelve o'clock we were informed that the Norimons were all ready; the procession, therefore, immediately began to move forwards, precisely in the same order as the day before, with the exception of the officers being in these vehicles instead of going on foot. The place, the houses, the streets were

were also all in a like manner hung with tapestries and matting.

" Scarcely had we arrived at the governor's house, before the ambassador was invited to the audience, whither he went, accompanied by Counsellor Fosse and Captain Foederoff. He soon returned to us, bringing in his hand a large roll of paper, which had been given him with great ceremony, and with a request that he would have it explained by the interpreters. These latter held up the roll to their foreheads, bowing their heads with profound respect, and then opening it with a sort of awe, said: ' This is an extraordinary instance of favour shewn by the Emperor of Japan to the Russian ambassador: the paper contains nothing but friendship; but since it is written in the Japanese language, we are commissioned to explain, orally, the principal articles of its contents. In the sequel all will be faithfully translated, and committed to writing, that it may be understood with the utmost accuracy. This will be no trifling or easy task; for the paper is full of deep thought, and written with much attention and profound learning.'

" They then proceeded to make known to us the principal articles, which were as follows. ' In former times, ships of all nations were allowed to come freely to Japan, and the Japanese were in the habit of visiting foreign countries with equal freedom. A hundred and fifty years ago, however, an emperor had strictly enjoined his successors never to let the Japanese quit the country, and only to permit the Chinese, the Dutch, and the inhabitants of the Island Riukiu, with the Koreans, to come to Japan. For many years the trade with the

latter had been broken off, and only that with the Chinese and Dutch had been kept up. Since that epoch several foreign nations had, at various times, endeavoured to establish an intercourse of friendship and commerce with Japan; they were always, however, repulsed, in consequence of the long established prohibition, and because it was held dangerous to form ties of friendship with an unknown foreign power, which could not be founded on any basis of equality.'

" The interpreters here made a pause, and then proceeded. ' Friendship,' they said, ' is like a chain, which, when destined to some particular end, must consist of a determined number of links. If one member, however, be particularly strong, and the others disproportionately weak, the latter must of necessity, by use, be soon broken. The chain of friendship can never, therefore, be otherwise than disadvantageous to the weak members included in it.

" ' Thirteen years before,' they continued, ' a Russian ship, with Lieutenant Laxmann, came to Japan, and a second was now arrived with an ambassador from the great Russian Emperor. That the one should be received with forbearance, and the other with friendship, could be permitted, and the Emperor of Japan would gladly do whatever was in his power, consistently with adhering to the laws; he could and would, therefore, consider the arrival of the second Russian ship as a proof of the great friendship borne him by the Emperor of Russia.

" ' This powerful monarch had sent him an ambassador with a number of costly presents. If they were accepted, the Emperor of Japan

pan must, according to the customs of the country, which are considered as laws, send an ambassador with presents of equal value to the Emperor of Russia. But as there is a strict prohibition against either the inhabitants or the ships quitting the country, and Japan is besides so poor, that it is impossible to return presents to any thing like an equivalent, it is wholly out of the emperor's power to receive either the ambassador or the presents.

"Japan has no great wants, and has therefore little occasion for foreign productions: her few *real* wants, as well as those that she has contracted by custom, are richly supplied by the Dutch and Chinese, and luxuries are things she does not wish to see introduced. It would besides be very difficult to establish an extensive trade, since that must, almost of necessity, occasion frequent intercourse between the common people and the foreign sailors; and this is a thing strictly prohibited."

"The ambassador now made many protestations that he did not come with any idea of receiving presents in return for what he had brought; and added, that if the emperor would not accept any presents, he must insist upon paying for the provisions, and materials for repairing the ship, with which we had been furnished. To this the Japanese answered, that these were not presents: the provisions were necessary for the support of life, and the other was only assistance imparted in a case of need: to give both freely was a duty of the government. At the same time they informed us, that the emperor had issued a particular order to supply the ship with provisions for two months of every sort that we deemed

expedient or desired. He had ordered besides, two thousand sacks of salt of thirty pounds each, and a hundred sacks of rice of a hundred and fifty pounds each, with two thousand bundles of the finest Japanese raw silk, to be given us; the two former were for the crew, the latter for the officers. These the ambassador refused, saying, that if the emperor declined accepting his presents, he could not possibly accept the articles offered.

"While these discussions were going on, pipes had been brought us, and tea without sugar, with some sugared things as refreshments. The latter were upon separate sheets of paper for each person, and consisted of a variety of articles bound together with a sugar-work, which had all the appearance of a very pretty striped ribband.

"After the interpreters had explained the emperor's pleasure, they brought a small roll of paper, which was addressed by the governor to the ambassador. Its principal contents were, to recommend that our ship, immediately on leaving the harbour, should stand out to sea to a considerable distance, as the coast, upon account of the rocks and frequent storms, was extremely dangerous; and to request, that if in future any Japanese should be thrown upon the Russian coasts, they might be consigned to the Dutch, who would transport them to Batavia, whence they might easily return to Japan.

"Our audience being now at an end, about four in the afternoon we were carried back in the Norimons to Ochatto, but without any train, and thence proceeded by water to Megasaki. The whole day was very cloudy, with some heavy show-  
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ers of rain, which only contributed to increase the gloom in our minds created by our disappointment. As it was doubtful whether our audience might not be protracted to a late hour in the evening, preparations had been made for illuminating all the streets through which we were to pass: at every four or five paces a post of about two feet high was stuck into the ground, to which was fastened a paper lantern.

"On the sixth, the interpreters came to talk once more with the ambassador, in the name of the governor, about the provisions and the silk. They assured us that the governor could not do any thing in the affair from his own judgment; he must obey the emperor's orders; and if the ambassador persisted in refusing the things offered, he must send a courier to Jedo to signify as much, which would prolong our stay at least two months. In order, therefore, to obtain our liberty, his excellency was obliged to accept the silk and provisions. The interpreters then asked whether it would be agreeable to him to have his audience for taking leave the next day, or whether he would defer it for some days. The ambassador chose the first, that he might quit Japan as soon as possible.

"Towards noon, therefore, on the 7th of April, we passed again through the streets of Naugasaki; they were ornamented as before with hangings, and beset with guards. As it rained very hard, we were each provided with a new umbrella when we arrived at Ochato, and were carried in our Nori-mons.

"The audience consisted in a reciprocal exchange of compliments and friendly adieus. We were then

conducted into an adjoining apartment, where were the two thousand bundles of silk sent by the emperor. The interpreters assured us that it would have been an extraordinary piece of ill fortune to them if the ambassador had not permitted the officers to accept this present, since they would have been supposed to have ill interpreted the emperor's orders, and this is a very heavy crime; they were therefore eloquent in their acknowledgments for the ambassador's condescension.

"Thus ended our extraordinary embassy to Japan. Nothing now remained for us but to repack the presents destined for the emperor as soon as possible, and return them on board the ship, and to proceed with the utmost dispatch in all other preparations for our departure. While we were proceeding in them, we once more made an attempt to gain permission for visiting the Dutch at Desima, and one of the temples in or about Nangasaki, but we could not succeed in either.

"After very urgent and repeated solicitations, the ambassador did at length obtain leave to make seven of the principal interpreters a trifling present in acknowledgment of the trouble we had given them; and the governor at length consented to accept, as remembrances, the little pocket globe, with some maps and sketches of the different nations that compose the Russian empire.

"The utmost exertions were now made to get the ship ready for sailing with all possible dispatch; and it was evident that the Japanese were not a little astonished, when on the sixteenth we announced that every thing was ready for our departure.

## DESCRIPTION OF BOMBAY.

[From Mrs. Graham's Journal.]

AFTER a voyage from England of twenty weeks, we landed here on the 26th of this month, in a thick fog, which presaged the coming on of the rainy-season in this part of India. On the new *bunder*, or pier, we found *palankeens* waiting to convey us from the shore. These *palankeens* are litters, in which one may either lie down or sit upright, with windows and sliding doors: the modern ones are little carriages, without wheels, those anciently used were of a different form, and consisted of a bed or sofa, over which was an arch just high enough to admit of sitting upright; it was decorated with gold or silver bells and fringes, and had a curtain to draw occasionally over the whole. The *palacken*-bearers are here called *hamauls* (a word signifying carrier); they for the most part wear nothing but a turban, and a cloth wrapped round the loins, a degree of nakedness which does not shock one, owing to the dark colour of the skin, which, as it is unusual to European eyes, has the effect of dress. These people come chiefly from the Mahratta country, and are of the *coomlee* or agricultural caste. Their wages are seven or eight rupees a month; they are a hardy race, and, if trusted, honest, but otherwise they consider theft innocent, if not meritorious.

"Leaving the *bunder* we crossed the esplanade, which presented a gay and interesting scene, being crowded with people in carriages, on horseback, and on foot. A painter might have studied all the

varieties of attitude and motion in the picturesque figures of the *koolies* employed in washing at their appropriate *tanks* or wells, which are numerous on the esplanade, each tank being surrounded by broad stones, where groupes of men and women are continually employed in beating the linen, while the better sort of native women, in their graceful costume, reminding one of antique sculptures, are employed in drawing, filling, or carrying water from the neighbouring wells. The Hindoo women wear a short bodice with half sleeves, which fastens behind, and is generally made of coloured brocade. The *shalie* or *sarie*, a long piece of coloured silk or cotton, is wrapped round the waist in form of a petticoat, which leaves part of one leg bare, while the other is covered to the ankle with long and graceful folds, gathered up in front, so as to leave one end of the *shalie* to cross the breast, and form a drapery, which is sometimes thrown over the head as a veil. The Mussulman and Parsee women have nearly the same clothing, in addition to which they wear long loose trowsers. The hair is drawn back from the face, where the roots are often stained red, and fastened in a knot behind. The hands and feet of the native women are in general delicately shaped, and are covered with rings and *tangles* or bracelets, which sometimes conceal the arm as far as the elbow, and the leg as far as the calf. As the food, lodging, and dress of the lower class of natives cost very little,

it is common to see both the men and women adorned with massy rings and chains of gold and silver, round their necks, arms, waists, and legs, and the toes and fingers decked with fine filigree rings, while the ears and nose are hung with pearls or precious stones. The vanity of parents sometimes leads them to dress their children, even while infants, in this manner, which affords a temptation, not always resisted, to murder these helpless creatures for the sake of their ornaments or *joys*. The custom of laying out the whole, or at least the greater part of their wealth, in ornaments for the person, has probably arisen among the natives of India from the miserable state of society for so many ages. Where the people were daily exposed to the ravages of barbarous armies, it was natural to endeavour to keep their little wealth in that form in which it could with most ease be conveyed out of the reach of plunderers: for this purpose, jewels were certainly the best adapted; and though the necessity for the practice has in a great measure ceased, custom, which has perhaps more influence in India than in any other country, continues it.

"On entering the Black Town, which is built in a coco-nut wood, I could not help remarking the amazing populousness of this small island; the streets appear so crowded with men, women, and children, that it seems impossible for the quiet bullock *hackneys*, or native carriages, to get along without doing mischief; much less the furiously driving coaches of the rich natives, who pride themselves upon the speed of their horses, which are more remarkable for beauty and for swiftness than for strength. I was informed that Bombay contains up-

wards of two hundred thousand inhabitants. The Europeans are as nothing in this number, the Parsees from six to eight thousand, the Mussulmans nearly the same number, and the remainder are Portuguese and Hindoos, with the exception of about three or four thousand Jews, who long passed in Bombay for a sect of Mahometans, governed by a magistrate called the cazy of Israel; they willingly eat and converse with the Mussulmans. A number of them are embodied among the marine sepoys, but most of them are low traders. The dwellings of the rich natives are surrounded by virandas, equally necessary to guard against the intemperate heat of the sun and the monsoon rains; they are generally painted in flowers and leaves of a green or red colour; those of the Hindoos have usually some of the fables of their mythology represented on their walls. The houses are necessarily of great extent, because, if a man has twenty sons, they all continue to live under the same roof even when married; and uncles, brothers, sons, and grandsons, remain together till the increase of numbers actually forces a part of the family to seek a new dwelling. The lower classes content themselves with small huts, mostly of clay, and roofed with *cadjan*, a mat made of the leaves of the Palmyra, or coco-nut tree, plaited together. Some of these huts are so small, that they only admit of a man's sitting upright in them, and barely shelter his feet when he lies down. There is usually a small garden round each house, containing a few herbs and vegetables, a plaintain tree, and a coco-nut or two. The coco-nut is the true riches of a native Indian.

The

The fruit forms a chief article of food during several months in the year, and from it the oil for the lamp is expressed, after being dried in the sun. The fibrous covering of the nut is steeped, and becomes like hemp, though more barsh; it is then called *coier*, and is used for making cordage of all kinds. The *tarry*, or *toddy*, (which is a juice procured from the tree, by making an incision in the bark near the top, or cutting off one of the lower leaves, and applying an earthen pot to the aperture in the bark,) when distilled, furnishes arrack; that which flows in the night is the sweetest, and drunk before sunrise, it is very wholesome. The leaves cover the houses, and two of them plaited together form a light basket-work cloak, which the peasants wear in the rainy season while transplanting the rice. When no longer capable of yielding fruit or tarry, the wood makes excellent water-pipes and joists and beams for houses. The *Palmyra*, another tree of the family of palms, here called the *brab*, furnishes the best leaves for thatching, and the dead ones serve for fuel. The trunk is applied to the same purposes as that of the coco-nut; and is said to resist the attacks of the white ant. The *brab* grows on hills and stony places. The coco requires a low sandy soil, and much water. In the outskirts of the Black Town we saw the fields already flooded for the rice; they are ploughed in this state. The plough consists of a piece of crooked stick, or two straight pieces joined, so as to form an obtuse angle; it is sometimes shod with iron, but most frequently not; it is drawn by an ox or a cow, or sometimes both. The buffaloes make good draught cattle, and are commonly used for

drawing water; the other cattle are of the kind which has a hump on the shoulders; they are used by the natives to draw carriages called *hackrays*, to which they are only fastened by a beam, which is at the end of the pole, and lies across their necks; they use no traces.

"As there is but one tavern in Bombay, and as that is by no means fit for the reception of ladies, the hospitality of the British inhabitants is always exercised towards new-comers, till they can provide a place of residence for themselves. We have the good fortune to be under the hospitable roof of Sir James and Lady Mackintosh, at Tarala, about three miles from the fort and town of Bombay! Sir James possesses the best library that ever doubled the Cape. It is arranged in a large room like the cell of a temple, surrounded with a viranda inclosed by Venetian shutters, which admit and exclude the light and air at pleasure. As this apartment is at the top of the house, which is built on an eminence, it commands on all sides charming views; in short, it combines all the agréments that one can look for in a place of studious retirement, and we feel its value doubly from having been so long confined to the cabin of a frigate.

"August 10th.—The rainy season, which began in the middle of May, still continues, but we have sometimes intervals of several days of dry fine weather, so that we have been able to visit most of the villages within the island of Bombay. The first walk we took was to Mazagong, a dirty Portuguese village, putting in its claim to Christianity, chiefly from the immense number of pigs kept there. It is beautifully situated on the shore between two hills, on one of which



is Mazagong house, a leading mark into the harbour. It is interesting to the admirers of sentimental writings, as the house from which Sterne's Eliza eloped, and perhaps may call forth the raptures of some future pensive traveller, as the sight of Anjengo does that of the Abbé Rastin, when he remembers 'that it is the birth-place of Eliza.' Mazagong has, however, more solid claims to attention; it has an excellent dock for small ships, and is adorned with two tolerably handsome Romish churches; but its celebrity in the East is owing to its mangoes, which are certainly the best fruit I ever tasted. The parent tree, from which all those of this species have been grafted, is honoured during the fruit season by a guard of sepoys; and in the reign of Shah Jehan, couriers were stationed between Dehli and the Mahratta coast, to secure an abundant and fresh supply of mangoes for the royal table.

"Our next excursion was to Sion, nine miles from the fort of Bombay, and at the opposite extremity of the island. We drove through a country like an English park, where I first saw the banian, or Indian fig-tree. It is a large spreading tree, from the branches of which long fibres descend to the ground, and there taking root become new trunks, and thus spread over a very great space. The banian is sacred, and is usually to be found near the *Pagodas*, as the Europeans call the Hindoo temples. I have seen the natives walk round it in token of respect, with their hands joined, and their eyes fixed on the ground; they also sprinkle it with red and yellow dust, and strew flowers before it; and it is common to see at its root stones sculptured with

the figures of some of the minor Hindoo gods. Sion Fort is on the top of a small conical hill; it commands the passage from Bombay to the neighbouring island of Salsette, and was of importance while the Mahrattas possessed that island, but it now only serves to beautify the scene. It is manned with a few invalids, and commanded by General Macpherson, a Highlander, who was in the battle of Culloden, on the losing side, and who, at the age of forty, came to Bombay as a cadet in the company's army. He retains so strong a recollection of his early years, that when the Culloden, with Sir Edward Pellew's flag, was in Bombay harbour, no entreaties could prevail on him to go on board of her,—he always shook his head, and said, "he had enough of Culloden."

"At the foot of the little hill of Sion is a causeway, or *vellard*, which was built by Mr. Duncan, the present governor, across a small arm of the sea, which separates Bombay and Salsette. It is well constructed of stone, and has a draw-bridge in the middle, but it is too narrow for carriages to go along with safety in bad weather; however, it is of great advantage to the farmers and gardeners who bring in the daily supplies of provisions to the Bombay market. The vellard was begun A. D. 1797, and finished in 1805, at the expense of 50,575 rupees, as I learnt from an inscription over a small house at the end next Bombay, where a guard is kept to prevent the introduction of contraband articles from Salsette, which, though under the English government, is still subject to the Mahratta regulations with regard to taxes.

"From Sion we went to Mahaim, passing in the way several neglected

neglected Portuguese churches, Mussulman tombs, and Hindoo temples, but nothing very interesting till we reached the coco-nut wood near the village, where there are two beautiful temples, with large tanks surrounded by trees. These tanks are the great luxuries of the natives; one sees people bathing in them from morning till night, all ages and sexes together; but they wear as much clothing in the water as out of it. There is at Mahaim a *Pir's kubler*, or Mussulman saint's tomb, with a fine mosque attached to it, both under the guardianship of a Mahometan family of the Sooni sect. The Portuguese church at Mahaim is close to the sea, and is surrounded by trees. Attached to it there is a college for native Catholic priests; but those who pretend to learning, usually study at Goa, where they learn to speak barbarous Latin, and have the advantage of occasionally seeing priests from Europe. A small premium is given at the church for every native child who is baptized, consequently a number of Hindoo women present their offspring for that purpose, who never think farther of Christianity.

"From Mahaim a good causeway leads to Parell, the governor's country house, which was formerly a Jesuits' college. It is said that the holy fathers employed their penitents in the construction of this work.

"August 15th.—A longer continuance of fine weather than is usual during the rainy months, tempted us yesterday to go to Malabar Point, at the south-west extremity of the island, formerly a place of singular sanctity, and where a number of pilgrims still annually resort. We left our carriage at the

foot of the hill, and ascended a long flight of irregular steps to the top. Near the summit there are a multitude of small temples, and a few Bramins' houses, whose inhabitants generally beg from the passengers and strangers whom business or curiosity lead to the hill. After walking nearly two miles through gardens, or rather fields of vegetables, we came to a small *bungalo*, or garden-house, at the point of the hill, from which there is, I think, the finest view I ever saw. The whole island lay to the north and east, beautifully green with the young rice, varied with hills and woods, and only separated from Salsette, and the Mahratta shore by narrow arms of the sea, while the bay and harbour to the south, scattered with beautiful woody islands, reflected the grand monsoon clouds, which, as they rolled along, now hid and now discovered the majestic forms of the ghauts on the mainland. Within a few yards of the bungalo is a ruined temple; from what remains, it must have been a fine specimen of Hindoo architecture; almost every stone is curiously carved with groupes of figures, animals, and other ornaments. Tradition says that the Portuguese, in their zeal for conversion, pointed cannon against this temple, and destroyed it with its gods; its widely scattered remains seem to countenance the report. Close to the ruin there is a cleft in a rock, so narrow, that one would wonder how a child could get through it, nevertheless, there are multitudes of pilgrims who annually come to force themselves through, as a certain method of getting rid of their sins.

"Half a mile from the old temple I saw a most beautiful village, entirely

entirely inhabited by Bramins. In the centre is a large tank, on the banks of which are some fine trees and high pyramidal pillars, which are lighted up on festivals. A broad road round the tank separates it from the temples, which are more numerous than the houses; they are mostly dedicated to *Siva*, under the name of *Maha Deo*, and to his wife *Parvati*. The sacred bull *Nandi* is placed in front of all *Siva's* temples in Bombay, and I have generally observed a tortoise at his feet. The Bramins of this village speak and write English; the young men are mostly *parvoes*, or writers, and are employed in the public offices and merchants' counting-houses, while the elders devote themselves to their sacerdotal duties, and the study of the *Vedas*; but I am tempted to believe that the Bramins of Bombay are very ignorant, even with regard to their own sciences.

"The road from Malabar Hill to the Fort of Bombay lies along the beach of Back-bay, a dangerous bay formed by the point of Malabar on one side, and by Old Woman's Island, or Coulaba, on which is the light-house, on the other. The shore is the general burial-place of all classes of inhabitants. That of the English is walled in and well kept; it is filled with pretty monuments, mostly of *chamam*, and contains many an unread inscription, sacred to the memory of those who, to use the oriental style 'had scarcely entered the garden of life, much less had they gathered its flowers.' Next to the British cemetery is that of the Portuguese, after which follow those of the Armenians, the Jews, and the Mahomedans, with the few Hindoos who bury their dead in regular suc-

cession; they are all overshadowed by a thick coco-nut wood, and the ride among the monuments, placed between the grove and the sea, would be far from unpleasing, were it not that the tide continually washes in the skulls and bones of the Hindoos who are burnt on the beach at low water. After passing the burying-grounds, we saw several pretty country houses along the sea-shore, as we approached the esplanade in our way to the fort.

"The Fort of Bombay is said to be too large to be defended, if ever an European enemy should effect a landing on the island, and no part of it is bomb-proof; besides which, the native houses within the walls are closely crowded together, very high, and mostly built of wood. The fort is dirty, hot, and disagreeable, particularly the quarter near the bazar-gate, owing to the ruins of houses which were burnt down some time ago, and have never been removed; but new buildings are in many places rising on the broken fragments of the old, so that the streets are become so uneven as to render it disagreeable, if not dangerous, for carriages to pass through them. The most important and interesting object in the fort is the dock-yard, where a new dock is nearly finished, consisting of two basons, in the inner one of which there is already a seventy-four gun ship on the stocks. The old dock is still serviceable, though much out of repair, and too small to admit a large ship; it was found a few inches too short to receive the *Blenheim*, so that she could not receive the repairs she required previous to her leaving India. The new dock is said to be complete and excellent in its kind; it is the work of Capt. Cooper of the company's engineers. There

There is a steam-engine for pumping it dry, the only one on the island. Bombay is the only place in the East where the rise of tide is sufficient to construct docks on a large scale, the highest spring-tides having never been known to be above seventeen feet, and rarely more than fourteen. The docks are the company's property, and the King pays a high monthly rent for every ship taken into them. Near them is the castle, now used as an arsenal; it belongs to the King, and the governor of Bombay is also styled the governor of the King's castle of Bombay. The harbour is filled with vessels from all nations, and of all shapes, but the largest and finest of the foreigners are the Arabs. Our trade with them consists in horses, pearls, coffee, gums of various kinds, honey, and *ghee*, which is butter clarified and put into leathern jars. Besides these articles from Arabia, the Persian Gulf also furnishes dried fruits, ottur of roses, tobacco, rose-water, a small quantity of Schiraz wine, with a few articles of curiosity and luxury, as books, worked slippers, and silk shawls. The principal export from Bombay is raw cotton, which is chiefly drawn from the subject province of Guzerat, which likewise supplies us with wheat, rice, and cattle, besides vessels of earthen ware and metal for cooling liquors, cornelians, and other rare stones. The Laccadive and Maldivé islands furnish the greatest quantity of coco-nuts for oil and coir for cordage; and from the forests of Malabar we get timber and various drugs and gums, particularly the Dammar, which is used here for all the purposes of pitch. In return for these things, we furnish British manufactures, particularly hardware,

and a variety of Chinese articles, for which Bombay is the great dépôt on this side of India.

"While in the fort we went to see the *screwing-houses*, where the bales of cotton are packed to go on board ship. The presses consist of a square frame, in which the cotton is placed, and a large beam of great weight, which is fixed to the end of a powerful screw. This screw is worked by a capstan, in a chamber above, to each bar of which there are often thirty men, so that there would be about two hundred and forty to each screw. They turn the screw with great swiftness at first, shouting the whole time, the shouts ending in something like loud groans, as the labour becomes heavier. Hemp is packed in the same manner, but it requires to be carefully laid in the press, for the fibres are apt to break if they are bent.

"The only English church is in the fort; it is large, but neither well served nor attended. The Portuguese and Armenian churches are numerous, both within and without the walls, and there are three or four synagogues, and mosques and temples innumerable. The largest pagoda in Bombay is in the Black Town, about a mile and a half from the fort. It is dedicated to *Momba Devée*, or the Bombay goddess, who, by her images and attributes, seems to be Parvati, the wife of Siva. Within a large square, inclosed by high walls, there is a beautiful tank, well built of freestone, with steps to accommodate the bathers, according to the height of the water. Round the tank are houses for the Bramins, choultries for the reception of travellers, and temples to a variety of deities. One of these contains a well

well carved *trimurti*, or three-formed god; it is a colossal bust with three faces, or rather three heads joined together; the centre represents Brama the creator, the face on the right hand Siva the destroyer, and that on the left Vishnu the preserver. Offerings of rice, fruit, milk, and flowers are daily made to these deities, and they are constantly sprinkled with water. The priests are of an olive complexion, being very little exposed to the sun; their dress consists of a linen scarf wrapped round the loins, and reaching nearly to the ancles, whose folds fall very gracefully: their heads are shaved, excepting the crown, where a small lock of hair is left; and over the shoulder hangs the bramini thread or zenaar. The zenaar must be made by a Bramin; it is composed of three cotton threads, each ninety-six cubits, (forty-eight yards) long. These are twisted together, then folded in three, and again twisted; after which it is folded in three again without twisting, and a knot made at each end; it is put over the left shoulder, and hangs down upon the right thigh. The Bramins assume it with great ceremony at seven years old, the Xetries at nine, and the Vaisyas at eleven. In the English settlements, when the Bramins go out of their houses, they usually put on the turban and the Mussulman jamma or gown. I saw at Momba Devec's temple some soidisant holy men; they were young and remarkably fat, sprinkled over with ashes, and their hair was matted and filthy. I believe they had no clothing; for, during the few minutes I remained in the temple, they held a veil before them, and stood behind the Bramins. My expectations of Hindoo innocence and virtue are fast

giving way, and I fear that, even among the Pariahs, I shall not find any thing like St. Pierre's *Chamiere Indienne*. In fact, the Pariahs are outcasts so despicable, that a Bramin not only would refuse to instruct them, but would think himself contaminated by praying for them. These poor creatures are employed in the lowest and most disgusting offices; they are not permitted to live in any town or village, or to draw water from the same well as the Hindoos. It is therefore not to be wondered at, that their minds are degraded in proportion to their personal situation. Near every Hindoo village there is commonly a hamlet of Pariahs, whose inhabitants pay a small tax to the *kalkurny*, or village-collector, for permission to reside near a bazar and wells, and they earn a subsistence by acting as porters and scavengers. They are filthy in all their habits, and do not scruple to use as food any dead animal they find; it is even said that, in some places, they do not reject human bodies.

"September 19th 1809.—We have spent our forenoon to-day very agreeably, in conversing with two well informed natives, one a Hindoo, the other a Mussulman. They both speak English well, and are thoroughly informed in all that concerns the laws, religion, and customs of their own nations. The Pundit Bapoojee is a Brahmin of the Vedanti sect; he seems to take pleasure in giving us information concerning the mythology of the country, though he is very careful to convince us that he is superior to the belief of the popular superstitions, which he affects to deride as inventions to keep the lower classes of society, or, as he calls them, the inferior

*inferior castes*, in subjection. He is a man of about twenty-two years of age, elegant in his person and manners, and has an uncommon share of shrewdness and quickness of perception. I find him of the greatest use in explaining the customs, prejudices, and belief of his countrymen, and, in return, I do not find it very easy to satisfy his curiosity respecting England, to which country he has a great desire to travel were it not for the fear of losing caste, or rather the privileges and honours attached to his own.

"Our Mussulman friend, the Cazy Shahab o'dien Mahary, is a sincere Mahometan, and therefore a great bigot; however, he sometimes drinks tea with us, and does not scruple to eat bread, pastry, and fruit in our house. He is only two or three years older than Bapoojee, and though I doubt if his natural parts are so good, he is, I believe, a man of more learning; his manners are correct and gentleman-like, but not so refined as those of his Hindoo friend. He accompanied us the other day to several mosques in the neighbourhood, but, as they only differ from each other in size, I shall content myself with describing the largest. It is a square building, capable of containing five or six hundred people, supported by highly pointed arches, finished with cinquefoil heads, in rows from the front, which is open. The only interior ornament is a plain stone pulpit, for the imaum; the outside is adorned with carved work like that of the Gothic style. The whole building is raised on arches over a large tank of excellent water, and surrounded by a paved court, in which there are a few tombs. Attached to each mosque there is a

school where Arabic is taught; the master only attending to the elder boys, while the others are taught by their more advanced school-fellows. Instead of books, there are alphabets and sentences painted on wood for the younger scholars.

"My sister and I paid a visit to Shahab o'dien's harem, but could by no means prevail on the cazy to admit any of the gentlemen of our family. In the lower part of his house we saw a number of Mussulmans sitting, cross-legged, with cushions at their backs, in the different apartments, perfectly idle, rarely even speaking, and seeming hardly able to exert themselves so far as to put the betel into their mouths. We ascended to the women's apartment by a ladder, which is removed when not in immediate use, to prevent the ladies from escaping, and were received by the cazy's wife's mother, a fine old woman dressed in white, and without any ornaments, as becomes a widow. Shahab o'dien's mother, and the rest of his father's widows, were first presented, then Fatima his wife, to whom our visit was paid, and afterwards his sisters, some of them fine lively young women. They all crowded round us to examine our dress, and the materials of which it was composed. They were surprised at our wearing so few ornaments, but we told them it was the custom of our country, and they replied that it was good. I was not sorry that they so openly expressed their curiosity, as it gave us a better opportunity of gratifying our own. The apartment in which we were received was about twenty feet square, and rather low. Round it were smaller rooms, most of them crowded with small beds, with white muslin curtains, these were not particularly

ticularly clean, and the whole suite seemed close and disagreeable. Most of the women were becomingly dressed. Fatima's arms, legs, and neck, were covered with rings and chains; her fingers and toes were loaded with rings; her head was surrounded with a fillet of pearls, some strings of which crossed it several ways, and confined the hair, which was knotted up behind. On her forehead hung a cluster of coloured stones, from which depended a large pearl, and round her face small strings of pearl hung at equal distances. Her earrings were very beautiful; but I do not like the custom of boring the hem of the ear, and studding it all round with joys, nor could even Fatima's beautiful face reconcile me to the nose-jewel. Her large black eyes, the *chesme akoo*, stag eyes, of the eastern poets, were rendered more striking by the black streaks with which they were adorned and lengthened out at the corners; and the palms of her hands, the soles of her feet, and her nails, were stained with *himma*, a plant, the juice of whose seeds is of a deep red colour.

"Fatima's manner is modest, gentle, and indolent. Before her husband she neither lifts her eyes nor speaks, and hardly moves without permission from the elder ladies of the harem. She presented us with perfumed sherbet, fruit, and sweetmeats, chiefly made of ghee, poppy-seeds, and sugar. Some of them were tolerably good, but it required all my good manners to swallow others. Prepared as I was to expect very little from Mussulman ladies, I could not help being shocked to see them so totally void of cultivation as I found them. They mutter their prayers, and some-

of them read the koran, but not one in a thousand understands it. Still fewer can read their own language, or write at all, and the only work they do is a little embroidery. They thread beads, plait coloured threads, sleep, quarrel, make pastry, and chew betel, in the same daily round; and it is only at a death, a birth, or a marriage, that the monotony of their lives is ever interrupted. When I took leave, I was presented with flowers and *paung*, (chunam and betel-nut wrapped in the leaf of an aromatic plant,) and sprinkled with rose-water.

"As visits in the East are matters of ceremony, not of kindness, they are considered as a burden on the visitor, from which the person visited relieves him, as soon as he is satisfied with his company, by ordering refreshments, or offering the *paung*, which is a signal to depart. The highest affront one can offer to an Oriental, is to refuse his betel. Bernier tells a story of a young noble who, to prove his loyalty, took and swallowed the *paung* from Shah Jehan, though he knew it to be poisoned.

"October 20th.—Having gone through the ceremony of receiving and returning the visits of all the settlement, I have had an opportunity of seeing most of the European houses; and as I think our own the most agreeable residence I have seen, I shall content myself with a description of it, in order to give an idea of an Indian dwelling. It is pleasantly situated on the side of a hill, on the west side of Bombay, and commands a view of the greatest part of the island. On the summit are the ruins of a bungalow, once inhabited by Ragabhoj, during his exile from Poona, which, with the clefts in the surrounding rocks, afford

ford shelter. to a few half-starved hyenas, who do no other mischief than stealing poultry and kids, and to innumerable jackalls, whose barking in the night is the greatest, I had almost said the only, inconvenience we feel here as to situation. The bases of the rocks are concealed by the wood, which reaches quite down to the plain, and is composed of the brab, the tamarind, and mango trees, while here and there a little space is cleared for a garden, in which there are usually two or three gardeners houses. In our walk last night, we discovered one of these little hill colonies, which had till then escaped our observation. We found, at the principal hut, three very pretty children playing round their grandmother, who was sitting on the ground in a little viranda at the end of the house, grinding rice for the evening meal of the family. The mill consists of two round flat stones, in the lower one of which there is a groove to let out the flour; the middle of the upper one is inserted into a hollow in the other, and is turned by a wooden peg stuck into it, about one-third of the diameter from the edge. Three or four goats, with their kids, were tied to stakes round the door, and a few fowls were running about in the garden. We sat by the old woman while she made her bread, but at a sufficient distance not to pollute her cooking utensils or her fire. Every vessel she used, though apparently clean before, she carefully washed, and then mixed her rice-flour with milk, water, and salt, when she beat it between the palms of her hands till it was round and thin, and baked it on a round iron plate, such as is used in Scotland for oat-cakes. Besides these cakes she prepared a few heads of

maize, by rubbing off the chaff, and laying them in the fire to roast for the family supper. At the next hut, the woman was grinding mis-sala or curry stuff, on a flat smooth stone, with another shaped like a rolling-pin. Less than a English halfpenny procures enough of turmeric, spice, salt, and ghee, to season the whole of the rice eaten in a day by a labourer, his wife, and five or six children; the vegetables and acids he requires are found in every hedge. The curry was cooked with as much cleanliness as the bread, and the inside of both the huts was beautifully neat. In one corner in each a large stone, with red powder sprinkled on it, stood as a household god, and before it were laid a few grains of rice and a coco-nut as offerings.

" But to return to the description of the house. You enter it at one end of a viranda, which goes round four sides of a large square hall where we dine. On each side of the inner apartment are large glass doors and windows, so that we can admit or exclude the air as we please. The viranda keeps off the too great glare of the sun, and affords a dry walk during the rainy season. It is about twenty feet wide, and one side of it is one hundred feet long; the roof is supported by low arches, which are open to the garden. At one angle of the square formed by the viranda is the drawing-room, which has likewise a viranda on three sides, the fourth having a large bow-window overlooking the garden. The offices are connected with the house by a covered passage, and are concealed by thick shrubbery. Most of the country houses in Bombay have but one story; ours has two. The bed-rooms above are well lighted and aired,



aired, and have glass windows within the Venetian shutters, which are only used in the rainy season, or during the land winds, which are cold and dry, and are said to give rheumatisms and cramps, with swelling, if they blow upon one while sleeping. Our garden is delightful; the walks are cut in the wood on the side of the hill, and covered with small sea-shells from the beach of Back Bay, instead of gravel, which, besides the advantage of drying quickly in the rainy season, are said to keep off snakes, whose skins are easily wounded by the sharp edges of the broken shells. On each side of the walks are ledges of brick, chunamed over, to prevent them from being destroyed by the monsoon rains. We are always sheltered from the sun by the fan-like heads of the palmyras, whose tall columnar stems afford a free passage to the air, and serve to support an innumerable variety of parasite and creeping plants, which decorate their rough bark with the gayest hues, vying with the beautiful shrubs which flourish beneath, and affording shelter to birds more beautiful than themselves. Some of these build in the sweet-scented champaka and the mango; and one, small as the humming-bird, fixes its curious nest to the pointed tips of the palmyra leaf, to secure its young from the tree-snake, while flights of paroquets daily visit the fruit-trees, and with their shrill voices hail the rising sun, joined by the *mina*, the *kokeela*, and a few other birds of song.

"At the lowest part of the garden is a long broad walk, on each side of which grow vines, pamplemouses, figs, and other fruits, among which is the jumbou, a species of rose-apple, with its flowers, like crimson

tassels, covering every part of the stem. Our grapes are excellent, but we are obliged to make an artificial winter for them, to prevent the fruit from setting at the beginning of the rainy season, which would destroy it. Every leafy branch is cut off, and nothing is left but the stump, and one or two leading branches; the roots are then laid bare and dry for three or four weeks, at the end of which a compost of fish, dead weeds, and earth, is heaped round them, the holes filled up, and the plants daily watered.

"At one end of this walk are chunam seats, under some fine spreading trees, with the fruit-walk to the right hand, and to the left flower-beds filled with jasmine, roses, and tuberoses; while the plumbago rosea, the red and white ixoras, with the scarlet wild mulberry, and the oleander, mingle their gay colours with the delicate white of the moon-flower and the mogree. The beauty and fertility of this charming garden is kept up by constant watering from a fine well near the house. The water is raised by a wheel worked by a buffalo; over the wheel two bands of rope pass, to each of which are tied earthen pots, about three or four feet from each other, which dip into the water as the wheel turns them to the bottom, and empty themselves as they go round, into a trough, communicating with chunam canals, leading to reservoirs in different parts of the garden. In short, this would be a little paradise, but for the reptiles peculiar to the climate. One of them, a white worm of the thickness of a fine bobbin, gets under the skin, and grows to the length of two or three feet. Dr. Kier thinks the eggs are deposited in the skin by the wind and rain, as they are seldom

seldom found to attack those who never expose their legs or feet to the external air, and generally appear in the rainy monsoon. If they are suffered to remain in the flesh, or if they are broken in taking out, they occasion unpleasant sores. The native barbers extract them very dexterously with a sharp pointed instrument, with which they first remove the skin, then gradually dig till they seize the animal's head, which they fasten to a quill, round which they roll the worm, drawing out eight or nine inches daily, till the whole is extracted.

"Snakes, from the enormous rock-snake, who first breaks the bones of his prey, by coiling round it, and then swallows it whole, to the smallest of the venomous tribe, glide about in every direction. Here the cobra-capella, whose bite is in almost every instance mortal, lifts his graceful folds, and spreads his large many-coloured crest; here too lurks the small bright speckled cobra-manilla, whose fangs convey instant death.

"November 3.—The weather is now extremely pleasant; the mornings and evenings are so cool, that we can take long walks, but the middle of the day is still too hot to venture into the sunshire. The vegetable fields are in great beauty. I saw last night at least two acres covered with brinjal, a species of *solanum*. The fruit is as large as a baking pear, and is excellent either stewed or broiled. The natives eat it plain boiled, or made into curry. The *bendy*, called in the West Indies *okree*, is a pretty plant, resembling a dwarf holyhock; the fruit is about the length and thickness of one's finger; it has five long cells full of round seeds. When boiled, it is soft and mucilaginous, and is

an excellent ingredient in soups, curries, and stews, though I prefer it plain boiled. All sorts of gourds and cucumbers are in great plenty, but this is early in the season for them. Several plants produce long pods, which, being cut small, are so exactly like French beans, that one cannot discover the difference, and they are plentiful all the year round, as are spinach, and a kind of cress which is boiled as greens, called in the West Indies *calihloo*. The common and sweet potatoes are excellent; but our best vegetable is the onion, for which Bombay is famous throughout the East. The peas and beans are indifferent, and the cabbage, carrots, and turnips, from European seed, are still scarce. Salad, parsley, and other pot-herbs, are raised in baskets and boxes in cool shady places, but celery thrives well, and is blanched by placing two circular tiles round the root. Twenty years ago the potatoe was scarcely known in India, but it is now produced in such abundance, that the natives in some places make considerable use of it. Bombay is supplied chiefly with this excellent root from Guzerat, which province also furnishes us with wheat. The bread is the best I ever tasted, both for whiteness and lightness; the last quality it owes to being fermented with coco-nut toddy, no other being equal for that purpose. A little cheese is made in Guzerat, but it is hard and ill-flavoured, though the milk of the Guzerat cattle is very good, and yields excellent butter. The market of Bombay is mostly supplied with buffalo milk and butter; the latter article is insipid, and has a greenish hue, not very inviting to strangers. Our beef is tolerably good, though not fat; immediately

mediately after the rains, that of the buffalo is the best, though its appearance is unfavourable before it is dressed, and Europeans are in general strongly prejudiced against it. The mutton we get in the bazar is lean and hard, but either Bengal or Mahratta sheep, fed for six or eight weeks, furnish as good meat as one finds in the English markets. The kid is always good, and the poultry both good and abundant. The fish is excellent, but the larger kinds are not very plentiful. The *tumbelo* is like a large sand-eel; it is dried in the sun, and is usually eaten at breakfast with *kudgerae*, a dish of rice boiled with *dal* (split country peas), and coloured with turmeric. The prawns are the finest I ever saw, of an excellent flavour, and as large as craw fish; they are frequently shelled, pressed flat, and dried. The island is too small to furnish much game, but the red-legged partridge is not uncommon, and we sometimes see snipes. Among other articles of food I ought to mention frogs, which are larger here than I ever saw them, and are eaten by the Chinese and Portuguese, but not, I believe, by any of the other inhabitants of Bombay.

"The lower classes of natives drink a great deal of arrack and *bhang*, an intoxicating liquor made from hempseed; there is also a strong spirit extracted from a kind of berry which I have not seen, called Parsee brandy; it has a strong burnt taste, which I think particularly disagreeable, but of which the people are very fond.

"The other evening I followed a pretty child into a hut, where I found a native busy distilling arrack. The still is simply constructed. Round a hole in the earth a ledge of clay, four inches

high, is raised, with an opening about half a foot wide, for the purpose of feeding the fire. Upon the clay a large earthen pot is luted; to its mouth is luted the mouth of a second pot; and where they join, an earthen spout, a few inches long, is inserted, which serves to let off the spirit condensed in the upper jar, which is kept cool by a person pouring water constantly over it.

When I went into the cottage, I found a woman sitting with a child in one arm, and with the other she cooled the still, pouring the water from a coco-nut shell ladle. She told me she sat at her occupation from sunrise till sunset, and scarcely changed her position. While I was talking to her, her husband came home laden with toddy for distilling. He is a *bandari*, or toddy-gatherer: On his head was the common gardener's bonnet, resembling in shape the cap seen on the statues and gems of Paris, and called, I believe, the Phrygian bonnet; and at his girdle hung the implements of his trade. It is curious to see these people climbing the straight stems of the palms. Having tied their ankles loosely together, they pass a band round the tree and round their waist, and, placing their feet to the root of the tree, they lean upon the band, and with their hands and feet climb nimbly up a tree without branches, fifty feet high, carrying with them a bill or hatchet to make fresh incisions, or to renew the old ones, and a jar to bring down the toddy, which is received in a pot tied to the tree, and emptied every twelve hours.

"Before I left the cottage, its inhabitants dressed themselves in their finest jewels, for the purpose of attending a marriage. I accompanied them a little way to join the procession,

procession, which at a distance looked like the groupes we see on antique bas-reliefs. In short, I every day find some traces of the manners and simplicity of the antique ages; but the arts and the virtues that adorned them are sunk in the years of slavery under which the devoted Hindoos have bent. These people, if they have the virtues of slaves, patience, meekness, forbearance, and gentleness, have their vices also. They are cunning, and incapable of truth; they disregard the imputations of lying and perjury, and would consider it folly not to practise them for their own interest. But,

— where  
Easily canst thou find one miserable,  
And not enforc'd oft-times to part from  
truth,  
If it may stand him more in stead to lie,  
Say, and unsay, fawn, flatter, or abjure?  
PAR. REG. B. i. l. 470.

With regard to the Europeans in Bombay, the manners of the inhabitants of a foreign colony are in general so well represented by those of a country town at home, that it is hopeless to attempt making a description of them very interesting. However, as it may be gratifying to know how little there is to satisfy curiosity, I shall endeavour to describe our colonists. On our arrival we dined with the governor, and found almost all the English of the settlement invited to meet us. There were a good many very pretty and very well dressed women, a few antient belles, and at least three men for every woman. When dinner was announced, I, as the stranger, though an unmarried woman, was handed by the governor into a magnificent dining-room, formerly the chapel of the Jesuits college, at one end of which a tole-

rable band was stationed to play during dinner. We sat down to table about eight o'clock, in number about fifty, so that conversation, unless with one's next neighbour, was out of the question. After dinner, I was surprised that the ladies sat so long at the table. At length, after every body had exhibited repeated symptoms of weariness, one of the ladies led the way into the saloon, and then I discovered that, as the stranger, I was expected to move first. Does not this seem a little barbarous? I found our fair companions, like the ladies of all the country towns I know, underbred and over-dressed, and, with the exception of one or two, very ignorant and very grossière. The men are, in general, what a Hindoo would call of a higher cast than the women; and I generally find the merchants the most rational companions. Having, at a very early age, to depend on their own mental exertions, they acquire a steadiness and sagacity which prepare their minds for the acquisition of a variety of information, to which their commercial intercourse leads.

"The civil servants to government being, in Bombay, for the most part young men, are so taken up with their own imaginary importance, that they disdain to learn, and have nothing to teach. Among the military I have met with many well-informed and gentleman-like persons, but still the great number of men, and the small number of rational companions, make a deplorable prospect to one who anticipates a long residence here.

"The parties in Bombay are the most dull and uncomfortable meetings one can imagine. Forty or fifty persons assemble at seven o'clock,

o'clock, and stare at one another till dinner is announced, when the ladies are handed to table, according to the strictest rules of precedence, by a gentleman of a rank corresponding to their own. At table there can be no general conversation, but the different couples who have been paired off, and who, on account of their rank, invariably sit together at every great dinner, amuse themselves with remarks on the company, as satirical as their wit will allow; and woe be to the stranger, whose ears are certain of being regaled with the catalogue of his supposed imperfections and misfortunes, and who has the chance of learning more of his own history than in all probability he ever knew before. After dinner the same topics continue to occupy the ladies, with the addition of lace, jewels, intrigues, and the latest fashions; or, if there be any newly-arrived young women, the making and breaking matches for them furnish employment for the ladies of the colony till the arrival of the next cargo. Such is the company at an English Bombay feast. The repast itself is as costly as possible, and in such profusion that no part of the table-cloth remains uncovered. But the dinner is scarcely touched, as every person eats a hearty meal called tiffin, at two o'clock, at home. Each guest brings his own servant, sometimes two or three; these are either Parsees or Mussulmans. It appears singular to a stranger to see behind every white man's chair a dark, long bearded, turbaned gentleman, who usually stands so close to his master, as to make no trifling addition to the heat of the apartment; indeed, were it not for the *punka*, (a large frame of wood covered with cloth), which is sus-

pended over every table, and kept constantly swinging, in order to freshen the air, it would scarcely be possible to sit out the melancholy ceremony of an Indian dinner.

"On leaving the eating-room, one generally sees or hears, in some place near the door, the cleaning of dishes, and the squabbling of cooks for their perquisites. If they are within sight, one perceives a couple of dirty Portuguese (black men who eat pork and wear breeches) directing the operations of half a dozen still dirtier Pariahs, who are scraping dishes and plates with their hands, and then, with the same unwashed paws, putting aside the next day's tiffin for their master's table.

"The equipage that conveys one from a party, if one does not use a palankeen, is curious. The light and elegant figure of the Arab horses is a strong contrast with the heavy carriages and clumsy harness generally seen here. The coachman is always a whiskered Parsee, with a gay coloured turban, and a muslin or chintz gown, and there are generally two *massalgees*, or torch-bearers, and sometimes two horse-keepers, to run before one. On getting home, one finds a *seepoy* or *pcon* walking round the open virandas of the house as a guard. We have four of these servants, two of whom remain in the house for twenty-four hours, when they are relieved by the two others. These men carry messages, go to market, and attend to the removal of goods or furniture, but will carry nothing themselves heavier than a small book. The female servants are Portuguese, and they only act as ladies-maids, all household work being done by men, as well as the needle-work of the family.

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"The *derdjeees*, or tailors, in Bombay, are Hindoos of a respectable caste, who wear the *zenaar*. My *derdjee*, a tall good-looking young man, wears a fine worked muslin gown, and a red or purple turban bordered with gold. He works and cuts out beautifully, making as much use of his own toes as of his fingers in the last operation. His wages are fourteen rupees a-month, for which he works eight hours a-day; inferior workmen receive from eight to twelve rupees. Besides the *hamauls* for the palankeens, we have some for household-work; they make the beds, sweep and clean the rooms and furniture, and fetch water; on any emergency they help the palankeen-bearers, and receive assistance from them in return. For the meaner offices, we have a *Hallalcor* or *Chandela*, (one of the most wretched *Pariahs*), who attends twice a-day. Two *Massalgees* clean and light the lamps and candles, and carry the torches before us at night. One of these is a *Pariah*, so that he can clean knives, remove bones and rubbish, which his fellow-servant *Nersu*, who is of a good caste, will not do. *Nersu* fetches bread and flour, carries messages, and even parcels, provided they be not large enough to make him appear like a *kooi* or porter, and takes the greatest share of preparing the lamps, which are finger-glasses or tumblers half filled with water, on which they pour the coco-nut oil, always calculating it exactly to the number of hours the lamp has to burn; the wick is made of cotton twisted round a splinter of bamboo. The native masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths are remarkably neat and dexterous in their several trades. There is plenty of stone on the island for building,

1813.

but a good deal of brick is used. All the lime here is made from shells; it is called *chunam*, of which there are many kinds, one of which the natives eat with the *betal-nut*. They are very particular in gathering the shells, no person taking two different sorts; they are burnt separately, and it is said that the *chunam* varies according to the shell it is made from.

"The Indian carpenter's tools are so coarse, and the native wood is so hard, that one would wonder that the work was ever performed. Almost every thing is done with a chisel and an axe. The gimlet is a long piece of iron wire with a flat point, fixed into a wooden handle consisting of two parts, the upper one of which is held in one hand, while the other is turned by a bow, whose string is twisted twice round it. The plane is small, but similar to that of Europe, excepting that it has a cross stick in the front, which serves as a handle for another workman, two being generally employed at one plane. As the comforts of a carpenter's bench are unknown, when a Hindoo wants to plane his work, he sits on the ground, with his partner opposite to him, steadying the timber with their toes, and both plane together. I have seen two of them working in this manner on a bit of wood a foot square, with a plane three inches long. Even the blacksmiths sit down to do their work. They dig a hole eighteen inches or two feet deep, in the centre of which they place the anvil, so that they can sit by it with their legs in the hole. A native of India does not get through so much work as an European; but the multitude of hands, and the consequent cheapness of labour, supply the place of the industry of Europe,

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Europe, and in most cases that of its machinery also. I saw the mainmast of the *Minden*, a weight little less than twenty tons, lifted and moved a considerable distance by the *koolis* or porters. They carried it in slings fixed to bamboos, which they placed on their heads crosswise, with one arm over the bamboo, and the other on the shoulder of the man immediately before; in front of the whole marched one to guide and to clear the way, for, when they have once begun to move, the weight on the head prevents them from seeing what is before them.

"In Bombay there are a good many *Banyans*, or travelling merchants, who come mostly from Guzerat, and roam about the country with muslins, cotton-cloth, and shawls to sell. On opening one of their bales, I was surprised to find at least half of its contents of British manufacture, and such articles were much cheaper than those of equal fineness from Bengal and Madras. Excepting a particular kind of chintz made at Poonah, and painted with gold and silver, there are no fine cotton-cloths made on this side of the peninsula; yet still it seems strange, that cotton carried to England, manufactured, and returned to this country, should undersell the fabrics of India, where labour is so cheap. But I believe this is owing partly to the uncertainty and difficulty of carriage here, although the use of machinery at home must be the main cause. The shawls are brought here direct from Cashmeer, by the native merchants of that country, so that we sometimes get them cheap and beautiful. The *Banyans* ought to be *Hindoos*, though I have known *Mussulmans* adopt the name,

with the profession; their distinguishing turban is so formed as to present the shape of a rhinoceros' horn in front, and it is generally red.

"The *Borahs* are an inferior set of travelling merchants. The inside of a *Borah's* box is like that of an English country shop, spelling-books, prayer-books, lavender-water, eau de luce, soap, tapes, scissors, knives, needles, and thread, make but a small part of the variety it contains. These people are *Mussulmans*, very poor, and reputed thieves. The profits on their trade must be very small; but the *Banyans* are often rich, and most of them keep a shop in the bazar, leaving one partner to attend it, while the other goes his rounds, attended by two or three *koolis*, with their loads on their heads.

"It reminds one of the Arabian Nights Entertainments, to go through the bazar of an evening. The whole fronts of the shops are taken down and converted into benches, on which the goods are disposed, and each shop is lighted with at least two lamps. Here you see grain of every description heaped up in earthen jars; there, sweetmeats of all sorts and shapes, disposed in piles on benches, or hung in festoons about the top and sides of the shop, which is commonly lined with chintz or dyed cotton. Farther on, fruits and vegetables are laid out to the best advantage; then you come to the *paung*, or betel leaf, nut, and *chunam*, ready for chewing, or the separate materials; beyond are shops for perfumes, linens, oils, toys, brass, and earthen wares, all set out in order, and the owner sitting bolt upright in the middle of his sweetmeats or grain, waiting for custom. The shops of the *schruffs*,  
or

or bankers, are numerous in the bazar; you see the master sitting in the middle of his money-table, surrounded by piles of copper and silver money, with scales for weighing the rupees and other coins presented for change. But it is the barber's shop that is always most crowded, being, particularly at night, the great resort for gossip and news, on which account the natives call it *gup shop*; the barbers themselves seem to enjoy a prescriptive right to be lively, witty, and good story-tellers. I have seen some excellent buffoons among them, and a slap given to a bald new-shaven pate, in the proper part of a story, has set half a bazar in a roar. The barbers keep every body's holidays, — Hindoos, Jews, Mussulmans, Armenians, Portuguese, and English, — and reap a good harvest at each by their comic way of begging.

"On first coming here, one would imagine that none of the people ever slept at night; for, besides that the coppersmiths and blacksmiths generally work all night, and sleep all day, on account of the heat, there are processions going about from sunset till sunrise, with *tom-toms*, (small drums,) kettle-drums, citarrs, vns, pipes, and a kind of large brazen trumpet, which requires two people to carry it, making altogether the most horrible din I ever heard. These processions, with the picturesque dresses of the natives, and their graceful attitudes, the torches carried by children, and the little double pipe blown by boys, whose wildness might make them pass for satyrs, put one strongly in mind of the ancient Bacchanals. It is usually on account of marriages that these nocturnal feasts are held. When they

are in honour of a god they take place in the day, when the deity is carried on a litter in triumph, with banners before and behind, and priests carrying flowers, and milk and rice, while hardly any one joins the procession without an offering. All this looks very well at a distance, but, on coming near, one is shocked at the meanness and inelegance of the god, and at the filth and wretchedness of his votaries.

"With one procession, however, I was much pleased; it took place a month ago, on the breaking up of the monsoon, when the sea became open for navigation. It is called the coco-nut feast, and is, I believe, peculiar to this coast. About an hour before sunset, an immense concourse of people assembled on the esplanade, where booths were erected, with all kinds of commodities for sale. All the rich natives appeared in their carriages, and the display of pearls and jewels was astonishing. At sunset, one of the chief Bramins advanced towards the sea, and going out a little way upon a ledge of rock, he launched a gilt coco-nut, in token that the sea was now become navigable; immediately thousands of coco-nuts were seen swimming in the bay; for every priest and every master of a family was eager to make his offering. The evening closed, as usual, with music, dancing, and exhibitions of tumblers, jugglers, and tame snakes. The tumblers are usually from Hydrabad, the jugglers from Madras, and the exhibitions of snakes are common in every part of India. The agility and strength of the tumblers, particularly the women, surpassed every thing I ever saw; but the sight is rather curious than pleasant. The tame snakes are mostly cobra-capellas;



at the sound of a small pipe they rise on their tails, and spread their hoods, advance, retreat, hiss, and pretend to bite, at the word of command. The keepers wish it to be believed that they have the power of charming this animal, and preventing the bad effects of its bite; but I looked into the mouths of several, and found the teeth all gone, and the gums much lacerated. The method sometimes used to extract the teeth, is to throw a piece of red cloth to the snake, who bites it furiously; the keeper then

takes him by the head, and holding his jaws forcibly together, tears out the cloth, and with it the teeth. The cobra-capella is from six to twelve feet long; it is held in great veneration by the natives, who call it a high caste snake, and do not willingly suffer it to be destroyed. There is a yearly feast and procession in honour of the snakes, when offerings of milk, rice, and sugar are made to them, and money given to the priests, who, on these occasions, build rustic temples of bamboos and reeds in the fields."

#### DESCRIPTION OF COLUMBO,

[From the same.]

"I am writing in a bungalow lent us by a friend, on the margin of the beautiful lake of Columbo. It is divided into basins by projecting points, and interspersed with islands; its banks are dotted with villas, and fringed with as great a variety of trees as you see in England; it is only where, on some steep bank, the slender betel lifts its graceful trunk, that we are reminded of being in the East Indies.

"We left Pointe de Galle on the nineteenth. Our party consisted of ourselves and three friends, one of whom we accompanied from Bombay, and the other two, Mr. and Mrs. —, are inhabitants of Columbo, upon whom the Maha Modaliar always attends on their journeys; and the whole road from Pointe de Galle to Columbo was decorated in the same manner as the rest-houses. The dressing the road for persons of consequence in the

government, is a tribute from the fishermen of this coast, and so is the providing lights at night in the manner described in coming from Bellegam. Under the Dutch government, the inhabitants of the villages were required to furnish provisions, and coolies to carry both the palankeens and baggage of travellers without hire; but the English pay punctually for every thing of this kind. The dressing the road and rest-houses, as it is seldom required, and is performed chiefly by the women and children, is no heavy burden, and is merely exacted as a mark of respect to the officers of government. Our first stage was from Pointe de Galle to Heccadua, a considerable village, near which there is a broad river, which we crossed on a stage erected on three small boats, with a canopy of white cotton ornamented with leaves and flowers. We spent the heat of the day under the shade of the

the young coco-nut wood on the beach at Heccadua. In the afternoon we proceeded to Ambolamgodda, and stopped about half a mile from it to look at a magnificent lake, formed by a large river which descends from the Candian country. The Candians frequently come down this river to barter betelnut, rice, and precious stones, for salt and some other necessities,—a traffic that no jealousy of their government can prevent, for, as the English possess the whole of the coast of Ceylon, they have no salt but what they obtain in this manner. There is a long wooden bridge over the stream between the lake and the sea, on which we were met by all the dancing men and musical instruments of the village, to which they conducted us dancing and playing before us all the way. At the entrance of Ambolamgodda we found what I suppose is the militia of the place drawn up to receive us. Three or four old bayonets stuck upon sticks, as many old bearspears, old pikes, and weapons without names, composed the rugged armour of the ragged crew; and a Madras bed-cover, fluttering on a pole, served for a standard. At the head of this band marched the village Modeliar, who led us to the rest-house, where, after dressing ourselves, we sat down to an excellent dinner of the fish of the coast, part of a wild hog, of which there are great numbers in the island, and other good things; but as I do not mean to record our daily bill of fare, I shall mention at once all the provisions that may be had without going out of Ceylon. The coast abounds with a variety of good fish; domestic quadrupeds require feeding at great expense, owing to the scarcity of fodder, but the poultry

is excellent, and the woods occasionally furnish wild hogs, venison, and jungle-fowl, besides wild ducks and teal. The fruits are the best I have seen in India of their kind; they are, the pine-apple, the pamplemousse, or shaddock, the plantain, and the orange. The coco-nuts are remarkably good, particularly a large kind of a golden colour, called the Rajah's coco-nut. The common people eat great quantities of the Jack-fruit, which they slice and curry while unripe; I, of course, prefer them ripe, but they require to be nicely prepared and steeped in salt water, for the eatable part, when ripe, is bedded in a slimy substance, the smell of which is intolerable. The bread here is extremely good, and the butter made in private houses is only inferior to that in England. The supply of vegetables is very scanty; potatoes and onions are imported from Bombay; and sometimes, but very rarely, cabbages and peas are brought from Bengal.

“When I went to my room at night, I found a lamp, of probably a more antient form than any antique; a solid lump of wood, with a long stick inserted into it, supported half a coco-nut shell, which contained the oil and the wick. The hand of art only was wanting to convert this rude lamp into an elegant piece of furniture; for the log was an unplanned piece of ebony, the stick a fresh bamboo, and the shell itself, whose form as a lamp is beautiful, takes a fine polish.

“The next morning after breakfast we went to Cosagodda, a small village, the only stage where we were not on the sea shore. As we went through the wood, I saw one of the large baboons, called here Wanderows, on the top of a coco-nut

nut tree, where he was gathering nuts, with which he ran along the tops of the trees with surprising agility. I at first took him for a man, but I discovered my mistake, when he peeped at my palankeen through the leaves, by the large grey ruff he has round his face. From Cassgodda we proceeded to Bentot, where there are the remains of a Dutch fort and town. It is on the side of a very beautiful river, which we crossed in the same manner as we did that near Heccadua. Before breakfast the next morning, Captain ——— and I walked round the neighbouring fields, and were delighted with the beauty of the scenery. There is a little promontory jutting out into the sea, covered with flowers and shrubs, and charmingly shaded; there we sat and watched two small vessels as they sailed at a distance, while the murmurs of the ocean were but now and then hushed enough to allow us to hear the songs of the fishermen on the beach. I cannot sometimes help comparing the different ways in which the same objects affect minds accustomed to different trains of association. The low rocks on the shore, which cause a continual boiling of the water round them, and the stupendous clouds that roll over the main, changing its hue to every various tint as they roll, I have always admired as among the most interesting circumstances of a sea view; but my companion, though fully sensible of their beauty, feels at the sight of these objects the secret horror that the forerunners of storms and shipwrecks are calculated to inspire.

“ We left Bentot after breakfast, and arrived at Barbareen about two o'clock, where we found that the

provident Modeliar had erected a beautiful rest-house for us, and had prepared an excellent collation. There is a bold projecting rock, nearly insulated, on the top of which is a Mussulman saint's tomb,—a mean little building, overshadowed by four or five coco-nut trees. Here the Modeliar had built our bungalow of bamboos, covered with cotton cloth, and decorated with leaves, flowers, and bunches of coco-nut by way of capitals to the pillars; and across the channel which separates it from the village, a temporary bridge was thrown, covered with cotton, and decorated like the bungalow. At the foot of the promontory, the fishermen sometimes lay up their boats and spread their nets; and the whole scene was so picturesque that I made a sketch of it, after which I joined the party in the rest-house, and enjoyed the freshness of the breeze, which ruffled the open sea, but left the inner bay smooth and clear as a mirror.

“ Barbareen is a Mussulman village, and the Modeliar is also a Mussulman; the inhabitants are chiefly artizans, who work in all kinds of metals; we saw several swords and dirks, with their scabbards, of very good workmanship. The next stage to Barbareen is Caltura, where there is an old Dutch fort, commanding a most beautiful view. A broad river flows from the eastern forests, which extend almost as far as the eye can reach, where they are lost, together with the distant mountains, in the horizon. Westward the river empties itself into the ocean, amidst rocks and groves, where the fishermen shelter their boats and build their huts. As I was attempting to sketch the scene, a violent storm of rain,

rain, thunder, and lightning came on, with all the grand circumstances peculiar to tropical climates, and forced us to take shelter in the rest-house, where we remained till the next morning, when we crossed the river before day-break. First our palankeens and servants went over in two or three small boats lashed together, and with them a number of people carrying lights; then all the village musicians in separate boats, having also their lights; and lastly our boat, dressed with white cotton, flowers, and leaves, and illuminated with the dried coco-nut leaves. I really never saw so gay a scene; and it was with no small regret that I reached the opposite shore, to shut myself up in my palankeen, and to listen to the monotonous song of my palankeen-bearers.

"After breakfasting in a small bungalow on the sea-shore, we reached our friend's house on the lake of Columbo, about two o'clock, and were well pleased to find ourselves settled quietly in a comfortable bungalow, after spending so long a time in wandering, the last four days of which were passed either in travelling in a palankeen, or in a rest-house preparing for it. The distance from Point de Galle to Columbo is only seventy-two miles, and might be accomplished in little more than twenty-four hours; but it is fatiguing to travel so fast, and is attended with considerable expense, as in that case you must have more than double the number of bearers for your palankeen.

"*March 1.*—We have now been at Columbo some days; and I am so delighted with the place, and with the English society here, that if I could choose my place of residence for the rest of the time of my

absence from England, it should be Columbo. We generally drive out before breakfast in a bandy, and go sometimes through the fort, which is extremely pretty. It is immediately between the sea and the lake, and only joined to the mainland by a causeway on each side of the water; and sometimes we go through the cinnamon gardens, which lie at the opposite end of the lake. The cinnamon is naturally a tall shrub, or rather tree, but it is kept low in the gardens for the sake of the young bark, which is gathered at two different seasons, though the same plants are not cut every season. When the sticks are cut, the bark is taken off with a little instrument, which peels the whole at once; it is then laid in the sun to dry, when it rolls of itself in the manner in which we see it in the shops. Great nicety is required in laying together a sufficient number of pieces for one roll, and in sorting the different qualities, the finest spice being always at the extremity of the branch. The soil in the gardens is fine white sand. Besides the cinnamon, I saw there the cashew-nut, two kinds of datura, the ixora, and a variety of plants with the names and properties of which I am not acquainted.

"A few days ago we joined a large party in an excursion to the governor's country-house, Mount Lavinia. It is a charming residence; it literally overhangs the sea, and has all the beauty that hill and valley, wood and rocks, with a beautiful beach and a fine open sea, can give. The interior, though not large, is very pleasant; a long gallery looks towards the sea; the rooms on the other side command some pretty hills, the sides of which form fine lawns; and in the valley  
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are palm-trees, which hide all the farm-offices, and afford shelter to a collection of animals of the deer and elk kind, from the interior of the island, and from the opposite coast of India. Feeding by himself, we remarked an animal not less beautiful than terrible, the wild bull, whose milk-white hide is adorned with a black flowing mane.

"Here I saw specimens of several beautiful kinds of wood in the furniture of the house. The jack-wood, which, at first yellow, becomes on exposure to the air of the colour of mahogany, and is of as fine a grain; the toon, or country mahogany, which comes from Bengal; the ebony, whose black vies with the native jet of the island; the satin-wood, with its silky lustre; the calaminda, whose dark and light veins alternately shew each other to the greatest advantage; and some others of more ordinary appearance, and in more common use.

"*March 9.*—We have been highly gratified by an excursion to Negumbo, whence we went into the jungle to see the manner of taking elephants. We left Columbo early on the sixth; and after breakfasting in a pretty bungalow on the way, we reached Negumbo to dinner, where we were joined by the collector of the district, a learned and ingenious man, and Mr. Daniel the painter, whose printed views of Ceylon you must have seen.

"Negumbo has a ruinous fort situated on the sea-shore near a small lake. Like most of the old towns in Ceylon, it is very picturesque, being interspersed with trees and fruit-gardens. We slept in the rest-house; and next morning early we set off for the elephant *craal*, or

trap, which is sixteen miles from Negumbo, and within half a mile of the Candian frontier. The first eight miles the bandies conveyed us over very good roads; but the marshy ground we had to pass afterwards, obliged us to get into our palankens, which had been sent on to await us near a talipot tree we wished to see. The talipot is a species of palm like the palmyra, when not in blossom; but when it is crowned with its flower, it is the most magnificent of vegetables. From the centre of its bushy head rises a stem of twelve or fifteen feet, which puts out on every side a number of small branches, covered with a delicate straw-coloured flower, having the appearance of one grand blossom on the top of the tall palm, whose graceful stem, like a pillar crowned with fan-like leaves, form the most beautiful support for its elegant superstructure.

"When we reached the *craal* it was near ten o'clock, and we found the collector and Mr. Daniel awaiting us in the breakfast bungalow, where the attention of the former had literally spread a feast in the wilderness. The *craal* is in the shape of a funnel, the wide part of which extends several hundred feet into the forest, leaving the trees within standing. It is composed of strong posts made of whole trunks of trees driven well into the ground, and lashed to others, placed horizontally, with strong coir ropes. To defend this wall from the fury of the elephants, small fires are lighted near it on the outside, which intimidate the animals so that they do not approach it. The trap is divided into three parts, the outer one of which is only enclosed on three sides, and communicates with the

the next by a gate made of strong poles, fastened together by ropes so as to permit it to roll up. When the elephants are once driven into the outer chamber, they are prevented from retreating by men stationed at the entrance with different kinds of weapons, but chiefly sticks, on the ends of which are bundles of lighted straw. When a sufficient number are thus collected in the outer enclosures, the hunters close in upon them, and drive them by their shouts and weapons into the second chamber, the gate of which is immediately let down, and they are there confined till it is convenient to take them out. When every thing is prepared for that purpose, the animals are driven into the third and last enclosure, which is also the smallest. One end of it terminates in a long passage, just wide enough for a single beast; and the moment one of them enters it, the hunters thrust strong poles through the interstices in the walls of the craal, and close him in so that he cannot move backwards or forwards. Two tame elephants are then stationed one at each side of the outlet, and putting in their trunks, they hold that of their wild brother till the hunters have passed several bands of rope round his neck, and fastened nooses to each of his feet. A rope is then passed through his neck bands, and those of the tame animals; the stakes in front are gradually removed; the ropes drawn tighter; and the prisoner is led out between his two guards, who press him with their whole weight, and thus lead him to the tree or the stake where he is to be fastened. If he be refractory, they beat him with their trunks till he submits; he is sometimes tied by one leg, sometimes by two; if

he be very strong and furious, he is fastened by the neck and by all his limbs. I never saw grief and indignation so passionately expressed as by one of these creatures; he groaned, tried to tear his legs from their fetters, buried his trunk in the earth, and threw dust into the air. Not even the choicest food, the plaintain tree, or the leaf of the young palm, could tempt him to eat or to forget his captivity for several hours. It sometimes happens that they starve themselves to death; but a few days generally suffices to calm their fury, and their education is immediately begun.

"The elephants here are used for drawing timber out of the jungle, and for other public works; but the greater number of those caught in Ceylon are sold to the continent of India. The elephant-keepers teach their beasts a number of tricks, such as walking upon two legs, taking up people with their trunks, tearing up trees, and picking pins or small coins out of the sand. Yet, tame as they are, they are extremely sensible to injuries. One of those we saw, though habitually gentle and obedient, formerly killed a keeper who had been cruel to him. The number and variety of stories concerning the sagacity of the elephant told by those most in the habit of seeing and observing that animal, if they do not prove the truth of each anecdote, are yet strongly presumptive of his wisdom and docility. I was told by a gentleman, that, not long ago, a considerable body of troops had to cross the Kistna, then much swollen by the rains, in doing which, one of the artillery-men who was mounted on a gun fell off in the middle of the stream, immediately before the wheel of the gun-carriage; his comrades

comrades gave him up for lost; but an elephant attending on the artillery had seen him fall, and putting his trunk to the wheel, raised it so as to prevent its crushing the man, and then lifted him out of the water unhurt.

"After seeing the process of taking the elephants, we walked about the jungle till our palankeen boys were sufficiently rested to carry us back to Negumbo, and amused ourselves with the gambols of swarms of red monkeys that were playing in the trees over our heads, and who seemed highly delighted with their unusual company. I saw in the forest innumerable trees and plants which were new to me, among which I was delighted to find the pitcher-plant, *Nepenthes distillatoria*, or, as it is here called, the monkey-cup. It creeps along the ground, and is mostly found in sandy soils; the flower grows in a spike, and is as little attractive in its appearance as the common dock. The horn or cup grows at the end of the leaf, from which it is separated by a tendril of five or six inches long; it contains, when full, about two gills of water of an excellent pure taste: whether it is dew, or a secretion from the plant, I do not know. A circular cover to the cup flies open when it is nearly at its full growth, and shuts again when it is filled with water. The country people say that, when the monkeys are in want of water, they seek for this plant and drink its contents. I imagine this to be the plant which Campbell, on the authority of Chateaubriant, introduces in his charming poem of *Gertrude*, as the "lotus-horn;" but it has no resemblance either to the sacred lotus of the east, or to the numerous tribe of lotuses whose flowers are papilion-

aceous. All the kinds of cane, from the lofty bamboo to the creeping ratan, adorn these forests; the pepper twines round every tree; and the thick underwood is composed of flowering shrubs and gaudy parasite and creeping plants. As we were walking about, we found that the ground was covered with leeches, which stuck to the bare legs of the natives, and which we only kept off by great caution. Unless you choose to submit to a regular bleeding when they have once fastened themselves, you run the risk of getting disagreeable sores in taking them off. They are striped brown and yellow, and have a very wide mouth; they answer the same purposes as the common leeches in England.

"The moment our palankeens were ready we began our journey to Negumbo, fearing that we should scarcely get through the jungle before sunset, the night air in the woods occasioning intermittent fevers. We however left Mr. Daniel at the craal, where he intended to stay some time in search of subjects for his pencil. To defend himself from the bad effects of his sylvan life, he smokes, and lights great fires within and without his tent. On our road I saw the curious spectacle of an extensive burned forest. Many of the massy trunks had fallen down, and, by stopping the water from running off after the rains, had formed little swamps, where aquatic plants and moss had begun to grow, but the greater part were erect, bare, and bleached, with here and there a creeping plant beginning to grace their barrenness with a foreign verdure.

"We returned yesterday to Columbo, and find with regret that we must leave it on our return to Bombay

bay to-morrow. The coast of Ceylon is generally extremely healthy, but none of our troops have been able to stand the noxious effects of a campaign in the jungle. The natives are subject to leprosy and other cutaneous diseases, and I saw many persons afflicted with the Cochin leg, or Elephantiasis; the patients walk about apparently without pain for several years, with their legs swoln to the size of their bodies, and the skin stretched and shining; but they often die in great agony at last.

“The Cingalese are ingenious workmen in gold and silver. Their

more useful manufactures are hemp, and coier rope, coarse cotton cloths for domestic consumption, ratan mats and baskets, and cane-work of all kinds. The products of the island, besides timber, elephants, and cinnamon, are hemp, coier, coco-nuts, arrack, precious stones, pearls, and drugs; among which are, Columbo-root, gamboge, and the *Datura fastuosa*, which the natives use as a cure for the spasmodic asthma, by cutting the root in small pieces, and smoking it like tobacco: the *Datura metel*, which is most plentiful about Columbo, is said to possess the said qualities.

ENVIRONS OF TUNIS.

[From BLAQUIERE's Letters from the Mediterranean.]

“MANY of the opulent natives, and nearly all the European consuls, have handsome villas and extensive gardens, which are scattered over the country, from Tunis to a delightful spot called La Marza, close to Cape Carthage, and one of the most luxuriant situations in the kingdom: it is much frequented in summer, when the visitors enjoy the double advantage of exquisite rural recreation and sea-bathing; the number of rose-trees cultivated here would surprize an European; for you meet large tracts of ground covered with them, as frequent as turnip fields in England—a promenade in one of these odoriferous regions is more easily imagined than described.

“The soil round Tunis is rather sandy, with a strong loamy bottom: it produces grain, fruit, and vegetables, in the greatest abundance: the soil and climate are admirably

adapted for the growth of cotton, sugar, and many tropical productions; even coffee and indigo have been successfully tried: in fact, under any other hands but those which are now destined to be its proprietors, what would it not produce? The breed of cattle, mode of cultivating the ground, and every thing else connected with agriculture, are susceptible of infinite improvement. Bees, of which there are an amazing number, are very much neglected. Upon the commerce of this place it is hardly necessary to add any thing here, that subject being ably elucidated in the publications of Messrs. M'Gill and Jackson.

“It is very singular, that in a country blinded so much by superstition as this is, a spirit of religious toleration should be encouraged, even to a greater extent than at Tripoli: this forms a pleasing contrast



trast with the savage ferocity which usually distinguishes the Tunisian character; and I have been much surprized to find, that, besides the Jewish synagogues, Greek and Roman Catholic chapels are established in the centre of the town.

"The precepts of our holy religion, and a thousand other considerations, naturally point out to the Christians resident in Tunis, that a promotion of social virtue, and other acts of mutual benevolence, would be most conducive to the common interest, while it would, at the same time, inspire Mahometans with a proper degree of respect and veneration for a community so infinitely beyond themselves in manners and civilization: but the contrary is, unhappily, the case; and I have often beheld, with surprize, that a system of calumny and slander but too often usurp the place of friendly intercourse and domestic happiness.

"You have, doubtless, often heard of the extreme jealousy which forms so striking a feature in the national character of this country; yet prostitution is not only tolerated, but subjected to regulations established by the government; it is, however, altogether confined to the Moors, as if a Christian is found in company with a female of the Mahometan faith, they are both put to death.

"To form any idea of the landscape which surrounds Tunis, it is necessary that you should visit the ruins of Carthage. This once celebrated capital of a great country is now only distinguished by its cisterns, the remains of some amphitheatres, and an aqueduct; the whole a melancholy emblem of the instability of human greatness. We cannot, however, help being struck

with admiration on a review of the place which was chosen as the site of this city. It was built on a high promontory, forming the western extremity of Tunis Bay, now called Cape Carthage; and, without exception, a more magnificent *coup-d'œil* cannot be conceived, than is presented to the beholder in the scene before him. The eye, wandering over extensive and highly cultivated plains, sometimes interrupted by hills that form a semi-circle of more than one hundred miles, is at length gratified by a range of lofty mountains, that bound the horizon on each side. Amongst these, Zowan is the most conspicuous, and celebrated for having supplied Carthage with water: the aqueduct constructed for its conveyance was equal to any of the most stupendous works of antiquity; the remains of it have been traced for seventy miles over a very irregular and hilly country; indeed, several hundred arches are still to be seen. This is an admirable monument of human industry, an equal to which few other countries can boast.

"The plain of Zama, remarkable for the sanguinary battle fought there between Hannibal and Scipio Africanus, which decided the fate of Carthage, is seen on the right, and is now covered with corn, and groves of olive trees.

"That man who could survey the ruins of Carthage with indifference, or not call to mind the scenes of its past glories and misfortunes, must, indeed, be devoid of sensibility; nor is it possible, in my opinion, to witness such an instance of fallen greatness, without being irresistibly led into a train of reflection, from which an important moral and political lesson may be drawn.

drawn. Its effect would, however, be transient on an ordinary being: to render the lesson either lasting or useful to mankind, it would be necessary to place the prime minister of a great country on the highest pinnacle of Byrsa; from thence, while admiring the variegated beauties of an enchanting landscape, a natural association of ideas would make him revert to the page of history: there he would see it recorded, that a band of enterprising Phœnicians, led on by an adventurous female, had, more than 2,500 years before, established a flourishing colony on the very spot upon which he stood, now presenting nothing but a desolate and mingled heap of ruins; that, by the wisdom of her laws, and honest industry of her people, Carthage shortly rose to a lofty and envied pre-eminence amongst nations; mistress of the ocean, and soul of commerce, her ships covered the sea from the Bosphorus to the Pillars of Hercules. Alas! dissatisfied with legitimate and true greatness, a fatal thirst for foreign conquest infected her rulers; but mark the melancholy result! Commerce was abandoned, fleets and armies sent forth, Sicily, Sardinia, and a part of Spain, soon acknowledged her sway; the jealousy of Rome was roused; rivalry ensued; and, after a sanguinary, though unsuccessful, struggle, the Queen of Arts, and pride of civilization, fell at the merciless feet of un pitying conquerors!!! Such would probably be the reflections of a statesman, if transported to this awful scene; but how glorious for himself, and useful to his fellow-creatures, if he knew how to turn them to the practical benefit of his country!

Should the political events of

Europe, a circumstance by no means impossible, render it necessary for an European army to visit this country on any future occasion, Carthage presents itself as an excellent place for their reception;—as a military position, it possesses every advantage and may be considered as unassailable, if properly fortified. The cisterns must certainly have been either within the former citadel, or under its immediate protection; and such is their present state of preservation, that during the winter, they are generally more than half full of good water. The whole promontory is highly cultivated, and produces large crops of wheat. There are also two or three hundred pipes of good wine, made annually in the vicinity of a small town built on the outer part of the Cape. The best materials for throwing up works, are of course, to be found every where in the greatest abundance. The facility of keeping up a constant communication with the sea, is also another great consideration, and with respect to climate, and purity of atmosphere, Cape Carthage is, I believe, unequalled.

“ It may not be irrelevant to repeat, that the heights connected with the Cape, having an entire command of the works at the Goletta and its arsenal, all of these might be destroyed in four hours.

“ While so many of our countrymen have been travelling through Sicily and the Morea with such amazing avidity, they have been probably unacquainted with the attractions of this country. The number and magnificence of Roman ruins which exist throughout the regency, would be a source of amusement and historical inquiry, not unworthy of the most enlightened amongst them; and, to the valetudinarian,

dinarian; perhaps no part of Europe would be so beneficial as the mineral baths of Hamam Leef. These waters were very celebrated in antiquity, and are situated at the declivity of a mountain, close to the sea, at the southern extremity of the Bay of Tunis; their virtues in the cure of rheumatic, and indeed all chronic disorders, are wonderfully great; I have been assured by medical men established here, that the efficacy of these waters has often been proved. The few English patients who have occasionally visited the place, all concur in bearing testimony to the beauty of its situation, and the benefit they derived from a use of the waters. When more generally known, this place will, I hope, be frequented a little more than it is at present; every comfort of life is found at a most trifling expense, and in the event of being visited by many persons, there will be no difficulty in improving the house already built for their reception. There are, generally, several Tunisian families at Hamam Leef, as the inhabitants ascribe the most miraculous virtues to the spring. It issues from the base of the mountain alluded to; and without scarcely ever varying its heat, is generally equal to 118 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer. A fine spring of cold fresh water rises within a quarter of a mile east of it; the taste of the mineral is not unlike that of Glauber's salts, but by no means so nauseating; a pint is sufficient to produce an effect, and it frequently operates as a vomit. Taking leave of Tunis, I shall now attempt to describe the coast eastward of Cape Bon.

"Galipia, (the Clupea of the Romans,) is the first town you come to; it is fifteen miles from

the Cape, contains about 4,000 inhabitants, and is defended by a castle, built on a very strong military position, which commands the beach. The land on this part of the coast is tolerably well cultivated, and produces considerable quantities of corn and oil. The anchorage of Galipia is only sheltered from west and north-west winds. Leaving this town, and passing several inconsiderable villages, you arrive at Hamamett, in the Gulf of that name. This place contains 8,000 inhabitants, and carries on a considerable trade in corn, wool, and oil, with Tunis. The Gulf is but little frequented, and as little known to navigators as any other part of Barbary, not having ever been properly surveyed by an English navigator. The seamen of Tunis say that it abounds in fish of various kind; and they assert, that there are very good anchoring places in several parts of it.

"The next town eastward is Susa, famous for its exports of wool and olive oil: the latter is more abundant in the vicinity of this place than in any other part of the regency, and when properly prepared, is considered as equal to that of Larca. The inhabitants are computed at eight or ten thousand, and are rather industrious than otherwise. The bay of Susa is a good summer anchorage, but exposed, during winter, to the north-east gales. With respect to the defences of this town, like all the rest which I have mentioned, they are falling to pieces. The country about Susa is extremely beautiful and well cultivated. Thirty miles in the interior, at a place called Elgemme, there is a colossal amphitheatre in a very high state of preservation; several fine statues, and

and other relics of antiquity, have been found near this place.

" Twenty miles east of Susa is the populous town of Monasteer; this place carries on a trade similar to that of Susa, and contains a population of nearly 12,000 souls. The manufacture of coarse cloths and the bernouse is considerable here. The roadstead is more calculated for the reception of shipping than Susa or Sfax, being protected by a long reef of rocks, called the Cog-niliri, which protects it from the easterly winds; the position is strong, but very badly fortified. Sfax is also a town of considerable trade, and contains about 6,000 inhabitants. It has a communication with the city of Cairouan, already mentioned, and, as at the two above-named places, a commercial intercourse is carried on with Malta. I omitted to mention the town of Africa, which is half way between Sfax and Susa; and a place of considerable opulence: indeed, the whole of this coast is covered with towns and villages, and presents to the traveller a scene of considerable animation.

" The Gulf of Cables, or Syrtis Minor of antiquity, appears to be as little known to the navigators of this country and to ourselves, as that of Hamamett. Commencing at Sfax, it forms a semicircle 80 miles in extent, having a number of towns, of which Cables is the principal. This place contains at least 30,000 souls, and the mountains in its vicinity are famous for the warlike and ferocious disposition of the inhabitants. It is said that the Sheik of this province can bring into the field 20,000 cavalry; horses being very numerous, and of a superior quality. The commerce of

Cables with Cairouan and Tunis is very considerable.

" The island of Jerbi, which forms the eastern boundary of the regency of Tunis, is only separated from the continent by a narrow channel, not navigable. The inhabitants, amounting to more than 30,000, are considered as by far the most industrious and well disposed under his highness's government. The manufactures of shawls, linen, and woollen cloths, have prospered here uncommonly, and are generally esteemed as the best in all Barbary. Its communication with the interior has also added much to its opulence. Jerbi has long been a bone of contention between Algiers and Tunis: the attack made by the squadron of the former state, in May last, would have most probably succeeded, had not the Tunisian squadron come to its relief. The naval contest to which that rencontre gave rise, having ended in the total discomfiture of the latter, and the death of their best admiral, the Bey, consistent with his usual policy, has now given orders to fortify the town, which was before left in a very defenceless state; but, it is much doubted, whether their works are likely to insure its future security. Large quantities of live stock are occasionally sent to Malta from this island, together with several other articles of commerce. The anchorage of Jerbi is very good during the summer, but exposed in the winter months.

" I have now to notice a small group of islands called the Querquini: they lay between Sfax and Monasteer, and are separated from the main land by a channel three miles wide, navigable for large merchant vessels. The reason for men-

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tioning these islands, more particularly than I should otherwise have done, arises from a hope that they may be, on some future day, rendered eminently useful to Sicily and Malta. There is a large bank extending from them to Lampadosa, which abounds in fish of every kind; and this may at any time be converted into a most profitable and productive fishery. The island of Lampadosa from its proximity to Malta, would be a very convenient rendezvous for the boats employed on this undertaking, and no difficulty whatever will attend the obtaining necessary licences from the Bey of Tunis. The monopoly, scarcity, and numerous frauds, to which the markets of Sicily and Malta have long been exposed, are well-known sources of complaint, and must sooner or later render a recourse to the above place a most desirable, and, perhaps, necessary measure. The utility of such an establishment scarcely requires an argument: the population of your island, from many causes, is increasing daily; and the large demands continually made by the army and navy, together with the immense influx of strangers, are subjects which require serious consideration: would it not, therefore, be wise and salutary to recommend, and even encourage, an undertaking, which, while it increased the public comfort, and gave a stimulus to industry, would most materially diminish the price of animal food? The expense attending a fishery of this nature, cannot operate as an obstruction to its establishment, as the returns will be immediate and successive; nor can I entertain a doubt, but that there are persons in Malta, who would most willingly advance the necessary sums. As to

Lampadosa, it possesses all the advantages requisite to make it a safe and commodious rendezvous for the fishery: and on the Querquini, an asylum could be insured in the event of bad weather. A more minute description of the above named island will be found in its proper place.

"In the former part of these letters I mentioned the impossibility of forming a correct estimate of the population of the regency, but those who have indulged in any speculation as to the probable extent of population, usually estimate it at between four and five millions: the impossibility of making an exact enumeration renders this a matter of pure conjecture, for it may be much more, and perhaps even less; the wandering disposition of the Arabs, and secluded manner of living prescribed to other people, render it even difficult for Europeans to form a correct opinion of what number of souls the different towns contain. As in Tripoli, the inhabitants of Tunis consist of Moors, Turks, Arabs, and Jews: of these the Moors and Arabs form the great bulk of the nation, while the other two classes are comparatively trifling. It is important to observe, that a settled hatred exists all over Barbary between the Arab tribes, and Moors who govern; in fact, their interests are in the greatest opposition to each other,—and the former, considering themselves as the natural proprietors of the soil, and stung by the many cruelties committed on them, would gladly embrace the cause of any foreign power, which might be disposed to offer them a preponderance of which they are now deprived. These poor people, even in their present oppressed condition, entertain a  
strong

strong love of liberty; their hospitality is proverbial, both to each other and to christians of every description who go amongst them. I have also been frequently surprized to find that they make a striking distinction between the national character of the French and ourselves; esteeming the former as enemies, while, on the contrary, the name of an Englishman is always hailed with the utmost respect. The Arabs have no idea of superiority in any other European nations. Their arms, dress, and other customs differ very little from those of Tripoly and Algiers.

"The animal and vegetable tribes, throughout Africa, are but very insufficiently described by European naturalists; and I have no doubt that considerable discoveries will yet be made here in these important branches of science. It is rather singular that we should be so generally unacquainted with the horse of the desert: the attributes of this animal are noticed at length in Mr. Jackson's Travels. The circumstances he relates, although so very extraordinary, have been in part confirmed to myself, as I have, since the perusal of his remarks, made numerous inquiries upon the subject, and been informed that there is actually, in the country of Dates, a race of horses, whose swiftness and rapidity of travelling, nearly equal that which he describes. A man of the first rank in Tunis has assured me, that a journey performed in three days by one of the above animals, was only gone through in eight by one of the common Tunisian breed.

"The camel is also endowed with extraordinary qualities; its sagacity, strength, and capacity of abstaining from water for so long a

time, would, doubtless, make this animal a most useful acquisition in many countries of Europe; when occasionally transported, it has been found to answer the most useful purposes, particularly at Malta, where there are several employed at the corn mills.

"The dromedary is very rarely seen at Tunis, nor do I believe there are any great number in the regency, being confined principally to the country of Dates. This is, indeed, a most extraordinary animal, in point of swiftness, and said even to exceed the horse of the desert. Such is their amazing velocity, when directed by a good Arab rider, that the swiftest horse cannot keep pace with them for half an hour. Although the story of their continuing in a state of apparent insensibility for several days after their birth, is not generally credited in Europe, the singular fact has been mentioned to me repeatedly here. When that torpor lasts ten days, their value is thereby enhanced, and they are called, Aâshâri, signifying ten. When travelling in the desert, the Arabs positively assert that an Aâshâri will continue in a hard trot for the space of twenty-four hours without requiring the smallest sustenance.

"The almost innumerable and splendid remains of antiquity scattered throughout the kingdom, sufficiently attest the immense population of this state while colonized by Rome. It is universally allowed, that not more than one-fifth remains at the present day, and such are the laws and institution of the government, that it is daily diminishing, without the smallest probability of a favourable change.

"The prejudices hitherto entertained by these people against the

discovery or preservation of antique gems and statues have subsided very much on the part of government; indeed, the Bedowins having discovered that Europeans buy such things with avidity; never lose any opportunity of conveying whatever they find, secretly to Tunis, for the purpose of making a bargain with some of the consuls; in this way several very respectable collections of medals, gems, bronzes, and marbles, have already been formed here, besides many fine specimens sent to France, where things of that description are infinitely more appreciated than in any other part of the world. But the most important discovery made in this country, was a few years ago, amongst the ruins of Utica, where some labourers, in digging up a quantity of stones for completing the works of the Goletta, found a number of beautiful statues, some mutilated, and others in the highest state of preservation; of the latter I observed a remarkably fine colossal whole length of Tiberius, another of Augustus not quite so well preserved, and the bodies of four female figures, two of which are exquisite specimens of Grecian sculpture. The Tiberius is a highly interesting statue, both on account of its preservation and fine style of execution. These reliques, strange as it may appear, have been in possession of the minister of the marine, Mohammed Coggia, for nearly three years, without any effort being made to rescue them from such a place, until very lately, when Mr. Fagan, our consul general at Palermo, and a steady friend of the arts, has attempted to purchase them. Should another proposition of that gentleman be accorded to, antiquarians will, at some future period, be gratified with

many of the hidden treasures of Africa. This relates to the permission to excavate, which the Bey will grant, if the request is made by his Majesty's government; and such an object is certainly not unworthy their intention; indeed, many people, well acquainted with this country, have often told me, that if due encouragement was given to the researches for antiquities in Africa, a collection equal to any in Europe might soon be accumulated, and the prejudice of the Moors, of whatever description, be then almost vanquished by a seasonable bribe.

"In a country teeming with every blessing which Providence can bestow to promote the happiness of society, it is truly melancholy to reflect; that the caprice and ignorance of a few continue to keep it in such a state of degradation, and, if ever the arm of conquest could be justified, or usefully exerted, it would surely be in the regeneration of such a people.

"The religion established throughout the regency is of course Mahometanism, but attended by that bigotry and irrational prejudice of which it is susceptible. An unqualified hatred of Christians, notwithstanding the tolerance noticed, a contempt for the arts and sciences, together with an apparent determination to reject future advancement towards civilization, are the principles inculcated by this destructive profession of faith.

"The aversion of these people towards Europeans is indeed carried to a most ridiculous pitch of affectation, particularly in the studious way they endeavour to avoid any of our habits, manners, or customs. Although this subject may have already been noticed, perhaps a short sketch

sketch of these singularities will not be unacceptable in this place. Mahometans sit, eat, and sleep on the ground; glasses, plates, knives, forks, spoons, and all the other apparatus of an European table are unknown amongst them; they eat with their fingers, and never have more than one dish set before them at a time: water and coffee ought, according to the prescribed rule, to be their only beverage; the latter is drank almost in a boiling state very strong and without sugar; they write from right to left, and mount their horses on the right; and their bridles, saddles, spurs, and method of sitting on horseback, are altogether different from ours. Their mode of dress, partiality to long beards, shaving the head and keeping it always covered; are well known; and their brutal caprice with regard to the women is still more singular, without enumerating the style of architecture, furniture, and various other circumstances in which they differ so widely from christians. Deprived of theatres, balls, and private parties, their chief occupations are those of eating, smoking, and sleeping; they never walk except from necessity, probably, because, like us, they are obliged to do so on their feet. It will doubtless be a long time and attended with some difficulty before so large a portion of the species are induced to adopt more rational customs; but it would be melancholy indeed to relinquish the hope, that civilization will at some future period of the world, reach this country also, and triumph over ignorance and barbarism.

“ With respect to the government, it is despotism, of the worst sort, and in the hands, generally, of persons who make the most im-

proper uses of their power; consequently, we need not be surprized if patriotism and regard for the country should be totally extinguished. Indeed, the only ties which bind the subject here, are those which naturally attach him to his family and friends.

“ In drawing the general character of his Highness's subjects, little remains to be said. The religious, civil, and political institutions of his country, oppress the Tunisian's mind, and influence his general conduct so powerfully, that he can only be considered as a slave, subject to the will of many tyrannical masters. If a change, calculated to enlighten and give the blessings of liberty to them, should ever take place, we shall then, doubtless, have occasion to admire the physical and moral attributes of these people as much as those of other countries where these advantages are enjoyed. An abstemious mode of living, and the enjoyment of the finest climate on earth, have endowed the natives with an athletic and hardy constitution: they live to a great age, and the bodily evils under which they now suffer, arise most frequently from habitual indolence and improper treatment of diseases. The latter science is perhaps less known in Barbary than any other part of the world; a hot iron, as at Tripoly, applied to different parts of the body, is considered as the sovereign remedy in every indisposition; of anatomy, as a science, they are totally ignorant.

“ It would be an injustice were I to pass over, in silence, that sex which, in every country forms the delight and happiness of society; for nothing can be more truly deplorable or likely to excite the sympathy of an European, than the un-



happy state of servitude to which the women are reduced here, excluded from social intercourse with the world, and their nearest relatives, never permitted to appear in public, and continually subject to the brutal jealousy of a capricious husband. These are but a few of the miseries which attend the life of these unfortunate victims.

"I have every reason to believe

that they are not deficient either in personal charms, or in a most pleasing simplicity of manner, which all the trammels of their education have not eradicated; it is also well ascertained that their dislike towards christians is by no means so rooted as might naturally be expected from the precepts and example engendered by education.

#### DESCRIPTION AND CUSTOMS OF NAPLES.

[From Mr. Eustace's Travels.]

"NAPLES occupies the site of both Palæopolis and Neapolis in ancient times, though it inherits the name of the latter. It is of Grecian origin, and is first mentioned by Livy as having in conjunction with Palæopolis joined the Samnites in a confederacy against the Romans. Palæopolis was taken two years after, and Naples must have shared its fate. The latter seems indeed to have been of little consideration at that time, though it continued to increase rapidly, and in the course of not many years eclipsed the splendor, usurped the territory, and gradually obliterated the very name of the former. It seems to have attached itself closely to the Roman interest in little more than a century from the abovementioned period, and to have acquired under the protection of the Roman republic no small degree of prosperity and importance. It remained faithful to its allies even after the carnage of Cannæ and the revolt of the Campanians, and such was the strength of its ramparts that Hannibal himself shrunk from the difficulties of an attack. The generous offer

which they had previously made to the Roman senate must naturally inspire a very favourable idea of the opulence, and which is infinitely more honourable, of the magnanimity of this city. This attachment to the Roman cause excited the resentment of the Carthagenian, who ravaged the Neapolitan territory with more than his usual ferocity.

"From this period little or no mention is made of Naples for a long series of years, during which it seems to have enjoyed in undisturbed tranquillity its original laws and language, and all the advantages of its fertile soil, and unrivalled situation. Its coasts during this interval became the winter retreat of the luxurious Romans, and there were few among the illustrious characters which distinguished the fall of the republic and the birth of the monarchy, who had not a villa on its shores, or amid the romantic recesses of its mountains. The presence of Horace, Virgil, and his imitator Silius Italicus, and their fond attachment to its delightful scenery were lasting and honourable distinctions;

distinctions; while the foul indulgencies of Tiberius, and the wild and cruel freaks of Caligula were its scandal and its scourge. The first recorded eruption of Vesuvius interrupted its enjoyments and wasted its coasts, and the civil wars and barbaric incursions that succeeded each other so rapidly during the ensuing centuries, involved it in the general calamities of Italy and the empire. However it seems to have suffered less than most other cities during this disastrous era, as it retained longer its legitimate sovereign, the Emperor of Constantinople, and with him its language and many of its ancient laws, and by his power, or rather by the veneration still attached to his name, was not unfrequently protected from the ravages and insults of contending barbarians.

“When the eastern empire sunk into a state of irretrievable weakness and insignificance, Naples was threatened, harassed and plundered successively by the Lombards, the Saracens and the Normans, who in their turn became the prey of the Germans, the French and the Spaniards. The latter at length remained its acknowledged masters, governed it for many years by viceroys, and at length gave it a king in the person of the present sovereign Charles IV. Of all these different tribes many traces may be discovered in the language, manners and appearance of its inhabitants. Its original language, Greek, remained the prevailing dialect long after its submission to the power of Rome, as appears from various circumstances, but particularly from that of Greek manuscripts only being discovered at Herculaneum. It may indeed be doubted whether pure Latin ever was the vulgar language at Naples; but at present

there are more Greek words intermingled with the common dialect than are to be found in any other part of Italy. French pronunciation has communicated some share of its infection, and Saracenic left considerable alloy behind. No vestiges remain of the ancient beauty or magnificence of this city. Its temples, its theatres, its basilicas have been levelled by earthquakes, or destroyed by barbarians. Its modern edifices, whether churches or palaces, are less remarkable for their taste than for their magnitude and riches. It is however highly probable that Naples is at present more opulent, more populous, and in every respect more flourishing than she has ever before been, even in the most brilliant periods of her history.

“Naples, seated in the bosom of a capacious haven, spreads her greatness and her population along its shore, and covers its shelving coasts and bordering mountains with her villas, her gardens and her retreats. Containing within her own walls more than four hundred thousand inhabitants, she sees one hundred thousand more enliven her suburbs, that stretch in a magnificent and most extensive sweep from Portici to the promontory of Misenum, and fill a spacious line of sixteen miles along the shore with life and activity. In size and number of inhabitants she ranks as the third city in Europe, and from her situation and superb show may justly be considered as the Queen of the Mediterranean. The internal appearance of Naples is in general pleasing; the edifices are lofty and solid; the streets as wide as in any continental city; the Strada Toledo is a mile in length, and with the quay, which is very extensive and well-built, forms the grand and distinguishing features of the

the city. In fact the Chiaia, with the royal garden, Mergellina and Sta. Lucia, which spread along the coast for so considerable a space, and present such an immense line of lofty edifices, are sufficient to give an appearance of grandeur to any city. As for architectural magnificence, Naples possesses a very small share, as the prevailing taste, if a series of absurd fashions deserve that appellation, has always been bad. Moresco, Spanish, and bad Roman, corrupted and intermingled together, destroy all appearance of unity and symmetry, and form a monstrous jumble of discordance. The magnificence therefore of the churches and palaces consists first in their magnitude, and then in paintings, marbles, and decorations in general, which however are seldom disposed with taste or judgment, and when best disposed are scattered around with a profusion that destroys the effect.

“To describe the public edifices of Naples would be to compose a guide. I shall therefore content myself with a few observations on some remarkable objects in them, or connected with them. Several churches are supposed to occupy the sites of ancient temples, the names and memory of which have been preserved by this circumstance. Thus the cathedral is said to stand on the substructions of a temple of Apollo; that of the Santi Apostoli rises on the ruins of a temple of Mercury. St. Maria Maggiore was originally a temple of Diana, erected over the temple of Antinous, &c. Of these churches some are adorned with the pillars and marbles of the temples to which they have succeeded. Thus the cathedral is supported by more than a hundred columns of granite which belonged to the edifice over which it is erect-

ed, as did the forty or more pillars that decorated the treasury, or rather the chapel of Januarius. The church itself was built by an Angevin prince, and when shattered, or rather destroyed by earthquakes, rebuilt by a Spanish sovereign. It is Gothic, but strangely disfigured by ornaments and reparations in different styles. In the subterraneous chapel under the choir is deposited the body of St. Januarius. His supposed blood is kept in a vial in the Tesoro, and is considered as the most valuable of its deposits, and indeed the glory and ornament of the cathedral and of the city itself. Into the truth of this supposition little inquiry is made, the fact is supposed to guarantee itself, and in this respect the Neapolitans seem to have adopted the maxim of the ancient Germans, ‘*sanctius ac reverentius de Diis credere quam scire.*’ The blood of St. Stephen in the church of St. Gaudioso belonging to the Benedictine Nuns, is said to liquify in the same manner, but only once a-year on the festival of the martyr.

“The Santi Apostoli is in its origin perhaps the most ancient church in Naples, and was, if we may credit tradition, erected by Constantine upon the ruins of a temple of Mercury; it has however been rebuilt partially more than once, and finally with great magnificence. The church of St. Paul occupies the site of a temple of Castor and Pollux; the front of this temple, consisting of eight Corinthian pillars, was destroyed by the earthquake of 1688. Two only were restored, and now form part of the frontispiece of the church. The interior is spacious, well proportioned, and finely incrustured with marble. The chancel is very extensive, and all supported by antique pillars;

pillars; it is supposed to stand over the theatre where Nero first disgraced himself by appearing as a public singer: some vestiges of this theatre may still be traced by an observing antiquary. The church of St. Filippo Neri is remarkable for the number of ancient pillars that support its triple row of aisles on both sides of the nave. St. Lorenzo, belonging to a convent founded by Charles of Anjou, is a monument of the hatred which French princes have at all times borne to liberty and popular representation. It stands on the site of the Basilica Augusta, a noble and magnificent hall, which at the period of their first entrance into Naples was the place of public assembly where the senate and people of Naples met in council. Charles suppressed the assemblies; demolished the hall, and in the year 1266 erected the church which now occupies its place. The establishment of a free and just government would have been a work more agreeable to the will, and more conformable to the attributes, of the common Father of all, than the erection of a temple on the ruins of public property, and in defiance of justice. Of all the Neapolitan churches, that of De Spirito Santo in the Strada Toledo is the most worthy of notice in my opinion, because the purest and simplest in architecture. The exterior is indifferent, or rather never finished, or at least decorated. The interior is large, well proportioned, adorned with Corinthian pilasters, and a regular entablature and cornice. It is well lighted, perhaps indeed too much so, on account of the whiteness of its walls and vault. It is not however entirely exempt from the usual defect, a superabundance

of ornaments, and it wants a softer and mellow colour to please the eye.

"The chapel of St. John the Evangelist was erected by the celebrated Pontanus, and is remarkable for the Latin sentences, moral and political, engraved on marble near its entrance and on its front. They are misplaced, and ostentatious though solid, and in language not inelegant. The epitaph composed by Pontanus himself has the merit of originality, but his best and most durable epitaph is the tribute paid to him by Sannazarius.

"In the cloister of the canons, regularly attached to the parochial church of St. Agnello, stands the tomb of the poet Marini, ornamented with a bronze statue; the whole erected at the request of the celebrated Manso, the friend of Tasso and of Milton, who left by will a sum of money to defray the expense.

"The sepulchral chapel of the family San Severo deserves to be mentioned, not so much on account of its architecture, or even decorations, or the order with which the monuments are disposed (though all these are worthy of notice) as on account of three particular statues, two of which display the patient skill, the third the genius of the sculptor. The first is a representation of Modesty (Pudor) covered from head to foot with a veil; but so delicate, so apparently transparent is the veil, that through its texture the spectator fancies he can trace not only the general outlines of the figure, but the very features and expression of the countenance. Mons. De Lelande observes, that the ancients never veiled the whole countenance of their statues, and seems to hint that the art of making the

the form appear as it were through the foldings is a modern improvement. However there are antique statues even to the north of the Alps in which the same effect is visible, and every scholar who has visited the gallery at Dresden will immediately recollect some female figures, Vestals I think, where the knee, the arm, the breast, appears as if visible through the beautiful drapery thrown over them. It must however be acknowledged, that in the art of producing this illusion the moderns equal the ancients; and of their skill in this respect no better instances can be produced than the above-mentioned statue, a most beautiful one of St. Cecilia in Rome, and a third in the chapel which I am now describing. It represents our Saviour extended in the sepulchre, it is covered like the preceding with a veil, and like it exhibits the form which it infolds, with all its features majestic and almost divine even in death. This is, indeed, an exquisite piece of workmanship; it displays not only as much art and patience as that of Modesty, but the very soul, the genius, the sublime conceptions of the sculptor. It is generally attributed to Corradini, as is the latter, and suffices alone to establish his reputation, and rank him among the first of artists. But the Neapolitans who are a little jealous of the merit of strangers, ascribed it and the two others to Giuseppe San Martino their countryman, whom they represent as the best sculptor of the times. The attention of strangers is generally directed to another statue or groupe in the same chapel, representing a man entangled in a net, and endeavouring with the aid of a genius to disengage himself. It is called *Il Disingano*, and is sup-

posed to represent under this allegorical symbol the conversion of one of the princes of the family to which the chapel belongs. The allegory is forced, and the execution of the work shews only the patience and nicety with which the sculptor managed the chissel.

"To this catalogue one church more must be added, though it is in many respects inferior to most in Naples, in size, materials and decorations. But it has a more powerful claim to our attention than either marble or architecture can give it; it has the genius of Sannazarius to recommend it, and its name is interwoven with the title of one of the most beautiful poems which have appeared in the Latin language, since the revival of letters. The church is called from the poem *Del Parto*; it was erected, with the little convent annexed to it, on the site of his favourite *Villa Mergyllina*, and endowed by the poet. It took its name from the quarter in which it stood, still called *Mergyllina*, occupying the brow and side of a hill that slopes gently to the bay. Its situation is delicious, and the view from it as extensive as varied, and as beautiful as the eye of a poet in fine phrenzy rolling can contemplate. Its value was moreover enhanced by the dignity of the donor, and in the eyes of the poet, without donot, the smiles of the royal patron added new lustre to the native beauties of the scenery. He accordingly frequently alludes to his beloved retreat of *Mergyllina* in his different poems, and devotes one entire ode to its charms. This villa was destroyed by the Prince of Orange, who commanded the garrison during the celebrated siege of Naples by the French. Whether this act of destruction was necessary  
or

or not, it is impossible for us to determine, but it is not probable that it was, or could be intended as a personal injury. However the indignant poet resented it as such, and conceived an unrelenting hatred towards that general. On the ruins of the villa the church of which we now speak was erected, and dedicated *Virgini parienti* or *De Partu*. It is neither large, nor remarkable for its architecture or ornaments. The sole object of curiosity in it is the tomb of the founder, adorned with statues and basso relievos, representing the subject of his poems; the materials are rich, and the execution good, but the figures representing pagan divinities, satyrs, and nymphs, are ornaments ill-adapted to the tomb of a christian poet, and strangely misplaced in a christian church. It is impossible however not to smile at the awkward attempt of the good fathers to remedy this incongruity, by inscribing the name of David under the statue of Apollo, and that of Judith under Minerva. The epitaph was composed by Bembo.

*Da sacro cineri flores. Hic ille Maroni  
Sincerus musa proximus ut tuiulo*

"In one of the little chapels there is a picture of St. Michael trampling on Satan. It is observable that the latter is represented with the face of a beautiful female, and the reason given is whimsical enough. The countenance of the devil is a picture of a very beautiful lady, who unfortunately fell in love with Diomedes Caraffa, Bishop of Ariano, who to shew his abhorrence of her sacrilegious passion, when fitting up this chapel for his mausoleum, ordered the painter to degrade her into the infernal spirit, and place

her prostrate under the spear of the arch-angel. For the satisfaction of the ladies I must add, that this ungallant prelate has not been canonized. A Last Supper in another chapel is supposed to be a masterpiece, though the name of the painter is not known.

"I must observe, in closing these few cursory observations on the churches of Naples, that notwithstanding the bad taste which prevails very generally in the architecture and decorations of these edifices, the traveller will find in most of them something that merits observation. In paintings in particular, the Neapolitan churches are very rich, and there are few among them that cannot boast of one or more exquisite specimens of this art.

"But if the churches do no credit to the taste of the Neapolitans, the hospitals reflect much honour on their charity. These establishments are very numerous, and adapted to every species of distress to which man is subject in mind or body. Many of them are richly endowed, and all clean, well attended, and well regulated. One circumstance almost peculiar to Italian hospitals and charitable foundations, contributes essentially to their splendour and prosperity: it is, that they are not only attended by persons who devote themselves entirely and without any interested views to the relief of suffering humanity, but that they are governed and inspected not nominally, but really, by persons of the first rank and education, who manage the interests of the establishments with a prudence and assiduity which they seldom perhaps display in their own domestic economy. Besides to almost every hospital is attached one, and sometimes

times more confraternities, or pious associations, formed for the purpose of relieving some particular species of distress, or averting or remedying some evil. These confraternities, though founded upon the basis of equality, and of course open to all ranks, generally contain a very considerable proportion of noble persons, who make it a point to fulfil the duties of the association with an exactness as honourable to themselves, as it is exemplary and beneficial to the public. These persons visit the respective hospitals almost daily, inquire into the situation and circumstances of every patient, and oftentimes attend on them personally, and render them the most humble services. They perform these duties in disguise, and generally in the dress or uniform worn by the confraternity, for the express purpose of diverting public attention from the individuals, and fixing it on the object only of the association. Instead of description, which would be here misplaced, I shall insert a few observations.

“Of charitable foundations in Naples, the number is above sixty. Of these seven are hospitals properly so called; thirty at least are conservatories or receptacles for helpless orphans, foundlings, &c.; five are banks for the relief of such industrious poor as are distressed by the occasional want of small sums of money; the others are either schools or confraternities. The incomes of most of these establishments, particularly of the hospitals, are in general very considerable, but seldom equal to the expenditure. The annual deficiency, how great soever it may be, is abundantly supplied by donations, most of which come from unknown benefactors.

“The two principal hospitals are

that called *Degli Incurabili*, which notwithstanding its title is open to sick persons of all descriptions, and constantly relieves more than eighteen hundred; and that of *Della Sma. Annunziata*, which is immensely rich, and destined to receive foundlings, penitent females, &c. and is said sometimes to harbour two thousand. To each belong in the first place a villa, and in the second a cemetery. The villa of the first is situated at *Torre del Greco*, and is destined for the benefit of convalescents, and such as labour under distempers that require free air and exercise. A similar rural retreat ought to belong to every great hospital established in large cities, where half the distempers to which the poorer class are liable, arise from constant confinement, and the want of pure air. The cemetery is in a different way, of at least equal advantage to public health. It was apprehended, and not without reason, that so many bodies as must be carried out from an hospital, especially in unhealthy seasons, might, if deposited in any church or church-yard within the city, infect the air and produce or propagate contagious diseases. To prevent such evils, the sum of forty-eight thousand five hundred ducats, raised by voluntary contribution, was laid out in purchasing and fitting up for the purpose a field about half a mile from the walls of the city, on a rising ground. A little neat church is annexed to it, with apartments for the officiating clergy and the persons attached to the service of the cemetery, and the road that winds up the hill to it is lined with cypresses. The burial ground is divided into three hundred and sixty-six large and deep vaults, one of which is opened every day in the

year, and the bodies to be interred deposited in order. These vaults are covered with flags of lava that fit exactly, and completely close every aperture. The bodies are carried out at night time, by persons appointed for the purpose, and every precaution taken to prevent even the slightest chance of infection. All is done gratis, and the expenses requisite supplied by public charity. It is to be regretted that this method of burying the dead has not been adopted in every hospital and parish in Naples, and indeed in every town and city, not in Italy only, but all over Europe. It is really lamentable that a practice so disgusting, not to say so pernicious as that of heaping up putrid carcases in churches where the air is necessarily confined, and in church-yards in cities, where it cannot have a free circulation, should be so long and so obstinately retained. It would be difficult to discover one single argument drawn either from the principles of religion or the dictates of reason in its favour, while its inconveniences and mischiefs are visible and almost tangible.

“ In the early ages of christianity the honour of being deposited in the church was reserved to martyrs, and the Emperor Constantine himself only requested to be allowed to lie in the porch of the Basilica of the apostles, which he himself had erected in Constantinople. Hence the eloquent Chrysostom when speaking of the triumph of Christianity, exultingly observes, that the Cæsars subdued by the humble fishermen whom they had persecuted, now appeared as suppliants before them, and gloried in occupying the place of porters at the doors of their sepulchres. Bishops and

priests distinguished by their learning, zeal and sanctity, were gradually permitted to share the honours of the martyrs, and to repose with them in the sanctuary itself. A pious wish to be deposited in the neighbourhood of such holy persons, and to rest under the shadow of the altars among some, and an absurd love of distinction even beyond the grave among others, to which may be added, I fear, the avarice of the clergy, who by making such a distinction expensive, rendered it envious, by degrees broke through all the wholesome restrictions of antiquity, and at length converted the noblest of public edifices, the Basilicæ, the temples of the eternal, the seats of holiness and purity, into so many dormitories of the dead, receptacles of putridity, and rendered them vast infected charnel houses.

“ Notwithstanding the decrees of synods and the representations of the faculty, notwithstanding the dictates of reason and the interests of health, this abuse went on increasing and continued for ages in force and fashion. The first attempt I believe to check, or rather to remove it entirely, was made by the Emperor Joseph, who prohibited by edict the interment of bodies not in churches only, but even in towns and their suburbs. This edict still prevails in the Low Countries, and if I mistake not in the Austrian territories in general, though certain offensive clauses gave at first, it is said, considerable scandal, and suspended for some time its full effect. The Emperor who in his zeal for reformation, often forgot that opinion will not always bend even to power, conceived it seems that the sooner the carcase is reduced to dust the better, and therefore proscribed the use of coffins, as calculated to prolong



long the state of putrefaction, and ordered lime to be strewed over the corpse to accelerate its dissolution. This regulation gave, as may be supposed, very general offence, not only because unusual and contrary to the natural feelings, or, which is nearly the same thing, to the universal practice of mankind, but because very opposite in appearance to that tenderness and respect even for the ruins of the human form, which, if not enforced by the precepts, has at all times been inspired by the genius of christianity. Not perhaps without reason. That divine religion is ever intent on the grand object of raising, aggrandizing, and perfecting our nature; while it teaches us to consider ourselves as destined to act in a much higher and more glorious sphere than our present state; it naturally prompts us to look with some degree of veneration even on our bodies, which, though doomed to death and putrefaction, shall yet one day shake off the dust of the tomb, and though corruptible put on incorruption, and though mortal put on immortality. The offensive clause was therefore very wisely suppressed, and the useful and laudable provisions of the decree carried very generally into execution.

"Some regulation of the same kind was I think made in France, but not so extensive. To bury in churches was prohibited, but vaults were allowed, provided they did not open into the church, or into any covered court or building. This was a partial remedy to the evil, but still better than none, and it cannot but appear surprising that the example of two such preponderant powers as France and Austria should not have been more generally imitated. It is still more astonish-

ing that in a country governed by public reason, and guided by public interest as England is, (excepting in a few instances when the influence of the court or the spirit of party may accidentally bias the legislature) no attempts have been made to put an end to a practice so absurd and prejudicial; especially as this practice is more evidently dangerous in protestant than in catholic countries, as in the former churches in general are only opened for a few hours on one day in the week; while in the latter they are never shut, and have the additional advantage of being fumigated with incense and sprinkled with holy water. It cannot but appear strange that a people so dull and unenlightened as the Turks should in this respect shew more sense and even more taste than nations in every other respect their superiors. Their cemeteries are in general out of the precincts of their cities, most commonly on a rising ground, and always planted with cedars, cypresses, and odiferous shrubs, whose deep verdure and graceful forms bending to every breeze give a melancholy beauty to the place, and excite sentiments very congenial to its destination. I have seen some christian cemeteries (as at Bruxelles for instance) situate and laid out in the same advantageous and picturesque manner, with some additional precautions in the division so as to preclude the possibility of heaping bodies on each other, or crowding them indecently together in a small space. But even this arrangement is open to improvements, and it is to be hoped that such improvements will ere long be made by the wisdom of a British legislature.

"To return to our subject. One remark more upon the Neapolitan hospitals.

hospitals, and I drop the subject. When a patient has recovered his health and strength, and is about to return to his usual occupations, he receives from the establishment a sum of money sufficient to compensate for the loss of time and labour unavoidable during his illness; a most benevolent custom, and highly worthy of imitation. A long illness or dangerous accident deprives a poor labourer or artisan so long of his ordinary wages, and throws him so far back in his little economy, that he cannot without great difficulty recover himself and regain a state of comfort. From this inconvenience the small sum granted by the charity of the hospital relieves him, and restores him to his trade in health, strength, and spirits.

"The Conservatorii are schools opened for poor children of both sexes, where they are educated, fed, and taught some handicraft or other. Some are in the nature of working houses, and employ a prodigious number of indigent persons of both sexes in separate buildings, while others are devoted entirely to children educated principally for music. These latter institutions have produced some, or rather most of the great performers and masters of the art, who have figured in the churches or on the stages of the different capitals of Europe for the last hundred years. Paesielli, Caffarelli, and Pergolese were formed in these seminaries. And indeed Naples is to Italy, what Italy is to the world at large, the great school of music, where that fascinating art is cultivated with the greatest ardour; an ardour oftentimes carried to an extreme, and productive of consequences highly mischievous and degrading to humanity. It is true that the castration of boys is rigor-

ously prohibited by the laws both of church and state; but as long as the fashionable classes in London and Paris think proper to encourage and reward by enormous wages such performers, so long venal parents in Naples will find means to evade the laws, and still continue to sacrifice their unfortunate children to the hopes or rather the certainty of profit. But this practice is on the decline even here, and in justice to the Neapolitans I must observe, that if we may believe them, the operation alluded to is not permitted, nor indeed ever practised in their schools, but that unhappy children in that condition, when sent from other places are not excluded.

"Of the numberless confraternities I shall only specify such as have some unusual and very singular object: such is that whose motto is *Succurre Miseris*, the members of which make it their duty to visit condemned criminals, prepare them for death, accompany them to execution, and give them a decent burial. They carry their charitable attentions still farther, and provide for the widows and children of these unhappy wretches. This society was originally composed of some of the first nobility of the city, but the tyrant Philip, influenced it seems by motives of political suspicion, forbade the nobles to enter into such associations, and in particular confined the one we are speaking of to the clergy.

"The congregation De S. Ivone consists of lawyers, who undertake to plead the causes of the poor gratis, and furnish all the expences necessary to carry their suits through the courts with effect. To be entitled to the assistance and support of this association, no recommendation

tion or introduction is required; the person applying has only to prove his poverty, and give in a full and fair statement of his case.

" Congregazione della Crose, composed principally of nobility to relieve the poor, and imprisoned, and particularly to bury the bodies of such distressed and forsaken persons when dead.

" The congregation Della Sta. Trinita dei Pellegrini is destined, as its name imports, more particularly for the relief of strangers, and is composed of persons of all classes, who meet in its assemblies and fulfil its duties without distinction. It is governed by five persons, one of whom presides, and is generally a prelate or high officer of state; the others are, a nobleman, a citizen, a lawyer, and an artisan. All the members attend the hospital in rotation, each for a week, during which they receive strangers, wash their feet, attend them at table, and serve them with the humility, and with more than the assiduity of menials.

" The congregation of nobles for the relief of the bashful poor. The object of this association is to discover and relieve such industrious persons as are reduced to poverty by misfortune, and have too much spirit, or too much modesty, to solicit public assistance. The members of this association, it is said, discharge its benevolent duties with a zeal, a sagacity, and, what is still more necessary for the accomplishment of their object, with a delicacy and kindness truly admirable. All these confraternities have halls, churches, and hospitals, more or less grand and extensive as their object may require, or their means allow. I need not enlarge further upon this subject, as the institutions

already mentioned are sufficient to give the readers an idea of these confraternities, and to shew at the same time the extent and activity of Neapolitan benevolence. Much has been said, and, though exaggerations are not uncommon on this subject, much more may be said against the voluptuousness and debauchery of the inhabitants of this city; yet it must at the same time be confessed, that in the first and most useful of virtues, the grand characteristic quality of the christian, charity, she surpasses many, and yields to no city in the universe.

" Of the royal palaces, and those of the nobility, the same may be said as of the churches; that the style of architecture is not pure, nor of course majestic; that they are in general too much encumbered with ornaments, though in many, the apartments are on a grand scale, and ornamented with many fine paintings. In the garden of one, the Palazzo Berrio, is a groupe representing Venus and Adonis by Canova, of exquisite workmanship and beauty. The collection of pictures formerly at the Capo di Monte had been removed on the approach of the French, and not replaced. This edifice is a royal palace of great extent, and in a delightful situation, commanding a fine view of the town, and the bay with all its islands and surrounding scenery. It was never finished, and is not inhabited. Its vast apartments were employed as picture galleries, and the collection is numerous and rich in masterpieces. But as the access to this palace is inconvenient on account of its elevation, it is the intention of government to transport the whole to the Studii or University, a very spacious edifice, where is already a noble collection of statues. Among these

those the celebrated Hercules by Glycon, is the most remarkable. All these statues and monuments once adorned the Farnesian palace in Rome, and were transported thence by the King of Naples, who succeeded to the rich inheritance of the Farnesian family. The library of the Studii contains more than fifty thousand volumes, and some valuable manuscripts. Neither this library nor the collection of statues suffered much from the rapacity of the French during their late invasion. This establishment is planned on a vast scale, and intended to contain all the royal museums and libraries, and to comprise all the instruments and apparatus of all the arts and sciences. In fact, Naples is very well supplied with all the means of instruction as far as depends upon public establishments. It has four public libraries, the University which I have just mentioned, and six colleges, besides schools and conservatorii beyond number. The advantages arising from so many literary establishments are accordingly very perceptible, and the number of learned men produced by Naples is equal perhaps to that of any city of the same population. Some Neapolitan authors carry their pretensions so far as to place the number and merit of their writers upon a level with those of Paris, and from the list of publications which they produce, an impartial man would find it difficult to decide against them. Their Parisian rivals object, that even the names of their authors, not to say their works, have scarcely passed the Alps, and are not known beyond the narrow circle of academicians even in Italy, while the names of Voltaire, Marmontel, &c. are celebrated in every capital of Europe, and their works perused in every circle. To this

observation the Neapolitans reply, that the superior fame of French authors is owing to the prevalence of the French language, and that that prevalence is certainly not to be ascribed either to its intrinsic merit, or to the superior excellence of its literature, but to the preponderance of French power. Thus, say they, French dress has been generally adopted at courts, and was during a considerable part of the last century the dress of Europe, but nobody surely can be so absurd as to pretend that it owed its universality either to its gracefulness or its convenience. The literature therefore, like the fashions of France, was recommended first by power and afterwards by custom; and when we add to the merits of the former a great deal of intrigue, of trick, and of noise, we shall discover the real causes of its ill-acquired superiority. In truth, Frenchmen of every description are never wanting in the praises of every thing French, and whatever their differences in other respects may be, all agree in asserting their national pretensions to universal superiority. The Italians are more modest, because they have more solidity; they write to please their own taste and that of those who choose to read them; they employ no journals to puff off their compositions, send no emissaries to spread their fame over distant countries, and pay no agents in foreign courts. They leave their language and their works to their own intrinsic merit, and rest their claim to glory on the undisputed excellence of their predecessors. As for the present reputation of French literature, our Neapolitans consider it as the fashion of the day, the delirium of the times, and doubt not, that it will ere long subside in contempt and indifference. Such indeed has been

been the fate of that absurd fondness for French dress which disgraced our ancestors; and as we now smile at their want of taste in giving the preference to garments so stiff, graceless, and unnatural; so our descendants may possibly contemplate with equal ridicule and surprise, the preposterous partiality which the present day has shewn to the frippery and tinsel of French literature. In justice to the Neapolitans it must be admitted, that the progress of French literature has been considerably advanced by the spirit and intrigues of the philosophic party. The French language was the medium by which they were to disseminate their opinions; no expence therefore was spared, no exertion wanting to extend its use and influence. Teachers were hired and sent to the most distant towns, to disseminate its principles and facilitate its acquisition. Attempts were made to undermine, at least secretly to lessen the respect paid to the ancient languages, particularly Latin; and the Gallic idiom with its lumber of auxiliaries, its nasal dissonance, and truncated syllables was compared, nay almost preferred, to the simplicity, harmony, and fulness of that divine dialect. But independent of language, the Neapolitans certainly have the advantage in point of science and of ancient literature, particularly Greek, a language much neglected in France, and indeed in most continental universities.

“ But whatever may be our opinion of the claims of our Neapolitan literati to precedence on this occasion, we must acknowledge,

that there exist in this capital a vast mass of information, a great activity of mind, and a wonderful aptitude, fostered by the serenity of the climate, to excellence in every branch of science and composition.

“ Few cities stand in less need of architectural magnificence or internal attractions than Naples; had it even fewer artificial recommendations, it would still be a most desirable residence. So beautiful is its neighbourhood! so delicious its climate! Before it spreads the sea with its bays, promontories, and islands; behind it rise mountains and rocks in every fantastic form, and always clothed with verdure; on each side swell hills and hillocks covered with groves, and gardens, and orchards blooming with fruits and flowers. Every morning a gale springing from the sea brings vigour and coolness with it, and tempers the greatest heats of summer with its freshness. Every evening a breeze blowing from the hills and sweeping all the perfumes of the country before it, fills the nightly atmosphere with fragrance.

“ It is not surprising therefore that to such a country and such a climate the appellation of *Felix* should have been so often given; that its sweets should be supposed to have enervated an army of barbarians; that the Romans covered its coasts with their villas, and that so many poets should have made the delicious Parthenope their theme and their retreat.

“ *Nunc molles urbi ritus atque hospita mens  
Otia, et exemptum curis gravioribus ævum.  
Sirenū dedit una, suū et memorabile nomen  
Parthenope . . .* *Sil. Ital. Lib. xii.*

## DESCRIPTION OF THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

[In a Letter from Mr. Penn to the Free Society of Traders to Pennsylvania.]

"MY KIND FRIENDS,

"THE kindness of yours by the ship Thomas and Ann doth much oblige me; for by it I perceive the interest you take in my health and reputation, and in the prosperous beginning of this province, which you are so kind as to think may much depend upon them. In return of which I have sent you a long letter, and yet containing as brief an account of myself and the affairs of this province as I have been able to make.

"In the first place, I take notice of the news you sent me, whereby I find some persons have had so little wit, and so much malice, as to report my death; and, to mend the matter, dead a jesuit too. One might have reasonably hoped that this distance, like death, would have been a protection against spite and envy; and indeed absence, being a kind of death, ought alike to secure the name of the absent as of the dead, because they are equally unable as such to defend themselves: but they who intend mischief do not use to follow good rules to effect it. However, to the great sorrow and shame of the inventors, I am still alive and no jesuit; and, I thank God, very well. And without injustice to the authors of this, I may venture to infer, that they who wilfully and falsely report, would have been glad it had been so. But I perceive many frivolous and idle stories have been invented since my departure from England,

1813.

which perhaps at this time are no more alive than I am dead.

"But if I have been unkindly used by some I left behind me, I found love and respect enough where I came; an universal kind welcome, every sort in their way. For, here are some of several nations, as well as divers judgments: nor were the natives wanting in this; for their kings, queens, and great men, both visited and presented me, to whom I made suitable returns,

"For the province, the general condition of it take as followeth:

"1. The country itself, its soil, air, water, seasons, and produce, both natural and artificial, are not to be despised. The land containeth divers sort of earth, as sand, yellow and black, poor and rich; also gravel, both loamy and dusty; and in some places a fast fat earth, like that of our best vales in England, especially by inland brooks and rivers; God in his wisdom having ordered it so; that the advantages of the country are divided; the back lands being generally three to one richer than those that lie by navigable rivers. We have much of another soil, and that is a black hazel mould upon a stony or rocky bottom.

"2. The air is sweet and clear, and the heavens serene, like the south parts of France, rarely overcast; and as the woods come by numbers of people to be more cleared, that itself will refine.

"3. The waters are generally good;

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good; for the rivers and brooks have mostly gravel and stony bottoms, and in number hardly credible. We have also mineral waters, which operate in the same manner with those of Barnet and North Hall, not two miles from Philadelphia.

"4. For the seasons of the year, having by God's goodness now lived over the coldest and hottest that the oldest liver in the province can remember, I can say something to an English understanding.

"First of the fall, for then I came in. I found it from the twenty-fourth of October to the beginning of December, as we have it usually in England in September, or rather like an English mild spring. From December to the beginning of the month called March we had sharp frosty weather; not foul, thick, black weather, as our north-east winds bring with them in England, but a sky as clear as in the summer, and the air dry, cold, piercing and hungry; yet I remember not that I wore more clothes than in England. The reason of this cold is given from the great lakes, which are fed by the fountains of Canada. The winter before was as mild, scarce any ice at all, while this for a few days froze up our great river, Delaware. From that month to the month called June we enjoyed a sweet spring; no gusts, but gentle showers and a fine sky. Yet this I observe, that the winds here, as there, are more inconstant, spring and fall, upon that turn of nature, than in summer or winter. From thence to this present month, August, which endeth the summer, commonly speaking, we have had extraordinary heats, yet mitigated sometimes by cool breezes. The wind that ruleth the summer season is the south-west;

but spring, fall, and winter, it is rare to want the north-western seven days together. And whatever mists, fogs, or vapours foul the heavens by easterly or southerly winds, in two hours time are blown away; the one is followed by the other; a remedy that seems to have a peculiar providence in it to the inhabitants, the multitude of trees yet standing being liable to retain mists and vapours, and yet not one quarter so thick as I expected.

"5. The natural produce of the country, of vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of most note are the black walnut, cedar, cypress, chesnut, poplar, gum-wood, hickory, sassafras, ash, beech, and oak of divers sorts, as red, white, and black; Spanish chesnut, and swamp, the most durable of all; of all which there is plenty for the use of man.

"The fruits I find in the woods are the white and black mulberry, chesnut, walnut, plums, strawberries, cranberries, hurtleberries, and grapes of divers sorts. The great red grape, now ripe, called by ignorance the fox grape, because of the relish it hath with unskillful palates, is in itself an extraordinary grape; and by art, doubtless, may be cultivated to an excellent wine, if not so sweet, yet little inferior to the Frontinac, as it is not unlike it in taste, ruddiness set aside; which, in such things, as well as mankind, differs the case much. There is a white kind of muscadell, and a little black grape, like the cluster grape of England, not yet so ripe as the other,—but, they tell me, when ripe, sweeter, and that they only want skilful vintners to make good use of them. I intend to venture on it with my Frenchman this season, who shows some knowledge in those things. Here are also peaches very good.  
and

and in great quantities, not an Indian plantation without them,—but whether naturally here at first I know not. However, one may have them by bushels for little. They make a pleasant drink, and I think not inferior to any peach you have in England, except the true Newington. It is disputable with me, whether it be best to fall to fining the fruits of the country, especially the grape, by the care and skill of art, or send for foreign stems, and sets already good and approved. It seems most reasonable to believe, that not only a thing groweth best where it naturally grows, but will hardly be equalled by another species of the same kind, that doth not naturally grow there. But to solve the doubt, I intend, if God give me life, to try both, and hope the consequence will be as good wine as any European countries of the same latitude do yield.

“6. The artificial produce of the country is wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas, beans, squashes, pumpkins, water-melons, musk-melons, and all herbs and roots that our gardens in England usually bring forth.

“7. Of living creatures, fish, fowl, and the beasts of the wood, here are divers sorts, some for food and profit, and some for profit only; for food as well as profit the elk, as big as a small ox; deer, bigger than ours; beaver, raccoon, rabbits, squirrels; and some eat young bear and commend it. Of fowl of the land there is the turkey (forty and fifty pounds weight) which is very great, pheasants, heath-birds, pigeons, and partridges in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose white and gray; brands, ducks, teal, also the scipe and curloe, and that in great numbers; but the duck and teal excel, nor so good have I ever

eaten in other countries. Of fish there is the sturgeon, herring, rock, shad, cats-head, sheeps-head, eel, smelt, perch, roach; and in inland rivers trout, some say salmon, above the falls. Of shell fish, we have oysters, crabs, cockles, conchs, and muscles; some oysters six inches long, and one sort of cockles as big as the stowing oysters; they make a rich broth. The creatures for profit only, by skin or fur, and which are natural to these parts, are the wild cat, panther, otter, wolf, fox, fisher, minx, musk-rat; and of the water, the whale for oil, of which we have good store; and two companies of whalers, whose boats are built, will soon begin their work; which hath the appearance of considerable improvement: to say nothing of our reasonable hopes of good cod in the bay.

“8. We have no want of horses, and some are very good, and shapely enough. Two ships have been freighted to Barbadoes, with horses and pipe staves, since my coming in. Here is also plenty of cow-cattle and some sheep. The people plough mostly with oxen.

“9. There are divers plants, which not only the Indians tell us, but we have had occasion to prove, by swellings, burnings, and cuts, that they are of great virtue, suddenly curing the patient; and for smell, I have observed several, especially one, the wild myrtle; the other I know not what to call, but they are most fragrant.

“10. The woods are adorned with lovely flowers for colour, greatness, figure, and variety. I have seen the gardens of London best stored with that sort of beauty, but think they may be improved by our woods. I have sent a few to a person of quality this year for a trial.



Thus much of the country: next, of the natives, or aborigines.

"11. The natives I shall consider in their persons, language, manners, religion, and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons they are generally tall, straight, well built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin. Of complexion black, but by design, as the gipsies in England. They grease themselves with bears fat clarified; and using no defence against sun and weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a straight-looking Jew. The thick lip and flat nose, so frequent with the East Indians and blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them, of both sexes, as on your side the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not much more of the white; and the noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.

"12. Their language is lofty, yet narrow; but, like the Hebrew in signification, full. Like short-hand in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer; imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections. I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion; and I must say that I know not a language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in accent and emphasis, than theirs: for instance, Octocockon, Ranoccas, Oricton, Shak, Marian, Poquesien, all which are names of places and have grandeur in them. Of words of sweetness, anna is

mother, isairous a brother, neatesp friend, usqueoret very good, pane bread, metsa eat, matta no; hatta to have, payo to come; Sepassen, Passijon, the names of places; Tamane, Secane, Menanac, Secstarcus, are the names of persons. If one ask them for any thing they have not, they will answer Matta ne hatta, which to translate is 'Not I have,' instead of 'I have not.'

"13. Of their customs and manners there is much to be said. I will begin with children. So soon as they are born they wash them in water, and while very young, and in cold weather to choose, they plunge them in the rivers to harden and embolden them. Having lapt them in a clout, they lay them on a straight thin board a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast upon the board to it straight; wherefore all Indians have flat heads; and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go very young, at nine months commonly. They wear only a small clout round their waist till they are big. If boys, they go a-fishing till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen. Then they hunt; and having given some proofs of their manhood by a good return of skins, they may marry: else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burthens; and they do well to use them to that, while young, which they must do when they are old; for the wives are the true servants of the husbands: otherwise the men are very affectionate to them.

"14. When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear something upon their heads for an advertisement, but so as their faces

are hardly to be seen but when they please. The age they marry at, if women, is about thirteen and fourteen; if men, seventeen and eighteen. They are rarely older.

" 15. Their houses are mats or barks of trees, set on poles in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man. They lie on reeds or grass. In travel they lodge in the woods about a great fire, with the mantle of duffils they wear by day wrapt about them, and a few boughs stuck round them.

" 16. Their diet is maize or Indian corn divers ways prepared, sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, which they call homine. They also make cakes not unpleasant to eat. They have likewise several sorts of beans and pease that are good nourishment; and the woods and rivers are their larder.

" 17. If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house or wig-wam, they give him the best place and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an Itah, which is as much as to say 'Good be to you!' and set them down, which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright: it may be they speak not a word, but observe all passages. If you give them any thing to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask; and be it little or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased: else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

" 18. They are great concealers of their own resentments, brought to it, I believe, by the revenge that hath been practised among them. In either of these they are not exceeded by the Italians. A tragical

instance fell out since I came into the country. A king's daughter, thinking herself slighted by her husband in suffering another woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground, and ate it, upon which she immediately died; and for which last week he made an offering to her kindred for atonement and liberty of marriage, as two others did to the kindred of their wives, who died a natural death: for, till widowers have done so, they must not marry again. Some of the young women are said to take undue liberty before marriage for a portion; but, when married, chaste. When with child they know their husbands no more till delivered, and during their month they touch no meat they eat but with a stick, lest they should defile it; nor do their husbands frequent them till that time be expired.

" 19. But in liberality they excel. Nothing is too good for their friend. Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live; they feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much. Wealth circulateth like the blood. All parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property. Some kings have sold, others presented me with several parcels of land. The pay or presents I made them were not hoarded by the particular owners; but the neighbouring kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what, and to whom, they should give them. To every king then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed,

pointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that gravity which is admirable. Then that king subdivideth it in like manner among his dependents, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects: and be it on such occasions as festivals, or at their common meals, the kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little, because they want but little; and the reason is, a little contents them. In this they are sufficiently revenged on us. If they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. They are not disquieted with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with chancery suits and exchequer reckonings. We sweat and toil to live. Their pleasure feeds them; I mean their hunting, fishing, and fowling, and this table is spread every where. They eat twice a day, morning and evening. Their seats and table are the ground. Since the Europeans came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially; and for it exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are treated with liquor, they are restless till they have enough to sleep. That is their cry, 'Some more, and I will go to sleep;' but when drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world.

"20. In sickness impatient to be cured; and for it give any thing, especially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural. They drink at those times a teran or decoction of some roots in spring water; and if they eat any flesh, it must be of the female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman, and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them,

as a token of their love: their mourning is blacking of their faces, which they continue for a year. They are choice of the graves of the dead; for lest they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness.

21. "These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion, to be sure the tradition of it: yet they believe a God and immortality without the help of metaphysics: for they say there is a great king, who made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them; and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again. Their worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantico. Their sacrifice is their first fruits. The first and fattest buck they kill goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him who performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labour of body that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, then shouts; two being in the middle who begin, and by singing and drumming on a board direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antie and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another. There have been two great festivals already, to which all come that will. I was at one myself. Their entertainment was a great seat by a spring under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and  
beans;

beans; which they make up in a square form, in the leaves of the stem, and bake them in the ashes, and after that they fall to dance. But they who go, must carry a small present in their money: it may be sixpence, which is made of the bone of a fish: the black is with them as gold; the white silver; they call it wampum.

"22. Their government is by kings, which they call sachama, and those by succession; but always of the mother's side. For instance, the children of him who is now king will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign, for no woman inherits. The reason they render for this way of descent is, that their issue may not be spurious.

"23. Every king hath his council; and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffic, without advising with them, and which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus: the king sits in the middle of an half-moon, and has his council, the old and wise, on each hand. Behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the king ordered one of them to speak to me. He stood up, came to me, and in the name of his king saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me

that he was ordered by his king to speak to me, and that now it was not he but the king who spoke, because what he should say was the king's mind. He first prayed me to excuse them, that they had not complied with me the last time. We feared there might be some fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor English. Besides, it was the Indian custom to deliberate and take much time in council before they resolved; and that, if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay. Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of, and the price; which now is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty miles not buying now two. During the time that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile, the old grave, the young reverent in their deportment. They speak little, but fervently, and with elegance. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help (I was going to say the spoil) of tradition; and he will deserve the name of wise who outwits them in any treaty about a thing they understand. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighbourhood, and that the English and Indians must live in love as long as the sun gave light: which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the Sachamakers or kings; first, to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them, to love the christians, and particularly to live in peace with me and the people under my government; that many governors had been in the river: but that  
no

no governor had come himself to live and stay there before: and having now such an one, who had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong; at every sentence of which they shouted, and said Amen in their way.

" 24. The justice they have is pecuniary. In case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts and presents of their wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of their offence or person injured, or of the sex they are of. For in case they kill a woman, they pay double; and the reason they render is, 'that she breedeth children, which men cannot do.' It is rare they fall out if sober, and if drunk they forgive; saying, 'It was the drink, and not the man, that abused them.'

" 25. We have agreed, that in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter. Do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them. The worst is, that they are the worse for the christians, who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill and not for good things. But as low an ebb as these people are at, and as inglorious as their own condition looks, the christians have not outlived their sight with all their pretensions to an higher manifestation. What good then might not a good people graft, where there is so distinct a knowledge left of good and evil? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into those parts to outlive the knowledge of the natives by a fixt obedience to their greater knowledge of the will of God; for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian conscience while we make profession of things so far transcending.

" 26. For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race, I mean of the stock of the ten tribes, and that for the following reasons: first, they were to go to a land not planted nor known, which to be sure Asia and Africa were, if not Europe; and he who intended that extraordinary judgement upon them might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself from the easternmost parts of Asia to the westernmost of America. In the next place, I find them of the like countenance, and their children of so lively resemblance, that a man would think himself in Duke's Place or Berry-street in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all: they agree in rites; they reckon by moons; they offer their first fruits; they have a kind of feast of tabernacles; they are said to lay their altar upon twelve stones; their mourning a year; customs of women; with many other things that do not now occur. So much for the natives. Next, the old planters will be considered in this relation, before I come to our colony and the concerns of it.

" 27. The first planters in these parts were the Dutch, and soon after them the Swedes and Finns. The Dutch applied themselves to traffic, the Swedes and Finns to husbandry. There were some disputes between them for some years, the Dutch looking upon them as intruders upon their purchase and possession, which was finally ended in the surrender made by John Rizeing, the Swedish governor, to Peter Styresant, governor for the States of Holland, anno 1655.

" 28. The Dutch inhabit mostly those parts of the province that lie upon or near the bay, and the Swedes

Swedes the freshes of the river Delaware. There is no need of giving any description of them, who are better known there than here; but they are a plain, strong, industrious people, yet have made no great progress in culture, or propagation of fruit-trees, as if they desired rather to have enough, than plenty or traffic. But I presume the Indians made them the more careless by furnishing them with the means of profit, to wit, skins and furs for rum and such strong liquors. They kindly received me as well as the English, who were few before the people concerned with me came among them. I must needs commend their respect to authority, and kind behaviour to the English. They do not degenerate from the old friendship between both kingdoms. As they are people proper and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys and as many girls; some six, seven, and eight sons. And I must do them that right, I see few young men more sober and laborious.

" 29. The Dutch have a meeting-place for religious worship at Newcastle; and the Swedes three; one at Christina, one at Tenecum, and one at Wicoco within half a mile of this town.

" 30. There rests that I speak of the condition we are in, and what settlement we have made; in which I will be as short as I can; for I fear, and not without reason, that I have tried your patience with this long story. The country lieth bounded on the east by the river and bay of Delaware and eastern sea. It hath the advantage of many creeks, or rivers rather, that run into the main river or bay, some

navigable for great ships, some for small craft. Those of most eminency are Christina, Brandywine, Skilpot, and Sculkil, any one of which has room to lay up the royal navy of England, there being from four to eight fathom water.

" 31. The lesser creeks or rivers, yet convenient for sloops and ketches of good burthen, are Lewis, Mes-pilion, Cedar, Dover, Cranbrook, Feversham, and Georges below; and Chichester, Chester, Toacawny, Pammapecka, Portquessin, Neshimenck, and Pennberry in the Freshes; many lesser, that admit boats and shallops. Our people are mostly settled upon the upper rivers, which are pleasant and sweet, and generally bounded with good land. The planted part of the province and territories is cast into six counties; Philadelphia, Buckingham, Chester, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, containing about four thousand souls. Two general assemblies have been held, and with such concord and dispatch, that they sat but three weeks, and at least seventy laws were passed without one dissent in any material thing. But of this more hereafter, being yet raw and new in our gear. However, I cannot forget their singular respect to me in this infancy of things, who, by their own private expenses, so early considered mine for the public, as to present me with an impost upon certain goods imported and exported, which, after my acknowledgement of their affection, I did as freely remit to the province and the traders to it. And for the well government of the said counties, courts of justice are established in every county, with proper officers, as justices, sheriffs, clerks, constables; which courts are held every two months. But to prevent

prevent law-suits there are three peace-makers chosen by every county court, in the nature of common arbitrators, to hear and end differences between man and man. And spring and fall there is an orphan's court in each county, to inspect and regulate the affairs of orphans and widows.

" 32. Philadelphia, the expectation of those who are concerned in this province, is at last laid out, to the great content of those here who are any ways interested therein. The situation is a neck of land, and lieth between two navigable rivers, Delaware and Skunkill, whereby it hath two fronts upon the water, each a mile, and two from river to river. Delaware is a glorious river; but the Skunkill, being an hundred miles boatable above the Falls, and its course north-east towards the fountain of Susquabanna, (that tends to the heart of the Province, and both sides our own,) it is like to be a great part of the settlement of this age. I say little of the town itself, because a platform will be shown you by my agent, in which those who are purchasers of me will find their names and interests. But this I will say, for the good providence of God, of all the places I have seen in the world I remember not one better seated; so that it seems to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or, the conveniency of the coves, docks, and springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land, and the air, held by the people of these parts to be very good. It is advanced within less than a year to about fourscore houses and cottages, such as they are, where merchants and handicrafts are following their vocations as fast as they can; while the countrymen are close at their

farms. Some of them got a little winter-corn in the ground last season; and the generality have had an handsome summer-crop, and are preparing for their winter-corn. They reaped their barley this year in the month called May, the wheat in the month following; so that there is time in these parts for another crop of divers things before the winter season. We are daily in hopes of shipping to add to our number; for, blessed be God! here is both room and accommodation for them: the stories of our necessity being either the fear of our friends or the scarecrows of our enemies; for the greatest hardship we have suffered hath been salt-meat, which by fowl in winter and fish in summer, together with some poultry, lamb, mutton, veal, and plenty of venison, the best part of the year, hath been made very passable. I bless God I am fully satisfied with the country and entertainment I got in it; for I find that particular content, which hath always attended me, where God in his providence hath made it my place and service to reside. You cannot imagine my station can be at present free of more than ordinary business; and, as such, I may say it is a troublesome work. But the method things are putting in will facilitate the charge, and give an easier motion to the administration of affairs. However, as it is some men's duty to plough, some to sow, some to water, and some to reap, so it is the wisdom as well as the duty of a man to yield to the mind of Providence, and cheerfully as well as carefully embrace and follow the guidance of it.

" 33. For your particular concern I might entirely refer you to the letters of the president of the society: but  
this

this I will venture to say, your provincial settlements, both within and without the town, for situation and soil, are without exception. Your city-lot is a whole street; and one side of a street, from river to river, containing near one hundred acres in the city-liberties, part of your twenty thousand acres in the country. Your tannery hath plenty of bark. The saw-mill for timber and the place of the glass-house are so conveniently posted for water-carriage, the city-lot for a dock, and the whalery for a sound and fruitful bank, and the town Lewis by it to help your people, that by God's blessing the affairs of the society will naturally grow in their reputation and profit. I am sure I have not turned my back upon any offer that tended to its prosperity; and though I am ill at projects, I have sometimes put in for a share with

her officers to countenance and advance her interest. You are already informed what is fit for you further to do. Whatsoever tends to the promotion of wine and to the manufacture of linen in these parts, I cannot but wish you to promote; and the French people are most likely in both respects to answer that design. To that end I would advise you to send some thousands of plants out of France, with some able vinerous, and people of the other vocation. But because I believe, you have been entertained with this and some other profitable subjects by your president, Nicholas Moore, I shall add no more, but to assure you that I am heartily inclined to advance your just interest, and that you will always find me

"Your kind cordial friend,  
"WILLIAM PENN."



## CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

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### CLASSICAL VIEW OF THE BAY OF MISENUS AND ITS ENVIRONS.

[From Mr. *Eustace's* Tour through Italy.]

"AS we passed the bay of Misenus we observed the fine appearance of that promontory; it is separated by the harbour, and Mare morto with the flat shore beyond, from the neck of land which it terminates, and thus forms an insulated eminence, remarkable for its shape, its boldness, and its aerial elevation. After having doubled the cape, we crossed the strait which flows between it and the island of Prochyta. Here I landed, while my companions pursued their course to the island of Ischia, about four miles further. Procida is about two miles from the continent: its shore, towards the west, is comparatively low, but it swells gradually towards the east, and terminates in a bold promontory, the summit of which is crowned with the castle or royal palace. The prominence of this point on one side, and the Punta del Vomero about a mile from it to the south, form a little bay. The promontory is sufficiently lofty to entitle the island, of which it is the most conspicuous feature, to the epithet *alta*, which Virgil gives it, as the rocks which line its eastern and southern coast justify the word *aspera* employed by Statius. Besides the harbour which I have described, there are on the same coast

several nooks and creeks, which afford shelter to fishing boats and small vessels, and contribute much to the variety and romantic beauty that eminently characterize this and the neighbouring islands and shores. There is no regular inn, I believe, in the town, but strangers are received and very well treated in the castle. This edifice is large and very roomy, though almost unfinished; it has a small garden to the west and north, surrounded by a wall that borders the brow of the precipice. A trellice supporting thick spreading vines covers this wall, and shades the walk along it, while large windows open at intervals, and enable the eye to range over the view that lies expanded beneath. At one of these windows I seated myself, and enjoyed the glorious exhibition of the setting sun, which then hung in appearance over the distant island of Pandataria, and cast a purple gleam on all the promontories of Gaeta, and the hills of Formia. The purple tints, as the sun descended into the waves, brightened into golden streaks, then softened into purple again, and gradually deepening into blue, at length melted away in darkness. The moon rose soon after; a table was placed before me covered

covered with figs, apricots, and peaches. The man and woman who took care of the palace, a young couple, the husband strong and comely, the wife handsome, seated themselves opposite to me; their son, a smart lively boy, served at table. After a little conversation, the man took his guitar and accompanied his wife while she sung the evening hymn, in a sweet voice and with great earnestness. Occasionally the man and boy joined in chorus, and while they sung, the eyes of all three were sometimes raised to heaven and sometimes fixed on each other, with a mixed expression of piety, affection, and gratitude. I own, I never was present at an act of family devotion more simple or more graceful. It seemed to harmonize with the beauty of the country, and the temperature of the air, and breathed at once the innocence and the joy of Paradise. Shortly after similar little concerts rose from the town below, and from different parts of the island, and continued at intervals for an hour or more, sometimes swelling upon the ear, and sometimes dying away in distance, and mingling with the murmurs of the sea. One would almost imagine that Milton, who had visited all this coast, had these concerts in mind when he speaks of

Celestial voices to the midnight air,  
Sole or responsive each to other's note,  
Singing their great Creator.—

“Next morning I was awakened earlier than usual by the rays of the sun shining full into my room, and getting up I placed myself in the balcony to enjoy the air and the prospect. Misenus and Baiæ rose before me; the Elysian fields and the groves of *Cumæ* extended be-

tween them in full view still fresh with dew, and bright with the beams of the new risen sun. No scene perhaps surpasses that which is now under my eye in natural beauties, and few equal it in those embellishments which the action of the human mind superadds to the graces of nature. These intellectual charms are the most impressive, and even the most permanent; without them, the exhibitions of the material world become an empty pageant, that pleases the eye for a moment and passes away, leaving perhaps a slight recollection, but producing no improvement. Hence, although Germany, and other more northern countries, frequently display scenes both grand and beautiful, yet, if I may judge of the feelings of other travellers by my own, they are passed over in haste, and viewed with indifference. Even the gigantic features of America, its interminable forests, and its mountains that touch the skies, its sea-like lakes, and its volcanos that seem to thunder in another world, may excite wonder, but can awaken little interest, and certainly inspire no enthusiasm. Their effect is confined to the spot which they cover, and to the very hour which rolls over them; they have no connection with other regions, no retrospect to other times. They stand vast masses, grand but silent monuments, in the midst of boundless solitudes, unenlivened by industry and unadorned by genius. But, if a Plato or a Pythagoras had visited their recesses in pursuit of knowledge; if a Homer or a Virgil had peopled them with ideal tribes, with heroes or with phantoms; if the useful ambition of an Alexander or a Cæsar had carried war and civilization

vilization to their borders; if a courageous people had made a last and successful stand against invasion in their fastnesses; then indeed they would assume dignity and importance; then they would excite interest, and acquire a title to the attention of travellers.

Tunc sylva, tunc antra loqui, tunc vivere  
fontes,

Tum sacri horror aquis, adytisque effun-  
ditur echo

Clarior, et doctæ spirant præagia rupes:  
*Clud. vi. Com. Stil.*

"Nature has shed over the coast before us some of its terrors, and many of its beauties. Homer either visited it, or heard accounts of it, when probably the former were predominant, and represented it accordingly as the boundaries of the living world, and the confines of the infernal regions; the groves of Proserpina, according to him, spread over the sullen beach, and covered it with a thick but barren shade.

"Ἐθ' ἀπὸ τῆς λάχνης καὶ ἀλσος Περσεφόνης.  
Μαργὰ τ' αἰγυροὶ καὶ ἱθάκι βλάστησας.

*Odys. x. 509.*

Virgil beheld it at a time when beauty was its prevalent feature, and though he was obliged to adopt the mythology of his predecessor, yet he qualifies its horrors, by confining the infernal gloom to the precincts of Avernus; while he improves upon it at the same time, by conducting his hero through the regions of the dead, and opening scenes grand, novel, and in the highest degree delightful. Thus, while the foundation was laid by the Greek, the elegant superstructure was raised by the Latin poet. The heroes, the appellations, the topography, are principally Homer's; but the graces, the decora-

tions, the enchantment, belong to Virgil. The former is content with evoking the dead, and throwing an awful horror over the whole coast; the latter fixes on particular spots, and attaches to each some pleasing or instructive recollection. Thus to yon promontory he consigns the name and the glory of Miseno,

— — — — — quo non præstantior alter  
Ære clere viros, Martemque accendere  
cantu.

Into yonder grove on the borders of Avernus, which Homer had filled with phantoms, the nations of the dead, Virgil introduces, the doves of Venus, and brightens its gloom with the vision of the golden bough.

Species auri frondentis opaca  
lucē — — — — —

The adventures of Dædalus were perhaps Homer's, but the temple with its sculptured walls, and the vain efforts of the father to represent the son's fate are characteristic embellishments of Virgil.

Bis conatus erat casus effingere in aëre  
Bis patriæ cecidere manus.

"He also converted the cavern in yonder rock rising on the level shore, into the abode of the Sybil; he made its vaults echo with the voice of futurity, and peopled its recesses with generations yet unknown to the sun. The Elysian fields, one of the most delightful fictions of antiquity, if that may be called a fiction which is founded on truth, belong almost exclusively to Virgil. He at least gave substance and locality to a notion before him vague, indefinite, and shadowy. He shed on yonder groves that cover the hills and border the sea, a purer, a softer radiance, and introduced

duced into them the immortal spirits of the good made happy.

Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi :

Quique sacerdotas casti dum vita manebat :

Quique pii vates et Phæbo digna locuti . . . . .

Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo,

Lib. vi.

In short, not a wood, a lake, a promontory, appears on the coast before me, that has not been distinguished by some illustrious name, or embellished by some splendid fiction. In contemplating a prospect thus adorned by nature, and thus ennobled by genius; the theatre of the most sublime and most instructive fables that the human mind ever invented, we may be allowed, as we bewilder ourselves in the mazes of classical illusion, to indulge a momentary enthusiasm.

Audire et videor pios  
Errare per lucos, amœnæ  
Quæ et aquæ subeunt, et auræ.

Hor.

" But the scenes before me owe not their graces and their interest to poetry only; history has had its share in the decoration and renown of this favoured region. On the summit of that promontory (Miesmus) rose the villa of Marius. Lucullus succeeded to it, and spread around it the amenity and beauty which distinguished his character. On the slope of the hill beyond the harbour, and looking towards Puzuolo stood the villa of Baulis, where Cicero and Hortensius used to meet and exercise their rival powers. On the eminence above it, rose the retreat of Cæsar, lofty in its site, but in the vicinity of Baiæ, thus suited to the temper of that chief,

high and imperious, but yet open to all the charms of literature, and all the allurements of pleasure. Yonder in the curve of the bay, and almost on the beach was Cicero's Academy, sacred, as its name implies, to meditation and philosophical research. Around in different directions, but all within the compass of four miles, were the villas of Pompey, Varro, and Lucullus; of Pompey, once the first of Roman citizens in power and moderation; of Lucullus, famed alike for his talents, his learning, and his luxury; and of Varro, renowned for his deep erudition, and thorough insight into the laws, the literature, and the antiquities of his country. What spot in the universe, Rome alone excepted, ever united so much power, so much genius, so much greatness! Baiæ indeed at that time was the resort, or rather the very temple of Wisdom and the Muses; whither the masters of the world retired, not to dissolve their energies in effeminacy, but to unbend their minds in literary inquiries and refined conversation. Luxury appeared, without doubt, but in her most appropriate form and character, as the handmaid of taste, to minister at the tables, and season the repasts, where Cæsar and Cicero, Pompey and Lucullus, Varro and Hortensius, enjoyed *the feast of reason*. Shortly after this era of greatness and glory, the sun of liberty set for ever on the Roman world; but it cast a parting beam, which still continued to brighten the hemisphere. Augustus himself felt its influence; he had been educated in the principles, and inured to the manly and independent manners of a free Roman; he observed the forms and retained the simplicity of antient times, and gloried in the

the plainness and even in the appellation of a *citizen*; he may therefore be considered as a republican prince. In the modesty of this character, he frequented the coasts of Baiæ, and conducted in his train improvement, opulence, and festivity, Agrippa and Mæcenas, Virgil and Horace. One of the most pleasing scenes of this emperor's life, and well calculated to close a career once so active, with tranquillity, took place in the bay of Puteoli.

"The spirit of the republic seems to have expired with Augustus: under his successor Rome was destined to taste the bitterness of despotism, and during the following reigns, to drain the cup to the dregs. Then Baiæ became the receptacle of profligacy and effeminacy, of lust and cruelty, as far beyond the bounds of nature as the power of the imperial monsters was above human control. The beauties of nature were tarnished by the foulness of vice, and the virtuous man turned away from scenes which he could not behold without disgust and horror. Silius, Martial, Statius, courted the Muse in vain on that shore which had inspired the strains of Virgil. They attempted to celebrate the beauties of Baiæ, but the subject was degraded, and their strains were forced and inharmonious. Baiæ and its retreats, defiled by obscenity, and stained with blood, were doomed to derastation; and earthquakes, war and pestilence, were employed in succession to waste its fields, and depopulate its shores. Its pompous villas were gradually levelled in the dust; its wanton alcoves swallowed up in the sea; its salubrious waters were turned into pools of infection; and its gales, that once breathed health

and perfume, now wafted poison and death. The towns, forsaken by the inhabitants, gradually sunk to ruin, and the most delicious region the sun beholds in his course, is now a desert, and seems destined to expiate in ages of silence and desolation the crimes of the last degenerate Romans.

"The morning was now far advanced, and I turned towards the west to view the island, which is highly cultivated, thickly inhabited, and presents to a spectator beholding it from the castle a most delightful grove of mulberries, poplars, and vines with domes, and clusters of white houses intermingled. Juvenal seems to allude to it as a solitary retreat in his time; it does not merit that appellation at present; in truth, it resembles a large town interspersed with orchards, gardens, and public walks.

"The views which have been described above are not the only prospects which the castle affords; it extends its perspective over Naples, the lower part excepted, which is covered by the promiscuity of Pausilypus, includes Vesuvius, Stabia, Surrentum, and terminates in the island of Capriæ. It is perhaps one of the finest points of view, as it looks down on the bay of Puteoli, which is the most delicious part of the crater.

"Close under the southern part of Prochyta rises another little island, now called Vivara. Whether this island has been detached from Prochyta by some subterraneous convulsion, or whether it existed in ancient times, and be that which Ovid mentions under the appellation of

*Pithecuræ habitantium nomine dictæ,*

I leave the learned reader to determine.

tain. I shall content myself with observing, that it answers the description given by the poet, and swells into a little barren hill in the centre. The fact is, that the names of these islands have been applied in a very confused and indiscriminate manner by many of the ancients, and an attempt to reconcile their differences would employ more time and attention than the subject deserves; especially as every material circumstance connected with their history, situation, and features is sufficiently ascertained, notwithstanding such verbal difficulties, and perhaps poetical mistakes or misrepresentations.

"While I thus indulged myself in solitude and repose in the castle of Prochyta, my fellow travellers were employed in exploring the neighbouring island of Ischia, antiently Arime, Inarime, and Ænaria, and perhaps sometimes Pithecusæ. As it is only about two miles distant from the southern extremity of Prochyta, and as it is distinguished by a very bold and lofty mountain, its scenery, owing to the extreme clearness of the air, was brought as it were under my eye, and appeared as distinct as similar objects in northern climates at the distance of half a mile. The following particulars may suffice to give the reader a tolerable notion of this island.

"The town of Ischia, from which the modern name is derived, stands in a little bay opposite the island of Vivara, above two miles from the nearest point of Prochyta. This bay is defended by a castle seated on a high rock, which communicates with the above by an isthmus of sand. Ischia or Inarime was famed in antient times for its eruptions, and all the varied and dreadful phe-

nomena that accompany the constant action of subterraneous fires. Besides the ordinary effects of volcanic fermentation, earthquakes, torrents of lava rolling down the declivities, or showers of ashes and cinders overwhelming the country, historians talk of flames rising suddenly from the cracks and fissures of the earth, and spreading like a conflagration over the whole surface of the island; of hot water bursting out from unknown sources, and rolling through the fields with all the fury and mischief of a torrent; of mountains suddenly sinking into the abyss below, and as suddenly shooting up again increased in bulk and elevation; of vast masses of land detached from the shore and hurled into the sea, and again heaved up by the waters and thrown back on the shore. With such tremendous events on record before them, it is no wonder that the poets should have placed Typhæus himself under this island, and ascribed its convulsive throws to the agitations of that giant writhing under his tortures.

"The principal feature of Ischia is the mountain antiently named Epopeus, now for euphony softened into Epomco, but more generally called by the people Monte San Nicolo. To visit this mountain was our first business; therefore the next morning, about four o'clock, we mounted our mules and begun the ascent: the road is extremely steep and craggy, and at length with much exertion we reached the summit, but found it so enveloped in clouds, that one of the grand objects of our excursion, the extensive view which is said to comprehend almost half the southern coast of Italy, was nearly lost to us. However, our loss in this respect

was compensated by the local knowledge of the country, which our progress up and round the mountain enabled us to acquire. The summit is formed of a sort of grey or whitish lava, in the midst of which the form of the crater is easily distinguishable. Two hermits and a soldier inhabit this solitary spot, and occupy apartments cut out of the solid rock. This mountain, and indeed the whole island, is evidently of volcanic origin, and formed of lava, tufo, and pumice stone. No eruption however has taken place since the year 1302, when the convulsions that shook the mountain were so violent, and the rivers of burning fluid that poured down its sides so extensive, and so destructive, that the towns and villages were all levelled with the ground or consumed, most of the inhabitants perished and the few survivors were driven in terror from their homes. Since this tremendous explosion the island has enjoyed a state of tranquillity, and all apprehension of similar visitations seems removed. The subterraneous fire however is not extinguished, and the number of hot fountains that spring up in different places still attest its existence and activity. The surface of Ischia is very beautifully varied by vineyards, gardens, groves of chestnut, and villages. It is intersected by numberless steep and narrow dells, shaded by forest trees, intermingled with aloes, myrtles, and other odoriferous shrubs, that shoot out of the fissures of the rocks, and wave over their summits. The soil is fertile, and peculiarly favourable to vines; hence the wine of Ischia is plentiful, and held in considerable estimation; it is lodged in caverns worked out of the rocks, and formed

into very capacious and cool cellars, a method of keeping wine practised not only here and in some other parts of Italy, but in Austria, and various transalpine wine countries; it has many advantages, and implies a great degree of honesty and mutual confidence among the inhabitants.

" Besides Ischia, there are nine towns and several villages; one of the former, Foria, is as large as the capital itself, and I believe more populous. Panza is on the southern side of the isle, and near it, on an insulated and conical rock, stands a fortress. Casamiccio is placed nearly on the summit of Mount Epomeo; these towns have all one or two large churches, as many convents, and generally some medicinal waters, or hot baths, or sands, within their confines. The island of Ischia is extremely well-peopled, and highly cultivated; and as its beauty, its waters, and the coolness and salubrity of its air, attract a considerable number of visitants to it in summer time, it may be considered as very prosperous and flourishing. Its coasts present a great variety of romantic scenery, as they are in general bold and craggy, indented with little bays, jutting out in points, and lined with shapeless rocks which have been torn in moments of convulsion from the shore, or hurled from the precipices above. Such is Inarime, at present the centre of rural beauty and fertility, the resort of health and pleasure, very different from the shattered mountain tumbled in ancient days by Jupiter on the giant monster, for ever resounding with his groans, and inflamed by his burning breath.

" On our return we touched at Procida, and again re-embarking crossed the bay of Pozzuolo. The port

port that once engrossed the commerce of the East, and was accustomed to behold the Roman navy riding on its bosom, was all solitude and silence; not one vessel, not even a boat was seen to ply in its forsaken waters. The Julian mole, *Lucrinoque adita claustra* no longer repel the indignant waves — the royal structure which was numbered among the wonders of Italy, has scarcely left a trace of its existence; and the moral of the poet is literally exemplified in the very instance which he selected for its illustration.

*Debemur morti nos nostraque; sive receptus*

*Terrâ Neptunus classes aquilonibus arcet  
Regis opus . . . . .*

*H. et D. Arte Poetica.*

"We passed under Nisida, rising as a theatre from the sea; its lower part is covered with buildings, the upper is crowned as antiently with wood.

*Sylvaque quæ fixam pelago Nisida coronat.  
Stat.*

"It was once the rural retreat of Brutus, and frequently honoured with Cicero's presence when on a visit to his friend. On doubling the promontory of Posillipo, we beheld the bay with boats without number, skimming over its smooth surface, and Naples extended along the coast in all its glory full before us. The immense line of white edifices stretched along the beach, and spread over the hills behind; the bold but verdant coasts on either side, glittering with towns, villages, convents, and villas; and Mount Vesuvius raising its scorched summit almost in the centre, form a picture of singular beauty, and render this view from the sea prefer-

able to every other, because it alone combines all the characteristic features of this matchless prospect. We landed at sun-set, and sat down to dinner with our windows open full on the bay, the colours of which were gradually fading away and softening into the dim tints of twilight.

"We now turned our attention to Vesuvius, and resolved to visit that mountain without delay, and the more so as the increasing heat of the weather might, in a short time, render such an excursion extremely inconvenient. Therefore, leaving Naples about three o'clock next morning, we reached Portici, where guides with mules had been previously engaged to meet us at four, and instantly began the ascent. Vesuvius rises in a gentle swell from the shore; the first part or base of the mountain is covered with towns on all sides, such as Portici, Torre del Greco, Torre del Annunziata, on the sea coast; and Ottaviano, Somma, Massa, &c. on the inland side. These are all large towns, and with the villages and villas that encircle them, and extend over the second region of the mountain, may be said, without exaggeration, to cover the lower parts of it with fertility, beauty, and population. The upper tract is a scene of perfect devastation, furrowed on all sides with rivers of lava extended in wide black lines over the surface. This region may be said to terminate at the *Atrio dei Cavalli* so called, because the traveller is obliged to dismount and leave his horse there till his return, as the summit of the mountain must be ascended on foot. This part has the shape of a truncated cone; it is formed almost entirely of ashes, and is extremely difficult of ascent,



as it yields under the pressure of the foot, so that one step out of three may be considered as lost. The guides however afford every assistance, and by means of a leather strap thrown over their shoulders ease the traveller not a little in his exertions. It is advisable to proceed slowly and rest at intervals, as the fatigue otherwise is sufficient to try even strong and youthful constitutions.

"When we reached the summit we found ourselves on a narrow ledge of burnt earth or cinders, with the crater of the volcano open beneath us. This orifice in its present form, for it varies at almost every eruption, is about a mile and a half in circumference, and may be about three hundred and fifty feet in depth; its eastern border is considerably higher than the western. Its sides are formed of ashes and cinders, with some rocks and masses of lava intermingled, and shelve in a steep declivity, enclosing at the bottom a flat space of about three quarters of a mile in circumference. We descended some way, but observing that the least motion or noise brought vast quantities of ashes and stones rolling together down the sides, and being called back by our guides, who assured us that we could not in safety go lower or even remain in our station, we re-ascended. We were near enough to the bottom however to observe, that it seemed to be a sort of crust of brown burnt earth, and that a little on one side there were three orifices like funnels, from whence ascended a vapour so thin as to be scarcely perceptible. Such was the state of the crater in the year 1802. We reached the summit a little before seven, and as we had ascended under the shade of

the mountain we had yet felt no inconvenience from the heat; while on the top we were refreshed by a strong wind blowing from the east; and profiting of so favourable a circumstance we sat down on the highest point of the cone to enjoy the prospect. Vesuvius is about three thousand six hundred feet in height, and of course does not rank among the greater mountains; but its situation is so advantageous, that the scene which it unfolds to the eye probably surpasses that displayed from any other eminence. The prospect includes Naples, with its bay, its islands, and its bordering promontories; the whole of that delicious region justly denominated the Campania Felice, with its numberless towns and town-like villages. It loses itself in the immensity of the sea on one side, and on the other is bordered by the Apennines, forming a semicircular frame of various tints and bold outline. I own I do not admire views taken from very elevated points; they indeed give a very good geographical idea of the face of a country, but they destroy all the illusions of rural beauty, reduce hills and vales to the same level, and confound all the graceful swells and hollows of an undulated country in one dull flat surface.

"The most interesting object seen from the summit of Vesuvius is the mountain itself, torn to pieces by a series of convulsions, and strewed with its own ruins. Vesuvius may be said to have two summits; the cone which I have described, and a ridge separated from it by a deep valley, called Monte Somma, from a town that stands on its side. The distance between these two summits is in a straight line, nearly three thousand feet. The ridge on  
the

the side towards the cone presents a steep, rugged, barren precipice; on the other side, it shelves gently towards the plain, and is covered with verdure and villages. The valley or deep dell that winds between these eminences is a desolate hollow, formed entirely of calcined stones, cinders, and ashes, and resembles a vast subterraneous forge, the rocky roof of which has given way, and admitted light from above. Hence it is conjectured, that it is part of the interior of the mountain, as the ridge that borders it, or the Monte Somma, is the remnant of the exterior, or original surface so much celebrated for its beauty and fertility, previous to the eruption of the year 79 of the Christian era. It is indeed probable, that the throws and convulsions of the mountain in that first tremendous explosion may have totally shattered its upper parts, while the vast ejection of ashes, cinders, ignited stones, and melted minerals, must have left a large void in its centre. One entire side of the mountain seems to have been consumed, or scattered around on this occasion, while the other remains in Monte Somma. The cavity thus formed was filled up in part by the matter ejected in subsequent eruptions, and gradually raised into the present cone, which however varies its shape with every new agitation, and increases or diminishes, according to the quantity of materials thrown out by the mountain. Even in the last eruption, it lost a considerable share of its elevation, as the greater part of it, after having been raised and kept suspended in the air for some minutes, sunk into the crater and almost filled its cavity. The fire raging in the gulph below having thus lost its vent, burst through the

flank of the mountain, and poured out a torrent of lava that, as it rolled down the declivity, swept all before it, and in its way to the sea destroyed the greater part of Torre del Greco.

"It is not my intention to describe the phenomena of Vesuvius, or to relate the details of its eruptions, which have been very numerous since the first recorded in history in the reign of Titus, so well described by Pliny the younger in two well-known epistles to Tacitus. I shall only observe that although this eruption be the first of which we have an account, yet Vesuvius had all the features of a volcano, and particularly the traces of a crater, from time immemorial. Strabo speaks of it as being hollowed out into caverns, and having the appearances of being preyed upon by internal fires; and Florus relates a stratagem employed by a Roman officer, who, he says, conducted a body of men through the cavities and subterraneous passages of that mountain. These vestiges, however, neither disfigured its form nor checked its fertility; and it is represented as a scene of beauty and abundance, covered with villas and enlivened by population, when the eruption burst forth with more suddenness and more fury than any similar catastrophe on record. The darkness, the flames, the agitation, the uproar that accompanied this explosion, and extended its devastation and its terror so widely, might naturely excite among many of the degenerate and epicurean Romans that frequented the Campanian coasts, the opinion that the period of universal destruction was arrived, and that the atoms which formed the world were about to dissolve their fortuitous combination,

tion, and plunge the universe once more into chaos.

"The last eruption took place in 1794; the ashes, cinders, and even water, thrown from the mountain did considerable damage to the towns of Somma, Ottalano, and all the circumjacent region; but the principal mischief was, as usual, occasioned by the lava, rivers of which, as I have already related, poured down the southern side of the mountain. These and several other torrents of similar matter, but earlier date, are seen from the summit, and may be traced from their source through the whole of their progress, which generally terminates in the sea. They are narrow at first, but expand as they advance, and appear like so many tracks of rich black mould just turned up by the plough. When their destructive effects are considered, one is surprized to see villas placed in their windings, vineyards waving over their borders, and towns rising in the very middle of their channels. In truth, ravaged and tortured as the vicinity of Vesuvius has been for so many ages, it must appear singular, that it has not been abandoned by its inhabitants, and consigned to the *genius of fire and desolation* as his own peculiar territory. But such is the richness of the soil, and so slight the damages occasioned by the volcano, when compared to the produce of the lands fertilized by its ashes; so delightful is the situation, and of its numerous inhabitants so small the number that suffer by its agitations, that the evil when divested of its terrific appearances seems an ordinary calamity, not exceeding in mischief the accidents of fire and inundation

so common in northern countries. The alarm is indeed great on the approach of an eruption, because it is usually preceded by earthquakes; but when once the fermenting matter finds vent, the general danger is considered as over, and the progress of the phenomena becomes an object of mere curiosity to all, excepting to the cultivators of the lands which the lava actually rolls over, or seems likely to ravage in its progress.

"We descended the cone or upper part of the mountain with great ease and rapidity, as the ashes yielding to the tread prevented slipping, and enabled us to hasten our pace without danger. From the *Atrio dei Cavalli* we proceeded towards a bed of lava ejected in the last eruption, and found its appearance very different from that which we had observed from the summit. From thence it resembled long stripes of new ploughed land; here it was like the surface of a dark muddy stream convulsed by a hurricane, and frozen in a state of agitation; presenting rough broken masses rolling over each other, with a huge fragment rising above the rest here and there, like a vast wave distorted by the tempest and congealed in its fall. The exterior parts of this once liquid torrent of fire are cold, but the sand produced by the friction and crumbling of the interior parts, although it is now eight years since the eruption, is still too hot to hold in the hand, as is indeed the earth itself under, or in immediate contact with these once glowing masses. We continued our descent, and again reached Portici about eleven o'clock.

## ON ITALIAN LITERATURE.

[From the same.]

“**L**ANGUAGE is only the vehicle of instruction, and the sweetest dialect that ever graced the lips of mortals, if not ennobled by genius and consecrated by wisdom, may be heard with as much indifference as the warblings of the birds of the forest. Fortunately for Italy, if the Goddess of Liberty has twice smiled, the Sun of Science also has twice risen on her favoured regions; and the happy periods of Augustus and of Leo, have continued through all succeeding ages, to amuse and to instruct mankind. If the Greek language can boast the first, and Latin the second, Italian may glory in the third epic poem; and Tasso, in the opinion of all candid critics, has an undoubted right to sit next in honour and in fame to his countryman Virgil. Dante and Ariosto have claims of a different, perhaps not an inferior, nature, and in originality and grandeur the former, in variety and imagery the latter, stands unrivalled. Petrarca has all the tenderness, all the delicacy of Catullus Tibullus and Propertius without their foulness and effeminacy; he seems to have felt the softness of love without any mixture of its sensuality; he has even raised it above itself, as I have observed elsewhere, and superadded to that grace and beauty, which have ever been deemed its appropriate ornaments, some of the charms of virtue, and even a certain religious solemnity. Nor has the genius of Italian poetry, as if exhausted by the effort, expired with these, the first and the most

illustrious of her offspring. The same spirit has continued to inspire a succession of poets in every different branch of that divine art, from Boccaccio and Guarini down to Alfieri and Metastasio, all *Phæbo digna locuti*, all inimitable in their different talents, equal perhaps to their celebrated predecessors in the same career and in the same country, and undoubtedly superior both in number and in originality to the bards of the northern regions.

“The French, who glory, and not without reason, in their dramatical writers, have often reproached the Italians with the barrenness of their literature in this respect, and have even ventured to assert, that it proceeded from some inherent defect, from some want of energy or of pliability in the formation of their language. But the language of Dante and of Ariosto wants neither of these qualities; it has assumed all the ease and the grace of Terence, in the comedies of Gherardo di Rossi; in the tragedies of Alfieri it appears in all the dignity and the strength of Sophocles; and simplicity, tenderness, and delicacy, are the inseparable attendants of the virgin muse of Metastasio. It is indeed useless to enlarge on the excellency of Italian poetry: its superiority is admitted, and dull must be the ear, and unmusical the soul, which do not perceive in the chant of the Hesperian Muse a glow and a harmony peculiar to the age and country which inspired the divine strains of Virgil and of Horace.

Namque

Namque haud tibi vultus  
 Mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat; O Dea,  
 certe  
 Et Phœbi soror!      *Æn. lib. 1.*

"But the reader, if not better versed in Italian literature than most of our travellers, will be surprised to hear that Italy is as rich in history as in poetry, and that, in the former as well as in the latter, she may claim a superiority not easily disputed over every other country. Every republic, and almost every town has its historian, and most of these historians, though their subject may sometimes appear too confined, possess the information and the talents requisite to render their works both instructive and amusing. The greater states can boast of authors equal to their reputation; while numberless writers of the first rate abilities have devoted their time and their powers to the records of their country at large, and related its vicissitudes with all the spirit of ancient, and with all the precision of modern times. In these cursory observations, a few instances only can be expected, but the few which I am about to produce are sufficient to establish the precedency of Italian historians.

"Paolo Sarpi, in depth, animation and energy, is represented by the Abbé Mably, no incompetent judge, as unrivalled, and proposed as a model of excellence in the art of unravelling the intricacies of misrepresentation and party spirit. Cardinal Pallavicini treated the same subject as Paolo Sarpi, with candor, eloquence and judgment; and his style and manner are supposed to combine together with great felicity, the ease and the dignity that became the subject and the historian. Giannone possesses nearly the same qualities, and adds to them an impar-

tiality of discussion, and a depth of research peculiar to himself. Guicciardini, with the penetration of Tacitus, unites the fulness (*lactes ubertas*) of Titus Livius, and like him possesses the magic power of transforming the relation into action, and the readers into spectators. This historian has been reproached with the length and intricacy of his sentences, a defect considerably increased by the number of parentheses with which they are, not unfrequently, embarrassed. The reproach is not without foundation. But it must be remembered that his Roman master is not entirely exempt from the same defect, and that in neither, does it impede the fluency, or weaken the interest of the narration. The greatest fault of the Florentine historian is the frequency of his studied speeches, a fault into which he was betrayed by his admiration of the ancients, and by that passionate desire of imitating them, which is its natural consequence. But his harangues have their advantages, and, like those of Livius and of Thucydides, not only furnish examples of eloquence, but abound in maxims of public policy and of sound philosophy. Machiavelli ranks high as an historian, and may be considered as the rival of Tacitus, whom he imitates, not indeed in the dignity and extent of his subject, nor in the veracity of his statements, but in the concise and pithy style of his narration.

"These historians were preceded and followed by others of talents and celebrity little inferior; such were the judicious historian of Naples, Angelo de Costanzo; the Cardinal Bembo, Morosini, and Paruta of Venice; Adriani and Ammirato of Tuscany, or rather of Florence; Bernardino Corio of

Milan; and in general history, Targagnola and Campagna, not to mention Davila and the Cardinal Bentivoglio. In each of these historians, the Italian critics discover some peculiar features, some characteristic touches exclusively their own; while in all they observe the principal excellencies of the historic art, discrimination in portraits, judicious arrangements in facts, and in style, pure and correct language. These writers, it is true, flourished for the greater part, at a time, when Italian literature was in its meridian glory, that is, during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries; but its lustre did not cease with them, nor was Italy in the eighteenth century unenlightened by history or unproductive of genius.

“ Were I to mention the learned and judicious Muratori only, and close the list of Italian historians with his name, I should not be called upon for any further proof of the superiority of the Italians in the research and combination that constitute the excellence of this branch of literature. So extensive is the erudition, so copious the information, so judicious the selection, and so solid the criticism, that reign throughout the whole of this voluminous author's writings, that his works may be considered in themselves as a vast and well disposed library, containing all the documents of Italian history and antiquities, and all the reflections which they must suggest to a mind of great and extensive observation.

“ But to the name of Muratori, I will add another equally illustrious in the annals of literature, and like it capable, even single, of fixing the reputation of a language of less intrinsic merit than Italian; I mean Tiraboschi, the author of numerous

works, but known principally for his *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*. This work takes in the whole history of Italian literature both ancient and modern, and contains an account of the commencement and progress of each science, of the means by which knowledge was promoted, of libraries and literary establishments, of the lives, the works, and the characters of great authors; in short, of persons, revolutions, events, and discoveries, connected with the fate of literature. It begins with the first dawn of science and taste in Rome, and follows their increase, decline, and revival during the succeeding ages; of course it includes a considerable portion of the general history of the country at each epoch, and conducts the reader from the first Punic war over the immense space of twenty intervening centuries down to the eighteenth. Few works have been planned upon a scale more extensive, and none executed in a more masterly manner. A strict adherence to veracity; a thorough acquaintance with the subject in all its details; a spirit of candour raised far above the influence of party; a discernment in criticism, deep and correct; and, above all, a clear and unbiassed judgment, *principium et fons recte scribendi*, pervade every part of this astonishing work, and give it a perfection very unusual in literary productions so comprehensive and so complicated. The style, according to the opinion of Italian critics, is pure, easy, and rapid, free alike from the wit that dazzles and the pomp that encumbers, yet graced with such ornaments as rise spontaneously from the nature of the subject. On the whole, it may be considered as one of the noblest and most

most interesting works ever published, and far superior to any historical or critical performance in any other language. The author intended it as a vindication of the claims of his country to the first honours in literature, and has, by establishing those claims, erected to its glory a monument as durable as human language, and appropriated for ever to Italy the title of Mother of the Arts and Sciences, and Instructress of Mankind.

"The work of Abate D. G. Andres Dell'Oregine, di progressi e dello Stato di ogni Letteratura, is a noble, an extensive, and a very masterly performance. I have already spoken of the *Revoluzioni D'Italia*, by the Abate Denina; I need only say that to perspicuity and manly simplicity this author adds a great share of political sagacity, and a sound philosophic spirit. The same qualities are predominant in his discourses, *Sopra le Vicende della Letteratura*, a work which comprises, in a small compass, a great mass of information, and may be considered as a compendious history, and at the same time, as a very masterly review, of literature in general.

"In antiquities the Italians are rich to superabundance, and can produce more authors of this description not only than any one, but than all the other nations of Europe together. Among them we may rank the illustrious names of Muratori, Maffei, Mazzochi, Carli, and Paciaudi, to which many more might be added were it not universally acknowledged that the study of antiquities called forth by so many motives and by so many objects, is an indigenous plant in Italy, and flourishes there as in its native climate.

"For the last fifty years political economy has been a favourite subject on the continent, and in it some French writers have acquired considerable reputation. In this respect, as in many others, the French may be more bold, more lively, and perhaps more entertaining, because more paradoxical; but the man who wishes to be guided by experience and not by theory, who prefers the safe, the generous principles of Cicero and of Plato, to the dangerous theories of Rousseau and of Sieyes, will also prefer the Italian to the French economists. Of the former the number is great, and from them has been extracted and printed in sets, as Classics, (in which light indeed they are considered,) a select number of the best, whose works form a collection of about fifty volumes octavo.

"In Essays, Treatises, Journals, and Reviews, the Italians first led the way, and still equal every other nation. In the Sciences, they have been considered as deficient, but this opinion can be entertained only by persons imperfectly acquainted with Italian literature. To be convinced that it is without foundation, we need only enumerate the astronomers, mathematicians, geographers, and natural philosophers, who have flourished in Italy from the time of Galileo to the present period; and among them we shall find a sufficient number of justly celebrated names to vindicate the reputation of their country, and to justify its claim to scientific honours.

"Here indeed, as upon another occasion, I must observe that Italian literature has been traduced, because its treasures are unknown; and that the language itself has been deemed unfit for research and argument, because too often employed as the  
vehicle

vehicle of amorous ditties and of effeminate melody. This prejudice is owing amongst us in some degree to the influence of French fashions and opinions, which commenced at the Restoration, was increased by the Revolution, and was strengthened and extended in such a manner by the example of court sycophants, and by the writings of courtly authors, that French became a constituent part of a genteel education, and some tincture of its literature was deemed a necessary accomplishment. Thence, French criticism had acquired weight, and the opinions of Boileau, Bouhours, Dubos, &c. became axioms in the literary world. Either from jealousy or from ignorance, or from a mixture of both, these critics speak of Italian literature with contempt, and take every occasion of vilifying the best and noblest compositions of its authors. Hence the contemptuous appellation of *l'isnel*, given by the French satirist to the strains (*Aurea dicta*) of Tasso, an appellation as inapplicable as it is insolent, which must have been dictated by envy, and can be repeated by ignorance only.

“The suppliant petulance of these criticisms might perhaps recommend them to the French public, especially as they flattered the national vanity, by depreciating the glory of a rival, or rather a superior country; but it is difficult to conceive how they came to be so generally circulated and adopted in England; and it is not without some degree of patriot indignation, that we see Dryden bend his own stronger judgment, and Pope submit his finer taste, to the dictates of French essayists, and to the assertions of Parisian poets. Addison, though in other respects an Anti-Gallean, and strongly influenced by

those laudable prejudices, to use his own expression, which naturally cleave to the heart of a true-born Briton, here condescended to follow the crowd, and resigning his own better lights and superior information, adopted without examination, the opinions of the French school. This tame, servile spirit of imitation became in a short time general, and not only contributed to give the language of our enemies that currency of which they are now so proud, but restrained the flight of British genius, and kept it confined in the trammels of French rules and of French example.

“How detrimental, in fact, this imitative spirit has been to our national literature will appear evident, if we compare the authors, who were formed in the Italian school, with those who fashioned their productions on French models. To say nothing of Chaucer, who borrowed both his manner and his subject from Italy, or of Shakspeare, whose genius, like that of Homer, was fed, as the luminaries of heaven, by sources secret and inexhaustible; I need only mention the names of Spencer and of Milton, two towering spirits, who soar far above competition, and from their higher spheres look down upon the humbler range of Pope and of Dryden. Yet Spencer and Milton are disciples of the Tuscan sages, and look up with grateful acknowledgment to their Ausonian masters. Waller and Cowley pursued the same path though at a respectful distance, and certainly not, *passibus æquis*: especially as in the time of the latter, French fashion began to spread its baneful influence over English literature. Then came the gossamer breed of courtly poetasters, who forgetting, or perhaps not knowing, that

The



The sterling bullion of one British line,  
Drawn to French wire, would through  
whole pages shine;

derived their pretty thoughts from French madrigals, and modelled their little minds, as they borrowed their dress from French puppets. I mean not to say that Italian was utterly neglected during this long period, because I am aware that at all times it was considered as an accomplishment ornamental to all, and indispensably necessary to those who visit Italy. But though the language of Italy was known, its literature was neglected; so that not its historians only were forgotten, but of all the treasures of its divine poesy little was ever cited or admired excepting a few airs from the opera, or some love-sick and effeminate sonnets selected from the minor poets. French literature was the sole object of the attention of our writers, and from it they derived that cold correctness which seems to be the prevailing feature of most of the authors of the first part of the eighteenth century.

"Nor was this frigidity the only or the greatest evil that resulted from the then prevailing partiality for French literature. The spirit of infidelity had already infected some of the leading writers of that volatile nation, and continued to spread its poison imperceptibly, but effectually, till the latter years of the reign of Louis the Fifteenth, when most of the academicians had, through interest or vanity, ever the predominant passion in a French bosom, ranged themselves under the banners of Voltaire, and had become real or pretended sceptics. The works of the subalterns, it is true, were much praised but little read by their partisans; and Helvetius, Freret, Du Maillet, with fifty

others of equal learning and equal fame, now slumber in dust and silence on the upper shelf of public libraries, the common repository of deceased authors. But the wit and ribaldry of their chief continued to amuse and to captivate the gay, the voluptuous, and the ignorant; to dictate the ton, that is, to prescribe opinions and style to the higher circles; and by making impiety current in good company, to give it the greatest recommendation it could possess in the eyes of his countrymen, the sanction of fashion.

"Such was the state of opinion in France when two persons of very different tastes and characters in other respects, but equally enslaved to vanity and to pride, visited that country—I mean Hume and Gibbon, who, though Britons in general are little inclined to bend their necks to the yoke of foreign teachers, meanly condescended to sacrifice the independence of their own understanding and the religion of their country to the flatteries and the sophisms of Parisian atheists. These two renegadoes joined in the views of their foreign associates, undertook to propagate atheistic principles among their countrymen, and faithful to the engagement, endeavoured in all their works to instil doubt and indifference into the minds of their readers, and by secret and almost imperceptible arts, gradually to undermine their attachment to revealed religion. Hints, sneers, misrepresentation, and exaggeration, concealed under affected candour, pervade almost every page of their very popular but most pernicious histories; and if the mischief of these works, however great, be not equal to the wishes of their authors, it is entirely owing to the good

good sense and the spirit of religion so natural to the minds of Englishmen. This wise and happy temper, the source and security of public and private felicity, the nation owes to Providence; the desolating doctrines of incredulity, Hume and Gibbon, and their disciples, borrowed from France and its academies. Italian literature is exempt from this infection: its general tendency is religious; all its great authors have been distinguished by a steady and enlightened piety, and their works naturally tend to elevate the mind of the reader and to fix his thoughts on the noble destinies of the human race; an unspeakable advantage in a downward and perverse age, when men, formed in vain with 'looks erect and countenance sublime,' confine their views to the earth, and voluntarily place themselves on a level with the beasts that perish.

"To return.—Gray, who seems to have conceived, while in Italy, a partiality for its poetry, soon discovered the treasures which it contains; and first, I believe, attempted to copy the manner and to revive the taste that had formed the princes of English verse, and given them that boldness and that sublimity which foreigners now consider as their characteristic qualities. His school inherited his partiality, and the study of Italian began to revive gradually, though its progress was slow until the publication of the *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*; a work which evidently awakened the slumbering curiosity of the nation, and once more turned their eyes to Italy, the great parent and nurse of languages, of laws, of arts, and of sciences. Since the appearance of that publication, many champions have arisen to support the united

of taste and of Italian, and have displayed talents which might have obtained success with fewer advantages on their side, but with so many, could not fail to triumph. Among these the public is much indebted to Mr. Mathias, and to the author of the *Pursuits of Literature*, (*quocunque gaudet nomine*) who have struggled with unabating zeal to turn the attention of the public from the frippery and the tinsel of France to the sterling ore of Italy, and to place the literature of that country in the rank due to its merit, that is, next to the emanations of Greek and Roman genius.

"It is indeed much to be regretted that a language so harmonious in sound, so copious in words, so rich in literature, and at the same time so intimately connected with the ancient dialect of Europe and its modern derivatives, as to serve as a key both to one and to the others, should have been forced from its natural rank, and obliged to yield its place to a language far inferior to it in all these respects, and for many reasons not worth the time usually allotted to it in fashionable education. The great admirers of French, that is, the French critics themselves, do not pretend to found its supposed universality on its intrinsic superiority. In fact, not to speak of the rough combinations of letters, the indistinct articulation of many syllables, the peculiar sound of some vowels, the suppression, not of letters only, but of whole syllables, and the almost insuperable difficulties which arise from these peculiarities to foreigners studying this language; the perpetual recurrence of nasal sounds, the most disagreeable that can proceed from human organs, predominating as it does throughout the

the whole language, is sufficient alone to deprive it of all claim to sweetness and to melody. Some authors, I know, and many French critics discover in it a natural and logical construction, which, as they pretend, gives to it, when managed by a skilful writer, a clearness and a perspicuity which is scarcely to be equalled in Latin and Greek, and may be sought for in all modern dialects. This claim has been boldly advanced on one side and feebly contested on the other, though many of my readers, who have perhaps amused themselves with French authors for many a year, may perhaps have never yet observed this peculiar excellence, nor discovered that the French language invariably follows the natural course of our ideas, and the process of grammatical construction.

"I mean not to dispute this real or imaginary advantage; especially as the discussion unavoidably involves a long metaphysical question relative to the natural order of ideas and the best corresponding arrangement of words; but I must observe, that to be confined to one mode of construction only, however excellent it may be, is a defect; because it deprives poetry and eloquence of one of the most powerful instruments of harmony and of description, I mean Inversion: and because it removes the distinction of styles, and brings all composition down to the same monotonous level. In fact, French poets have long complained of the tame uniform genius of their language, and French critics have been obliged, however reluctantly, to acknowledge that it has no poetic style; and if the reader wishes to see how well founded these complaints are, and how just this acknowledgment, he need

only consult the ingenious translator of Virgil's *Georgics* by the Abbé de Lille. In the preface he will hear the critic lamenting the difficulties imposed upon him by the nature of his language; and in the versification he will admire the skill with which the poet endeavours, (vainly indeed,) to transfuse the spirit, the variety, the colouring of the original into the dull, lifeless imitation. If he has failed, he has failed only comparatively; for his translation is the best in the French language, and to all the excellencies of which such a translation is susceptible, adds the peculiar graces of ease and propriety. He had all the talents necessary on his side, taste, judgment and enthusiasm; but his materials were frail, and his language, *Phæbi nondam patiens*, sunk under the weight of Roman genius. If other proofs of the feebleness of the French language, and of its inadequacy to the purposes of poetry, were requisite, we need only open Boileau's translation of Longinus, and we shall there find innumerable instances of failure, which, as they cannot be ascribed to the translator, must originate from the innate debility of the language itself.

"In consequence of this irremediable defect the French have no poetical translation of Homer nor of Tasso; nor had they of Virgil or of Milton, till the Abbé De Lille attempted to introduce them to his countrymen in a French dress. But, both the Roman and the British poet seem alike to have disdained the trammels of Gallic rhyme, and turned away indignant from the translator, who presumed to exhibit their majestic forms masked and distorted to the public. The exertions of the Abbé only proved to the literary world, that

that even his talents and ingenuity were incapable of communicating to the language of his country energy sufficient to express the divine sentiments and the sublime imagery of Virgil and of Milton. In this respect Italian is more fortunate, and seems formed to command alike the regions of poetry and of prose. It adapts itself to all the purposes of argumentation or of ornament, and submits with grace and dignity to whatever construction the poet, the orator, or the metaphysician chooses to impose upon it.

*Mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet.*  
*Tibullus, 4—2.*

In fact this language has retained a considerable portion of the boldness and the liberty of the mother tongue, and moves along with a freedom which her tame rival would attempt in vain to imitate.

"I have hinted at the difficulty of the French language, which is in reality so great as to become a serious defect, and a solid ground of objection. This difficulty arises, in the first place, from the general complication of its grammar, the multiplicity of its rules, and the frequency of exceptions; and in the next place, from the nature of several sounds peculiar, I believe, to it. Such are some vowels, particularly *a* and *u*; and such also many diphthongs, as *ieu*, *eu*, *oi*, not to mention the *l mouillé*, the *e muet*; and various syllables of nasal and indistinct utterance, together with the different sounds of the same vowels and diphthongs in different combinations. I speak not of these sounds as agreeable or disagreeable to the ear, but only as difficult, and so much so as to render it almost impossible for a foreigner ever to pronounce French with ease and strict

propriety. Here again Italian has the advantage. Its sounds are all open and labial; it flows naturally from the organs, and requires nothing more than time and expansion. Its vowels have invariably the same sound, and that sound may be found in almost every language. The nose and the throat, those bag-pipe instruments of French utterance, have no share in its articulation; no grouped consonants stop its progress; no indistinct murmur choke its closes: it glides from the lips with facility, and it delights the ear with its fulness, its softness, and its harmony. As its grammar approaches nearer Latin, it is more congenial to our infant studies, and may therefore be acquired with the greater facility.

"In speaking of French literature I wish to be impartial; and most willingly acknowledge that our rivals are a sprightly and ingenious nation; that they have long cultivated the arts and sciences, and cultivated them with success; that their literature is an inexhaustible source of amusement and instruction; and that several of their writers rank among the great teachers and the benefactors of mankind. But after this acknowledgment, I must remind them that the Italians were their masters in every art and science, and that whatever claims they may have to literary merit and reputation, they owe them entirely to their first instructors. Here indeed Voltaire himself, however jealous on other occasions of the prerogatives of his own language, confesses the obligation, and candidly declares that France is indebted to Italy for her arts, her sciences, and even for her civilization. In truth, the latter country had basked in the sunshine

of science at least two centuries, ere one solitary ray had beamed upon the former; and she had produced poets, historians and philosophers, whose fame emulates the glory of the ancients, ere the language of France was committed to paper, or deemed fit for any purpose higher than the diaries of a Joinville, or the songs of the Troubadours. To enter into a regular comparison of the principal authors in these languages, and to weigh their respective merits in the scale of criticism would be an occupation equally amusing and instructive, but at the same time it would require more leisure than the traveller can command, and a work far more comprehensive than the present, intended merely to throw out hints which the reader may verify and improve at discretion, as the subject may hereafter invite. I must therefore confine myself to a very few remarks, derived principally from French critics, and consequently of considerable weight, because extorted, it must seem, by the force of truth from national vanity. The authority of Voltaire may not perhaps be looked upon as decisive, because however solid his judgment, and however fine his taste, he too often sacrificed the dictates of both to the passion or the whim of the moment, and too frequently gave to interest, to rancour, and to party, what he owed to truth, to letters, and to mankind. But, it must be remembered that these defects, while they lower his authority as a critic, also obscure his reputation as an historian, and deprive French literature of the false lustre which it has acquired from his renown. And indeed, if impartiality be essential to history, Voltaire must forfeit the appellation of historian, as his *His-*

toire Generale is one continued satire upon religion, intended by its deceitful author not to inform the understanding, but to pervert the faith of the reader. Hence the Abbé Mably, in his ingenious reflections on history, though not very hostile to the unbelieving party, censures the above-mentioned work with some severity, without condescending to enter into the details of criticism.

“The same author speaks of the other historians of his language with contempt, and from the general sentence excepts the Abbé Vertot and Fleury only; exceptions which prove at the same time the critic’s judgment and impartiality; for few writers equal the former in rapidity, selection, and interest, and none surpass the latter in erudition, good sense, and simplicity. The same Abbé prefers the History of the Council of Trent, by the well known Father Paolo Sarpi, to all the histories compiled in his own language, and represents it as a model of narration, argument, and observation. We may subscribe to the opinion of this judicious critic, so well versed in the literature of his own country, without the least hesitation, and extend to Italian history in general the superiority which he allows to one only, and one who is not the first of Italian historians, either in eloquence or in impartiality.

“In one species of history, indeed, the Italians justly claim the honour both of invention and of pre-eminence, and this honour, not France only but England must, I believe, concede without contest. I allude to critical biography, a branch of history in the highest degree instructive and entertaining, employed in Italy at a very early period, and carried to the highest perfection by

by the late learned Tiraboschi. In French, few productions of the kind exist: perhaps the panegyric discourses pronounced in the French Academy border nearest upon it; but these compositions, though recommended by the names of Fontenelle, Massillon, Flechier, Marmontel, and so many other illustrious academicians, are too glittering, too artificial and refined, as well as too trivial and transient in their very nature, to excite much interest, or to fix the attention of the critic. In our own language Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* present a fair object of comparison, as far as the plan extends, and perhaps in point of execution may be considered by many of my readers as masterly pieces of style, of judgment, and even of eloquence, equal, if not superior, to the Italian. But as the narrow sphere of the English biographer sinks into insignificance, when compared to the vast orbit of the Italian historian, so their works bear no proportion, and cannot of course be considered as objects of comparison. With regard to the execution, Johnson, without doubt, surprises and almost awes the reader, by the weight of his arguments, by the strength of his expression, and by the uniform majesty of his language; but I know not whether the ease, the grace, and the insinuating familiarity of Tiraboschi may not charm us more, and keep up our attention and our delight much longer.

"In one branch of literature France may have the advantage over most modern languages, I mean in theological composition: and this advantage she owes to her peculiar circumstances; I might say with more propriety, to her misfortunes. The Calvinistic opinions prevalent in Geneva had been pro-

pagated at an early period of the reformation in the southern provinces of France, and in a short space of time made such a progress, that their partisans conceived themselves numerous enough to cope with the established church, and perhaps powerful enough to overturn it. They first manifested their zeal by insults and threats, then proceeded to deeds of blood and violence, and at length involved their country in all the horrors of civil war, anarchy, and revolution. In the interim, the pen was employed as well as the sword, and while the latter called forth all the exertions of the body, the former brought into action all the energies of the mind.

"During more than a century, war and controversy raged with equal fury, and whatever the opinion of the reader may be upon the subject in debate, he will probably agree with me, that Calvinism, defeated alike in the field of battle and in the nobler contest of argument, was compelled to resign the double palm of victory to the genius of her adversary. In the course of the debate, and particularly towards its close, great talents appeared, and much ingenuity and learning were displayed on both sides; till the respective parties seem to unite all their powers in the persons of two champions, Claude and Bossuet. Though nature had been liberal in intellectual endowments to both the disputants, and though all the means of art had been employed to improve the gifts of nature, yet the contest was by no means equal between them; and after having been worsted in every onset, the Elder at length sunk under the superiority of the Prelate. But, if the victim can derive any credit from the hand that falls

tells it, Claude and Calvinism may boast that the illustrious Bossuet was alone capable, and alone worthy to give the fatal blow that put an end at once to the glory, and almost to the existence of the party in France.

"Bossuet was indeed a great man, and one of those extraordinary minds which at distant intervals seem as if deputed from a superior region, to enlighten and to astonish mankind. With all the originality of genius, he was free from its eccentricity and intemperance. Sublime without obscurity, bold yet accurate, splendid and yet simple at the same time, he awes, elevates, and delights his readers, overpowers all resistance, and leads them willing captives to join and to share his triumph. The defects of his style arise from the imperfection of his dialect; and perhaps he could not have given a stronger proof of the energies of his mind than in compelling the French language itself to become the vehicle of sublimity. His works, therefore, are superior to all other controversial writings in his own or in any other language.

"In Italian there are, I believe, none of that description: there was no difference of opinion on the subject, and of course no controversy: a deficiency in their literature abundantly compensated by the absence of animosity, of hatred, of penal laws, and of insolence on one side, and on the other of complaint, of degradation, and of misery.

"To return to my first observation.—We have just reason to lament, that a language so inferior in every respect as French, should have been allowed to acquire such an ascendancy as to be deemed even in England a necessary accomplishment, and made in some degree an

integral part of youthful education. If a common medium of communication between nations be necessary, as it undoubtedly is, it would have been prudent to have retained the language most generally known in civilized nations, which is Latin; especially as this language is the mother of all the polished dialects now used in Europe, has the advantage of being the clearest, the most regular, and the easiest, and moreover, was actually in possession at the very time when it pleased various courts to adopt, with the dress and other fopperies of France, its language also. Reason might reclaim against the absurdity of preferring a semi-barbarous jargon, to a most ancient, a most beautiful, and a most perfect language; but the voice of reason is seldom heard, and yet more seldom listened to at courts, where fashion, that is the whim of the monarch or of the favourite, is alone consulted and followed even in all its deformities and all its extravagancies.

"But that which escaped the observation of the courtier ought to have attracted the attention of the minister, who might have discovered, by reflection or by experience, the advantages which a negotiator derives from the perfect knowledge of the language which he employs, and the extreme impolicy of conceding these advantages to our enemies. In order to form a just idea of the importance of this concession, we need only to observe the superiority which a Frenchman assumes in capitals where his language is supposed to be that of good company, such as Vienna, and particularly Petersburg, and contrast with that superiority, his humble appearance in London or in Rome, where he cannot pretend to such a distinction. In the former

former cities he feels himself at home, and considers himself as the first in rank because the first in language; in the latter the consciousness of being a foreigner checks his natural confidence, and imposes upon him, however reluctant, the reserved demeanor inseparable from that character.

"Now in all diplomatic meetings, the French is the language of discussion, and consequently, the French negotiator displays his faculties with the same ease and with the same certainty of applause as in his own saloon, surrounded with a circle of friends at Paris. The English envoy on the contrary finds his natural reserve increased and all his powers paralyzed by a sensation of inferiority in the use of the weapons which he is obliged to employ, and by a conviction that the eloquence of his adversary must triumph over his plain, unadorned, and probably ill-delivered statements. To this disadvantage we may, perhaps, attribute the observation so often repeated, that France recovers in the cabinet all she loses in the field: an observation, which, if it does not wound our pride, ought at least to awaken our caution.

"But this diplomatic evil is not the only, nor the greatest, mischief that results from this absurd preference; it moreover enables our enemies to disseminate their political principles, to carry on intrigues, to multiply the means of seduction, and to insure, by the agency of numberless scribblers, pamphleteers, poetasters, &c. the success of their dark and deep-laid projects. They are already endowed with too many means of mischief, and possess all the skill and activity requisite to give them effect. Why should we

voluntarily increase their powers of attack, and by propagating their language, open a wider field of action to their baneful influence? Such conduct surely borders upon infatuation.

"In the next place, the propagation of the French language has produced no better effects in literature than in policy. If France has furnished the republic of letters with some finished models of theatrical excellence and exquisite specimens of ecclesiastical oratory, the only branches in which she excels; she has, on the other hand, inundated Europe with frivolous compositions, erotic songs, and love-sick novels, by which she has warped the public taste from the classical rectitude of the preceding centuries; and inverting the natural process of the mind, turned it from bold and manly contemplations to languid and enervating trifles. Nay, she has done more. For the last sixty years, the genius of France, like one of those furies sometimes let loose to scourge mankind, and to ripen corrupted generations for destruction, has employed all its talents and all its attractions to confound the distinction of right and wrong, of truth and falsehood, to infect the heart with every vice, and to cloud the understanding with every error; to stop for ever the two great sources of human dignity and felicity, truth and virtue, and to blot out of the mind of man, the sun, the soul of the intellectual world, even the divinity himself. Such is the unvarying tendency of almost all the works which have issued from the French press, and been circulated in all the countries of Europe during the period above mentioned, from the voluminous and cumbersome Encyclopedic down to the declama-



tions of Volney or the Tales of Marmontel, *en petit format*, for the accommodation of travellers. The truth is, that the appellation of French literature, at present, seems confined to the works of Voltaire and of his disciples, that is, to the infidel faction, excluding the nobler specimens of French genius, the productions of the age of Lewis XIV. and of the period immediately following that monarch's demise: and if we wish to know the effects which this literature produces upon the human mind, we need only cast our eyes upon those who are most given to it, and the countries where it flourishes most. We shall find that impiety and immorality keep pace with it in private and public life, and that domestic and national disorder and misery are its constant and inseparable companions. France, where the pestilence begun, first felt its consequences, and still bleeds under its scourge. The Prussian court, actually degraded and despised, smarts under the punishment brought upon the monarchy by the French principles of the atheistic Frederic. The Russian capital, now the theatre of every dark intrigue, treacherous plot, and fatal indulgence; may ere long have reason to curse the impolicy of Catherine, who, by encouraging the language and the opinions of France, sowed the seeds of death and of dissolution in the bosom of her empire.

*Viperam inspirans animam.*

The late unhappy sovereign fell a victim to their increasing influence; and it is difficult to say, whether the same passions, working on the same principles, may not at some future period produce a similar

catastrophe. Such are the consequences of partiality to French literature, and such the last great curse which that nation, at all periods of its history the bane and the torment of the human species, has in these latter times brought upon the civilized world. Now let me ask once more, in the name of truth and of virtue, of interest and of patriotism, by what fatality Europe is doomed to encourage a language, the instrument of so much mischief, and to propagate a literature, the vehicle of poison and of desolation? What can induce her to furnish weapons of assault to a giant power, that massacres her tribes, and ravages her fairest provinces, by supplying the means of communication, to facilitate the progress of armies already too rapid and too successful; and thus to prepare the way for her own final subjection? Surely such impolitic conduct must be the last degree of blindness, the utmost point of public infatuation.

"But, it may be asked, where is the remedy? The remedy is at hand. We have our choice of two languages, either of which may be adopted as a general medium of communication, not only without inconvenience, but even with advantage.—Latin and Italian. Latin is the parent of all the refined languages in Europe; the interpreter of the great principles of law and of justice, or, in other words, of jurisprudence in all its forms and with all its applications: it is the depository of wisdom and of science, which every age, from the fall of Carthage down to the present period, has continued to enrich with its productions, its inventions, its experience: it still continues the necessary and indispensable accomplishment of the gentleman and of the

the scholar, and is the sole introduction to all the honourable and liberal professions. It still remains the most widely spread of all languages, and its grammar is justly regarded for its clearness, its facility, and its consistency as the general grammar. Why then should we not adopt as an universal medium of intercourse this language universally understood; and why not restore to it the privilege which it had ever enjoyed, till the fatal conquests of Lewis XIV. spread the language and the vices of France over half the subjugated continent?

"I need not enlarge upon the advantages that would result from the adoption of Latin, or shew how much it would disencumber and facilitate the progress of education: this much, however, I will observe, that the energy and the magnanimity of the Roman authors in this supposition made common, might kindle once more the flame of liberty in Europe, and again *man* the rising generation, now dissolved in luxury and in effeminacy. But if, in spite of taste and of reason, this noble language must be confined to our closets, and a modern dialect must be preferred to it, Italian, without doubt, is the most eligible, because it possesses the most advantages, and is free from every objection. Of its advantages I have already spoken; of its exemption from evils to which French is liable, I need to say but a few words. It can have no political inconvenience; it is not the language of a rival nation. Italy pretends not to universal dominion, either by sea or by land; it administers to the pleasures without alarming the fears of other nations. Its language is that of poetry and of music; it is spread over all the wide-extended coasts, and through

all the innumerable islands, of the Mediterranean, and has at least a classic universality to recommend it to the traveller who wishes to visit the regions ennobled by the genius and by the virtues of antiquity. The general tenor of Italian is pure and holy. None of its great authors were infected with impiety, and not one of its celebrated works is tinctured, even in the slightest degree, with that poisonous ingredient. I have already mentioned the ease with which it may be acquired: all its sounds may be found in every language; and if it be difficult, perhaps impossible, for foreigners to acquire all the graces of its modulation, they may with very little labour make themselves masters of its essential parts, so as to express themselves with facility and with perspicuity.

"But it may perhaps be objected that a change of diplomatic language might at present be difficult, if not impossible. The difficulty is not so great as may be imagined. Let any one of the greater courts declare its intention of communicating with foreign ministers only in its own language, or in Latin or Italian, and a revolution in this respect will be brought about without delay or opposition. That this change is desirable, and that it would bring with it many political, literary, and even moral advantages can scarcely be disputed: and that it may take place at some future period is by no means improbable.

"Italian was, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, what French has been in the eighteenth, with this difference, that the former language owed to its own intrinsic merits that extension which the latter acquired by the preponderance of French power. When that power

power declines, and it is too gigantic and too oppressive to last, the language will decline with it, and again return to its natural limits; but what language will succeed it, it is not easy to conjecture. Italian has its intrinsic excellence and its superior literature to recommend it; but English, with similar though inferior claims, is supported by fashion, a very powerful ally, by influence commensurate with the known world, and by renown that spreads from pole to pole. It is already the language of commerce, as French is that of diplomacy; and while the one is confined to courts and capitals, the other spreads over continents and islands, and is the dialect of the busy and the active in every quarter of the globe. With such a weight on its side it is possible, even probable, that the scale will preponderate in favour of English; a preponderance which may flatter our vanity, but cannot promote our interest, as it will increase an influence already exorbitant, and expose us more and more to the jealousies and the suspicions of Europe.

"After all it is very difficult to determine whether any human efforts can influence the fate of languages, or abridge or prolong their destined duration. We move

along in a vast funeral procession; which conveys individuals, kingdoms, and empires, with their passions, their monuments, their languages, to the tomb. The Greeks and Romans precede us in the paths of oblivion: a faint murmur of their languages reaches our ears, to subside ere long in utter silence. Shall our less perfect dialects be more fortunate, and can typographic art impart to them an immortality that fate refused to the beauty of Greece and to the majesty of Rome? I know not; but I can scarce expect such a distinction. One consolation however offers itself amid this general wreck of man, of his works, and of his inventions; it is, that new political associations arise from the dissolution of kingdoms and empires, and call forth with increased vigour and interest the energies and the virtues of the human heart; that new combinations of sound spring from the decay of fading languages, affording fresh expressions to the understanding, and opening other fields to the imagination; and that thus all the shifting scenery and the ceaseless vicissitudes of the external world tend only to develop the powers of the mind, and finally to promote the gradual perfection of the intellectual system.

#### ON THE SWEDISH LANGUAGE.

[From DR. THOMSON'S Travels in Sweden.]

"**B**ESIDES the Academy of Sciences, there is another academy at Stockholm, instituted by Gustavus III., and distinguished by the name of the Swedish Academy. It consists of eighteen members; and the object of it was to polish

and fix the Swedish language, as the French language was by the French Academy. I do not know that the members of this Academy have hitherto done any thing towards accomplishing the object of their institution. But there can be no doubt that

that the field before them is an ample one, and well worth their exertions. The Swedish language has proceeded from the original Scandinavian, which has now branched itself out into three languages, the English, the German, and the Swedish. For I consider the Danish as only a dialect of the Swedish. Of these three languages the Swedish appears to me to be by far the smoothest. Many of their words terminate in vowels, and we never find those harsh combinations of consonants which still strike the ear in the German language, and the eye in the English. For though we have baulished them from our pronunciation, they continue to hold their places in our written language. It is very difficult to account for this superior smoothness of the Swedish over the German. Had the Swedes been a musical people, I should have been disposed to have ascribed it to that circumstance; but after a good deal of pains spent in the pursuit, I could not ascertain that they have any music of their own whatever. No collections of Swedish music were to be had in Stockholm or Gottenburg. The music universally played was Italian. Whenever I happened to be at a musical party, I never failed to request a Swedish song, or a Swedish piece of music; and though my request was often complied with, yet I cannot say that the result was satisfactory. Some of the tunes were pretty enough: but they all bore evident marks of being quite modern, and the resemblance which they bore to Italian music, or to the French *petites chansons*, was too striking to be overlooked.

"The circumstances which occasion a difference in point of smoothness between two dialects of the same language cannot always be

traced to any adequate causes. An Englishman would smile with incredulity or contempt if I were to affirm, that the Scottish dialect and the Scottish pronunciation are much smoother than the English. Yet any person that will be at the pains to examine may soon satisfy himself that this is the matter of fact. With respect to the smoothness of the words, a few examples may be given, and I shall take those that first occur:

English.	Scotch.
Twilight. ....	Glowming.
Halfpenny .....	Bawbie.
To her .....	Till'er.
Cool. ....	Cawler.

"In the Scottish dialect pains are taken to prevent the hiatus of two vowels. This is exemplified in the last example but one, *so*, before a word beginning with a vowel, is always changed into *till*. In a vast number of words the difference between the English and Scottish words is merely that the Scotch leave out the concluding consonants, and make the word terminate in a vowel. Thus,

English.	Scottish.
Ball .....	Baw.
Call .....	Caw.
Fall .....	Faw.
Hall .....	Haw.
Small .....	Smaw.

"Thousands of other examples might be given if this were the proper place.

"As to pronunciation, I do not conceive that either the Scotch or the English are adequate judges upon which side the superiority in point of smoothness lies. There is one circumstance which must always turn the apparent scale in favour of the English pronunciation, even in the opinion of the Scotch themselves.

The

The English is now the classical language of the empire: England is the residence of the court, and of consequence the standard of accurate and fashionable pronunciation. Whoever wants the true English pronunciation is so far looked down upon on that account as a provincialist or foreigner. Now we all know the effect of fashion in regulating our opinions of elegance and beauty. When we meet a person dressed exactly according to the fashion, we immediately attach a certain elegance to the dress, however ridiculous or awkward or absurd it is in reality. When we see a person dressed quite out of the fashion, though his dress in reality should be the perfection of elegance, we cannot help setting it down as vulgar and awkward. Now this feeling has the same effect upon pronunciation as upon dress. Ask any Englishman, or any Scotchman, whether the English or Scottish pronunciation is most pleasing to the ear, and he will answer without hesitation, the English. Were the question put to myself, I am not sure but I should return the same answer. It is not from my own ear therefore that I draw my conclusion; but from a comparison of the accent of those nations, whose languages are universally allowed to be the smoothest, with that of the English and Scotch. Now I appeal to any person who has heard it, whether the accent of the Italians does not approach much nearer to that of the Scotch than to that of the English. When I was in Sweden, and heard the people speak at a little distance without attending to the words, I conceived myself in Scotland; the accents were so nearly the same. It has often struck me as a circumstance very difficult to be accounted for, how the English have varied

so prodigiously in the pronunciation of their vowels from all the other nations in Europe, with whom they were most intimately connected, or who spoke originally the same language. The German and the French are both intimately connected with the English language, yet nothing can be more different than the mode of pronouncing the vowels in English, and in German and French.

The words of the Swedish language bear so close a resemblance to the German, that a person well acquainted with the latter language may, without much trouble, make himself acquainted with the former. The idiom is almost exactly English, so that you may turn most Swedish sentences word for word into English, and they will make sense. There are a good many Swedish words which resemble the English very closely, either in their spelling or pronunciation. So that to a native of Britain the Swedish language is not attended with much difficulty.

The Swedes have all the letters of our alphabet, and three more, with which they conclude their alphabet; these are *ä*, *å*, *ö* pronounced *o*, *ai*, and the last like the French *u*. These letters no doubt were originally the diphthongs *ae*, *ae*, *oe*. One of the most striking irregularities in the Swedish alphabet is the use that they make of the letter *k*. It is used precisely as *c* is with us; that is to say, before the hard vowels it sounds like our *k*, but before the soft vowels it has the sound of our *ch* in *church*. This is one of the irregularities which it would be worth the while of the Swedish academy to attend to. As the letter *k* is not used in this way in any other European language, it would perhaps be worth their while to substitute for it the letter *c*, which would

would bring the Swedish mode of spelling to a much greater uniformity with that of other nations; while their pronunciation would have a certain resemblance to the Italian in the use of the letter *c*.

"The use of the article in the Swedish language, as far as I know, is quite peculiar to it, and exhibits a singular economy in words. There are two articles in Swedish as well as in English, but the same word according to its position answers for both; *en* or *ett* placed before a word constitutes the indefinite article *a*; placed after a word, it constitutes the definite article *the*. Thus *en del* signifies *a part*; *delen*, *the part*; *ett barn*, *a child*; *barnet*, *the child*. In the plural the definite article is often *ne* added to the word. Thus *dal*, *a valley*, *dalar*, *valleys*, *dalarne*, *the valleys*. The plural of substantive nouns is made, by adding the syllables *or*, *ar*, *er*, *n* to the singular. Their degrees of

comparison are nearly the same as our own. Another singularity in the Swedish language is the mode of forming the passive voice of their verbs. It is done by adding the letter *s* to every tense and person of the active voice. So that except this additional letter there is no difference between the active and passive voice.

"Upon the whole, the Swedish language seems highly deserving of cultivation and preservation, though from the small population of the country and the little encouragement which authors experience in Sweden, the language can never expect to rival the English, German, and French, which may be considered as the three general languages in Europe: still it is probable that the merit of the Swedish writers, and the merit of the language itself, will gradually give it a much greater currency through Europe than it has hitherto attained.

# TEMPLE AND MYTHOLOGY OF ELEPHANTA.

[From Mrs. Graham's Journal of a Residence in India.]

"AT length we have accomplished a visit to Elephanta and its wonderful excavations; but as a description of these, and the sculpture that adorns them, would not be intelligible without at least a slight previous acquaintance with the principal gods of Hindostan, I shall set down a brief account of them before I describe the cavern.

"The ancient system of religion in India seems to have been far from admitting the multitude of persons now worshipped. Brehm was the only one, the eternal, the

almighty. His energy exerted, divided, and personified, became, Brahma to create, Vishnu to preserve, and Siva to destroy; thus the three greatest and most striking operations of nature, became the offices of peculiar gods. But as things once created are never wholly destroyed, and their elements appear again in other forms, Siva the destroyer is also the god of reproduction, and the creating power of Brahma lies dormant till it shall be exerted in a new formation of the world. Accordingly his temples are fallen into decay, and I believe

believe that he is seldom or never now adored. Each of these three gods is provided with a *sacti*, or wife, who partakes of the nature and offices of her husband, and is considered as his active power or energy. Having advanced so far towards polytheism, it was natural to multiply the gods, as the operations of nature and the wants of mankind came to be observed and felt; and while the legislators and priests might adore but one god in spirit and in truth, his personified attributes would indubitably be worshipped as independent deities by the vulgar.

"In the common mythological accounts of the creation, Vishnu is fabled to have slept on the serpent Annanta, or eternity, floating on the face of the milky ocean. When the work of creation was to be performed, Brahma sprang from a lotus growing on the navel of Vishnu, and produced the elements, formed the world, and gave birth to the human race. From different parts of his body he produced the Brahmins or priests, the Kshatriyas or warriors, the Vaishyas or merchants, and the Sudras or husbandmen; which four original castes, by intermarriages, and by the adoption of different trades, have multiplied exceedingly. Brahma is often represented with four faces, when he is called Chaturmooki; he is sometimes seen studying the vedas, which he holds in one hand, while the other three are employed holding his beads and sacrificial utensils; he generally sits on a lotus.

"The wife of Brahma is Saraswati, also called Brahmanee; she is the goddess of arts and eloquence, and is often invoked with Ganesa at the beginning of books. As the

patroness of music, she is sometimes represented with a vin in her hand. Menu, and ten other lawgivers, are the children of Brahma and Saraswati. From Menu and his wife the earth was peopled, and Menu gave to his descendants excellent laws, but they did not abide by them; therefore other Menus have at different times been born, to recall mankind to the belief and practice of their ancestors. Among the animal creation, the goose, the emblem of wisdom, is sacred to Saraswati, who, as well as Brahma, is often seen riding on it, when it is called their *vahan* or vehicle.

"Siva is worshipped more generally than any of the other deities. His principal names are, Doorghatti, Isa, Iswara, Hurr, Rudra, and Maha Deo. Under the last name, all his temples on this side of India are dedicated to him as the god of reproduction. As Rudra, he is terrible, and delights in sanguinary sacrifices, particularly the *aswa-medha*, or horse sacrifice, and the *manu-medha*, or human sacrifice.

"The wife of Siva is Parvati, or the mountain born. Her celestial name is Doorga, or active virtue; as Bhawani, she is female nature on earth; and as Kali, she is an infernal goddess, delighting in human sacrifice, and, like Rudra, wearing a chaplet of skulls round her neck. The residence of Siva and Parvati is Kaylassa; their constant attendant is the bull Nandi, who is usually placed at the gates or in the courts of their temples. In the character of Doorga, Parvati is always attended by a lion.

"Kartikaya, or Swammy-kartic, and Ganesa, are the children of Siva and Parvati. Kartikaya is the god of war, and leader of the cele-

tial armies; he is mounted on a peacock. He has six faces, and is fabled to have been nursed by the six Kritikas, or stars of the Pleiades, who are the wives of the Rooshis, or stars of the constellation of the Great Bear. Ganesa is the god of wisdom; he is often the god of fortune, and presides over the limits of fields. He is represented very fat, with the head of an elephant, having sometimes two and sometimes four faces. He holds in his hands a cup containing round cakes, which he appears to be eating; and the ankasa, or hook used by the drivers of elephants, which has been taken for a key, and supposed to confirm the identity of this god with Janus. Ganesa is invoked the first in all sacrifices, and all writings begin with his name. He is always attended by a rat, the emblem of forethought.

"Vishnu, the preserving deity, exclusive of his names in his several *awatars*, is Narayun, or moving on the ocean, Shreedher, Govind, and Hari. His wife is Luckshemi, the goddess of fortune, called also Kamala, or the lotus-born, having sprung on a lotus from the ocean. She is the goddess of beauty, and presides over marriage. Her son Camdeo is the god of beauty and of love. It is related in the Ramayana, that Camdeo or Kundurpa, having presumed to wound Siva, while with uplifted arm he was engaged in sacred austerities, the incensed god consumed his body with lightning from his eyes. Hence Camdeo is called Ununga, bodyless, and he is the only person in the Hindoo mythology who is ever said to be immaterial. He is sometimes called Muddun, and rides on a fish, with a banner in his hand.

"Vishnu is often seen riding on

the shoulders of Garuda, a youth with the wings and beak of a hawk; but he is more frequently represented reposing on the great many-headed serpent of eternity, floating on the milky ocean; in which case Luckshemi is generally sitting at his feet. The Hindoos believe that the four yougs must revolve seventy-two times in every kalpa, (creation or formation), at the end of which, all things are absorbed into the deity, and that, in the interval of another creation, he reposes himself on the serpent Shesha (duration), who is called Ananta (endless). Many of the offices of Vishnu are common, both to Brahma and to Siva; and the names of all three are frequently used for the sun, for fire, and for water. Each deity has weapons peculiar to himself; those which always distinguish Vishnu are the *chakra* or discus, and the *chank* or wreathed shell, on which the note of victory is sounded. The paradise of Vishnu is Vaikontha; he is often painted of a dark blue colour, on which account he is called Nielkont.

"The awatars of Vishnu, by which are meant his descents upon earth, are usually counted ten, though some writers make them much more numerous. The first is the Mutchee or fish awatar, when, in the form of a huge fish, he conducted and preserved the boat of Stavrata the 7th Menu, while the earth was deluged in consequence of the loss of the vedas, and the subsequent wickedness of mankind. The holy books had been stolen by Hyagriva, king of the demons; Vishnu undertook to recover them; and, after a severe combat with Hyagriva, he destroyed him, restored the sacred books, and caused the



the waters to subside. The second awatar is Koorma, or the tortoise. In order to recover some of the advantages lost to mankind by the deluge, Vishnu became a tortoise, and sustained, on his back, the mountain Meru, while the gods and genii churned with it the milky ocean, and produced seven precious things, among which were the moon, a physician, a horse, a woman, an elephant, and Amrita, or the water of life, which was drank by the immortals. The third awatar is Varaha, or the boar. Prit'hivi, the earth, having been overcome by the genius of the waters, Vishnu, in the shape of a man, with the head of a hog, descended and supported her on his tusk, while he subdued the waters and restored her. In the fourth awatar, Vishnu, in the form of a monstrous man, with a lion's head, sprang from a pillar to destroy an impious king who was on the point of murdering his own son. He is called Narasimha, or lion-headed. Vishnu, in his fifth descent, is called Vamana, or the Brahmin dwarf. Beli having, by his meritorious austerities, obtained the sovereignty of the world, neglected to worship the gods; the Dewtaha, alarmed lest he should deprive them of their celestial habitations, entreated protection from Vishnu, who descended in the form of a Brahmin dwarf, and having obtained from Beli a promise, confirmed by an irrevocable oath, to grant whatever he should ask, he demanded as much space as he could compass in three steps. The boon being granted, his form dilated to its divine dimensions; the eight celestial weapons appeared in the eight hands of the god, whose first step compassed the earth, his second the ocean, and his third

heaven, leaving only Patala or hell to Beli. Varmana is sometimes called Tri-vikram, or three-stepper. In the sixth awatar, Vishnu, as Parashu Rama, the son of the Brahmin Jemadagni, is tabled to have destroyed all the males of the Xetrie or fighting caste, on account of the wickedness of their chief Sahasrarjuna, who oppressed the Bramins, particularly Jemadagni. The seventh descent of Vishnu is sung in the epic poem of Valmiki, called the Ramayuna, from Rama the divine hero, the son of Dusharuthra, king of Uyodhya, or Oude, who led a life of adventure in the woods and forests of India, attended by his brother Lakshmana, and by his faithful friend, Hanuman the divine monkey, the son of Pavana, god of the wind. Sita, the wife of Rama, having been stolen by Rawana the ten-headed tyrant of Lanka (Ceylon) Hanuman discovered the place of her concealment, and, with the assistance of Soogreera and other divine baboons, he built the bridge of Rama (Adam's bridge,) from the continent of India to Ceylon, to facilitate the passage of Rama and his army to that island, where he destroyed the tyrant and recovered Sita.

"Krishna, the person in whom Vishnu was incarnate in his eighth awatar, is said to have been born of the sister of a tyrant, who, to secure the death of his nephew, caused all the young children in his dominions to be murdered; but, in the mean time, the young Krishna was concealed and brought up among some herdsmen, whence he is considered as the peculiar patron of herds, and is often represented as attended by nine Gopia or dairy-women. He is the god of poetry and music, of wrestlers and boxers.

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The adventures of Krishna, and the wars in which he was engaged, are described in the Bhagavat. The ninth awatar is Bhtd, who reformed the rules of the vedas, and forbid the destroying animal life. The tenth awatar, called Kalkee, is to come. He will be a warrior on a white horse; in his days the world shall be at peace, all enmity shall be destroyed, and men shall have but one faith.

"Of the religious sects worshipping Vishnu, the Vaishnavas adore him alone, as comprising in his person the greatest number of the attributes of the deity. The Goclasthas and the Ramanuj are in fact worshippers of deified heroes; the first pay respect to Vishnu in the awatar of Gocal or Krishna, and the second in that of Rama Chandra.

"Besides the great deities above-mentioned, there are multitudes of inferior divine persons, over whom Indra, the thousand-eyed lord of the dewtahs, presides. He dwells with his wife Indranee in the forest Nundana, and with her is often seen mounted on an elephant with three trunks. He presides over delusions. Agni, the god of fire, is represented with two faces and three legs, riding on a ram. He is said to have married the goddess Gunga (Ganges,) the sister of Parvati. Gunga is fabled to have rested on the head of Siva, or that of Vishnu, in her descent from heaven, and to have flowed thence in three streams, called *triveni*, or three locks, and running to the sea, to have filled up its bason, which, although dug before that time, was empty. Her union with Agni produced the metals. The range of mountains among which the Ganges takes its rise, abounds with mines; hence the

mythological union of the deities of heat and of water is fabled to have produced the metals. Surya, the god of the sun, is drawn in a chariot by a many-headed horse; he represents truth, and has a numerous sect of worshippers called Sauras. Chandra, the moon, is drawn in a car by an antelope; the twenty-seven lunar stations, called *Nukshatras*, into which the Hindoos divide the heavens, are considered as his wives.

"Viswakarm is the artificer of the gods; Koovera is the god of riches, and resides in the forest of Chitra-ruthra; and Pavanah is the god of the wind. Eight guardians preside over the eight quarters of the world; and all nature is crowded with deities.

"In making this slight sketch of the Hindoo mythology, I have forbore to point out the striking similarity of many of the deities to those of Greece and Rome, as it is too obvious to escape your attention. A remarkable proof of their identity with the gods of Egypt occurred in 1801, when the sepoy regiments who had been sent into that country, fell down before the gods in the temple of Tentyra, and claimed them as those of their own belief. The coarseness and inelegance of the Hindoo polytheism, will certainly disgust many accustomed to the graceful mythology of antient Europe; but it is not incurious, nor perhaps useless, to examine the various systems of religion which the feelings natural to the mind of man have produced,—to observe how they have been modified by climate or other circumstances,—and to trace, under all these various disguises, the workings of the same common nature; and in the superstitions of India, no less than

than in the lofty visions of Plato, to recognize the existence of those moral ties which unite the heart of man to the Author of his being. For my own part, living among the people, and daily beholding the prostrate worshipper, the temple, the altar, and the offering, I take an interest in them which makes up for their want of poetical beauty. Nor can I look with indifference upon a system, however barbarous and superstitious, which has so strong a hold of the minds of its votaries, and which can bring them to despise death and torture in their most dreadful forms.

"But to return to my journal. We got into our boat at Mazagong a little before sunrise, and had the pleasure of marking the gradual increase of day as it broke over the Mabratta mountains. First the woody tops of Caranja and Elephanta became illuminated, then Bombay, with its forts and villages stretching along the north of the bay, while the bases of the rocky islands to the south, slowly became distinguishable from the reflecting waves. After an hour's row, during which we passed Butcher's Island, called by the natives Deva Devi, or holy island, we arrived at Elephanta, a mountain isle with a double top, wooded to the summit. Opposite to the landing-place is the colossal stone elephant, from which the Portuguese named the place. It is now cracked and mutilated, as tradition says, by the Portuguese. It must have been carved out of the rock on which it stands, for it appears too large to have been carried to its present situation. After passing a village which, as well as the whole island, the natives call Gharipoori, we ascended the hill through romantic passes, sometimes over-

shadowed with wood, sometimes walled by rocks, till we arrived at the cave. We came upon it unexpectedly, and I confess that I never felt such a sensation of astonishment as when the cavern opened upon me. At first it appeared all darkness, while on the hill above, below, and around, shrubs and flowers of the most brilliant hues were waving in the full sunshine. As I entered, my sight became gradually more distinct, and I was able to consider the wonderful chamber in which I stood. The entrance is fifty-five feet wide, its height is eighteen, and its length about equal with its width. It is supported by massy pillars, carved in the solid rock; the capital of these resembles a compressed cushion bound with a fillet; the abacus is like a bunch of reeds supporting a beam, six of which run across the whole cave; below the capital the column may be compared to a fluted bell resting on a plain octagonal member placed on a die, on each corner of which sits Hanuman, Ganesa, or some of the other inferior gods. The sides of the cavern are sculptured in compartments, representing the persons of the mythology; but the end of the cavern opposite to the entrance is the most remarkable. In the centre is a gigantic trimurti, or three-formed god. Brahma the creator is in the middle, with a placid countenance; his cap is adorned with jewels. Vishnu, the preserving deity, is represented as very beautiful; his face is full of benevolence, his hand holds a lotus, the same sacred flower is placed in his cap, with the triveni or triple-plaited lock, signifying the rivers Gunga (Ganges), Yamuna (Jumna), and Seraswati, and other ornaments referring to his

his attributes. Siva frowns; his nose is aquiline, and his mouth half open; in his hand is his destructive emblem, the cobra-capella, and on his cap, among other symbols, a human skull and a new-born infant mark his double character of destroyer and reproducer. These faces are all beautiful but for the under lips, which are remarkably thick. The length from the chin to the crown of the head is six feet; the caps are about three feet more. No part of the bust is mutilated but the two hands in front, which are quite destroyed. Concealed steps behind Siva's hand lead to a convenient ledge or bench behind the cap of the bust, where a Bramin might have hidden himself for any purpose of priestly imposition. On each side of the trimurti is a pilaster, the front of which is filled up by a figure fourteen feet high, leaning on a dwarf; these are much defaced. To the right is a large square compartment, hollowed a little, carved into a great variety of figures, the largest of which is sixteen feet high, representing the double figure of Siva and Parvati, called Viraj or Ardha Nari, half male half female, the right side of which is Siva, and the left his wife; it is four-handed; the two lower hands, one of which appears to have rested on the Nundi, are broken; the upper right hand has a cobra-capella, and the left a shield. On the right of the Viraj is Brahma, four-faced, sitting on a lotus; and on the left is Vishnu on the shoulders of Garuda. Near Brahma are Indra and Indranee on their elephant, and below is a female figure holding a chamara or chow-ree. The upper part of the compartment is filled with small figures in attitudes of adoration.

"On the other side of the tri-

murti is a compartment answering to that I have just described. The principal figure I take to be Siva; at his left hand stands Parvati, on whose shoulder he leans; between them is a dwarf, on whose head is one of Siva's hands, and near Parvati is another. Over Siva's shoulder hangs the zennar, and he holds the cobra-capella in one of his four hands. He is surrounded by the same figures which fill up the compartment of the Viraj; his own height (which we measured by a plumb-line dropped from his head,) is fourteen feet, and that of Parvati is ten. All these figures are in alto-relievo, as are those of the other sides of the cavern, the most remarkable of which is one of Siva in his vindictive character; he is eight-handed, with a chaplet of skulls round his neck, and appears in the act of performing the human sacrifice.

"On the right hand, as you enter the cave, is a square apartment with four doors, supported by eight colossal figures; it contains a gigantic symbol of Maha Deo, and is cut out of the rock like the rest of the cave. There is a similar chamber in a smaller and more secret cavern, to which there is access from the corner next to the Viraj; the covering of the passage has fallen in, but, on climbing over the rubbish, we found ourselves in a little area which has no outlet, and is lighted from above, the whole thickness of the hill being cut through. The cavern to which it belongs contains nothing but the square chamber of Maha Deo, and a bath at each end, one of which is decorated with rich sculpture.

"When we had tired ourselves with examining the various wonders of the cavern of Elephanta, I sat down

down to make a sketch of the great compartments opposite to the entrance, and on our return to Bombay, comparing the drawing with those in Niebuhr, we were satisfied that its resemblance to the original is the most correct. I am sorry to observe, that the pillars and sculptures of the cave are defaced in every part, by having the names of most who visit them either carved or daubed with black chalk upon them; and the intemperate zeal of the Portuguese, who made war upon the gods and temples, as well as upon the armies of India, added to the havoc of time, has reduced this stupendous monument of idolatry to a state of ruin. Fragments of statues strew the floor; columns, deprived of their bases, are suspended from the parent roof, and others without capitals, and sometimes split in two, threaten to leave the massy hill that covers them without support.

"The temple of Elephanta, and other equally wonderful caverns in the neighbourhood, must have been the works of a people far advanced in the arts of civilized life, and

possessed of wealth and power; but these were lodged in the hands of a crafty priesthood, who kept science, affluence, and honour for their own fraternity, and, possessed of better ideas, preached a miserable and degrading superstition to the multitude. It would be curious to follow out the advancement and fall of the arts which produced such monuments; but not a trace of their history remains, and we are left to seek it in the natural progress of a people subtle and ingenious, but depressed by superstition, and the utter impossibility of rising individually, by any virtues or any talents, to a higher rank in society than that occupied by their forefathers.

"The local histories of the Braminical establishments, which could have thrown light on these and other curious subjects, have long been destroyed. Many of them perished during the contentions between the followers of Siva and those of Vishnu, prior to the Mahomedan conquest of India, and probably many more when the Hindoo temples were pillaged by those fierce conquerors."

## PICTURESQUE SURVEY OF WATER, WOOD, AND MOUNTAIN SCENERY.

[From the Philosophy of Nature.]

"**W**HERE a spring rises or a river flows,' says Seneca, 'there should we build altars and offer sacrifices!'—In pursuance of this idea, most nations, whether barbarous or refined, mistaking the effects of a deity for the Deity itself, have, at one time or other of their history, personified their rivers; and addressed them as the

gods of their idolatry.—The Nile, which watered nations that knew not its origin, and kingdoms, which were ignorant whither it flowed, was worshipped by the respective nations that it fertilized.—The Adonis was esteemed sacred by a great portion of western Asia; the Peneus, as we are informed by that elegant platonist, Maximus Tyrius, was

was adored for its beauty, the Danube for its magnitude, and the Achelous for its solemn traditions.—The Phrygians worshipped the Marsyas and Meander; and the Massagetæ paid divine honours to the Palus Mæotis and the Tanais.—The antient Persians never polluted water; considering those who accustomed themselves to such indecorum, as guilty of sacrilege; while the last wish of an Indian is to die on the banks of the Ganges.—The affection of the Hindoos for that river is such, even at the present day, that many hundreds of them have been known to go down, at certain periods of the year, and devote themselves to the shark, the tiger, and the alligator;—thinking themselves happy and their friends fortunate, thus to be permitted to die in sight of that holy stream.

“Rivers, too, have, in all ages, been themes for the poet; and in what esteem they were held by antient writers, may be inferred from the number of authors who wrote of them previous to the time of Plutarch. The Aufidus, the Tiber, and the Po, have been celebrated by Horace, Virgil, and Ovid; Callimachus has immortalized the beautiful waters of the Inachus; and while the Arno, the Mincio, and the Tagus, boast their Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Camöens, the Severn, the Ouse, and the Trent, the Avon, the Derwent, and the Dee, have been distinguished by the praises of many an elegant and accomplished poet. Who is not charmed with Spencer's *Marriage of the Thames and the Medway*? and what personifications in Ovid or Hesiod are more beautiful than the Sabrina of Milton and the Ladona of Pope?

“On the borders of the Cam,  
1813.

Milton enjoyed the happiest moments of his life; on the banks of the Ilyssus, Plato taught his *System of Philosophy*; and on the shores of the Roonbad, a river flowing near the chapel of Mosella, the poets and philosophers of Shiraz composed their most celebrated works. Ossian is never weary of comparing rivers to heroes; and so enamoured were Du Bartas and Drayton with river scenery, that the one wrote a poetical catalogue of those which were the most celebrated, and the other composed a voluminous work upon their History, Topography, and Landscapes.

“Many of the rivers in Britain are highly picturesque, and abound in the most captivating scenery.—Who, that has traversed the banks of the majestic Thames, and still more noble Severn; who, that has observed the fine sweeps of the Dee, in the vale of Landisilio, and those of the Derwent, near Matlock; who, that has contemplated the waters of the Towy, the graceful meanderings of the Usk, or the admirable features of the Wye, that does not feel himself justified in challenging any of the far-famed rivers of Europe to present objects more various, landscapes more rich, or scenes more graceful and magnificent?

“Without rocks or mountains no country can be sublime; without water no landscape can be perfectly beautiful. Few countries are more mountainous, or exhibit better materials for a landscape painter, than Persia; yet, to the lover of scenery, it loses a considerable portion of interest, from its possessing but few springs, few rivelets, and fewer rivers. What can be more gratifying to a proud and inquisitive spirit than tracing rivers to their sources,

Q

and

and pursuing them through long tracts of country, where sweeps the Don, the Wolga, and the Vistula; the Ebro and the Douro; the Rhine, the Inn, the Rhone and the Danube? or in travelling on the banks of the Allier, described so beautifully by Madame de Savigné; or of the Loire—sleeping, winding and rolling, by turns, through several of the finest districts in all France? where, the peasants reside, in the midst of their vineyards, in cottages, which, seated upon the sides of the hills, resemble so many birds' nests; and where the peasant girls, with their baskets of grapes, invite the weary traveller to take as many as he desires. 'Take them,' say they, 'and as many as you please:—they shall cost you nothing.'

'What travelling, possessing an elegant taste, but is charmed, even to ecstasy, as he wanders along the banks of the Po, the Adige, and the Brenta; amid the fairy scenes of the Eurotas, peopled with innumerable swans; or of the Tay, the Clyde, and the Teith, where the culture of bees forms a considerable article of rural economy? How is our fancy elevated, when we traverse, even in imagination, those wild solitudes and fruitful deserts, enlivened by the humming bird, through which the Orionoco, the Mississippi, and the Amazon, (Rivers to which the proudest streams of Europe are but as rivulets), pour their vast floods, and, as they roll along, experience the vicissitudes of every climate! And, when leaning on the parapet of an arch, bestriding a wide and rapid river, how often do we relapse into profound melancholy, as, following, with implicit obedience, the progressive march of association, the mirror of time and the emblem of eternity

are presented to our imagination, till a retrospect of the past and a perspective of future ages, mingling with each other, the mind is lost in the mazes of its own wanderings!

'Not only rivers, but *fountains* have been held sacred by almost every nation:—equally are they beloved by the poets. Who has not perused, with pleasure, Sannazaro's ode to the Fountain of Mergillini; Petrarch's addresses to that of Vaucluse; and Horace's ode to the Fountain of Blandusium, situated among rocks, and surrounded with wood?

'One of the most remarkable fountains, in ancient times, was that of which Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus have transmitted an account. It was called 'the Fountain of the Sun,' and was situated near the temple of Jupiter Ammon. At the dawn of day this fountain was warm; as the day advanced, it became progressively cool; at noon, it was at the extremity of cold; at which time the Ammonians made use of it to water their gardens and shrubberies.—At the setting of the sun, it again became warm, and continued to increase, as the evening proceeded, till midnight, when it reached the extremity of heat:—as the morning advanced it grew progressively cold:—Silius Italicus thus alludes to it.

Stet fano vicina, novum et memorabile  
lympha,  
Quæ nascente die, quæ deficiente tepescit,  
Quæque riget medium cum Sol extendit  
Olympum  
Atque eadem rursus nocturnis feret in  
umbris.

'In the early ages of popery the common people, where fountains and wells were situated in retired places,

places, were accustomed to honour them with the titles of saints and martyrs. Some were called Jacob's Well; St. John's; St. Mary's; St. Winifred's, and St. Agnes':—some were named after Mary Magdalen, and others derived their appellations from beautiful and pious virgins. Though this custom was forbidden by the canons of St. Anselm, many pilgrimages continued to be made to them; and the Romans long retained a custom of throwing nosegays into fountains, and chaplets into wells. From this practice originated the ceremony of sprinkling the Severn with flowers, so elegantly described by Dyer, in his finely descriptive poem of the Fleece, and so beautifully alluded to by Milton.

———— The shepherds at their festivals,  
Carol her good deeds loud in rustic lays,  
And throw sweet garland-wreaths into her  
    s'ream,  
Of pancies, pinks, and gaudy daffodils.  
  *Comus.*

A custom also prevailed in the fourteenth century, among the women who resided upon the banks of the Rhine, of assembling, on a particular day of the year, to wash their hands and arms in that river: fondly flattering themselves, that such lustrations would preserve them from all dangers and misfortunes during the remainder of the year.

"The names of deities were given also to Grottos. The serenity of an Italian sky served to render those occasional retreats peculiarly agreeable to the Roman nobility; hence were they frequently to be found in the shrubberies and gardens of that accomplished people. The poets, at all times willing to celebrate whatever adds to their enjoyments, have left us some elegant

descriptions of those delightful recesses, formed in the sides of rocks, at the foot of mountains, or on the banks of rivulets.

"Pausanias gives a remarkable account of a Grotto at Corycium, and Statius describes an elegant one in his third *Sylva*; but that which was the most celebrated in antient times, was the Grotto of Egeria; still existing, though in a state of ruin. When it was first made by Numa, it was formed with such skill, as to appear totally untouched by art: in the reign of one of the emperors, however, it entirely lost its simplicity, and, by being adorned with marble and other splendid ornaments, acquired a magnificence totally foreign to its original character. This provoked the Satire of the indignant Juvenal.

"The Grotto, which Mr. Pope formed at Twickenham, was one of the most celebrated ever erected in this kingdom. In the first instance, it was remarkable for its elegant simplicity: as the owner, however, advanced in years, it became more and more indebted to the refinements of art; but the recollection of its having amused the last years of that illustrious poet, atones to the heart of the philanthropist, what it loses to the eye of imagination and taste.

"From rivers, fountains, and grottos, let us turn to lakes.—Those of England and Switzerland present so many features of beauty and grandeur, that an idea of something peculiarly worthy of admiration always presents itself, when we hear them mentioned even in the most casual manner.—What enthusiastic emotions of delight did the lakes of Switzerland generate in Rousseau! And while some of the most agreeable hours of united la-



hour and pleasure were indulged by Gibbon on their admirable banks, the noble landscapes, around the lake of Zurich, soothed and charmed many an hour of sorrow and chagrin from the bosoms of Haller, Zimmermann, and Lavater!

"For my own part, my Lelius, I am ready to confess, that some of the happiest moments of my life, have been those, which I have, at intervals, past upon the bosom of lakes, and on the banks of wild and rapid rivers.—And never will Colonna wish to forget those hours of rapture, when, reclining in his boat, he has permitted it to glide, at the will of the current, along the transparent surface of a river, or on the picturesque expanse of Bala Lake, in the county of Merioneth:—or when, wandering along the banks of those waters, that glide at the feet or stud the sides of the mountains, which rear themselves around the magnificent peaks of Snowdon: lakes equal in beauty and sublimity to those of Larus, Lucerne, and Pergusa.

"How often have I heard you, my Lelius, descant with rapture on the lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland; on those of Loch-Lomond, Loch-Leven, and Killarney; and the still more noble and magnificent ones of Switzerland!—With what delighted attention have I listened to your descriptions of the lakes of Thun, Zurich, and Neufchatel, Brientz, Biemme, and Constance:—and how has my imagination kept pace with you in your journey, as you have wandered in memory among those enchanting regions; regions, abounding in scenes, which Warton might have pictured, as the native residence of poetic fancy.

"From lakes, the transition is

natural, that would lead to *water-falls* and *cataracts*.—With what rapture does every cultivated mind behold that beautiful waterfall, gliding over a slate rock in two graceful falls, at the extremity of a long, winding, and romantic glen, near Aber, in the county of Caernarvon! But if you would see cataracts on a grander scale, visit the falls of the Hepsey, those of the Conway, the Cynfael, and the Black Cataract near the vale of Ffestiniog.—Of the two last, nothing can surpass the beauty of the one, or the bold, the craggy and gigantic character of the other.—By the former of these has Colonna devoted many a captivating hour.—Seated on a rock, adjoining an ivy-arched bridge, stretched over a tremendous chasm, he has listened with rapture, not unmingled with a grateful degree of terror, to the roaring of the waters, and shaded by a fantastic oak, which overshadows the depth, he has derived the highest satisfaction in comparing the tranquil and innocent delight, in which he was indulging, with the boisterous humours of the table, the cankered anxiety of the statesman, or the dreadful raptures of that man, who has so long insulted all Europe, and stained her glens, her mountains, and her valleys, with blood, with rapin, and with sacrilege!

"But if you would behold one of those waterfalls, which combine the utmost sublimity with the greatest portion of beauty, visit the admirable instance at Nant Mill, on the borders of the Lake Gwellin.—Exercise that fascinating art, of which nature and practice have made you such a master; make a faithful representation of it; clothe it in all its rugged horrors of sublimity, in all its graceful charms of exquisite beauty,

beauty, and let the finest imagination in the world of painting or of poetry tell me, if, in all the fairy visions that the finest fancy has created, a scene more perfect can be formed, than this?—The far-famed cataract in the Vale of Tempe has nothing to compare with it. In surveying this scene, our feelings resemble those of the missionaries, when viewing the numerous waterfalls of Japan; or those of the celebrated Bruce, when he beheld the third cataract of the Nile; ‘a sight,’ says he, ‘so magnificent, that ages, added to the greatest length of life, could never eradicate from my memory.’

“If objects of this nature exalt the understanding and the fancy of those, who possess habits of reflection, *woods*, those indispensable appendages to landscape, diffuse an equal delight by their coolness, their solemnity, and the charm, which they spread around us, as we wander beneath their arched and sacred shades.—Akenside finely alludes to the religious awe, with which woods, boldly stretching up the summit of an high mountain, are beheld by persons of a polite imagination.

——— Mark the sable woods,  
That shade sublime yon mountains nod-  
ding brow,—  
With what religious awe the solemn scene  
Commands your steps!—as if the rever-  
end form  
Of Minos, or of Numa, should forsake  
Th’ Elysian seats, and down the embower-  
ing glade  
Move to your pausing eye.

*Pleasures of Imagination.*

“If to rivers and mountains all nations, at early periods of their history, have conspired to attach the idea of veneration, how much more so have the eminent in all ages de-

lighted in paying honours to *woods, groves, and forests*.—Pilgrimages were made to the oaks of Mamre, near Hebron, from the time of Abraham to that of Constantine; and the nations, surrounding the Jews, were accustomed to dedicate trees and groves to their deities, and to sacrifice upon high mountains; customs, which were even practised by the Jews themselves, previous to the building of the Temple of Solomon.

“Among the woods of Etruria, Numa, to whom, (as Machiavel justly observes,) Rome was under greater obligations than to Romulus, sought refuge from the cares, that attended the government of an infant and turbulent people: and, amid the groves of the Lyceum, Aristotle and Epicurus taught their systems of religion and politics.

“The oratories of the Jews were surrounded by olives; and the Greeks, who first inhabited Tuscany, consecrated the forests, which rose on the banks of the Cæritis, to their god Sylvanus.—Under those sacred shades they assembled every year to celebrate his anniversary.

Et ingens gelidum locus prope Cæritis  
amnem,  
Religione patrum latè sacer; undique  
colles  
Inclusæ cavi, et nigra nemus, abjete cin-  
gant.—  
Sylvano fama est veteres sacrasse pelagos,  
Arvorum pecorisque Deo, lucumque diem-  
que,  
Qui primi fines aliquando habuere Lati-  
nos.—

*Eneid, lib. viii. l. 597.*

A custom, analogous to this, pre-  
vails at the present day in some  
parts of Italy: particularly among  
the herdsmen and shepherds of  
Rhegio, who entertain the highest  
veneration for the wood, called Sil-  
va.

va Piana, about three leagues from Parma.

"The Rhapsaans of India selected spots, shaded by the banana and the tamarind, for their kioums; while in the deep recesses of the most intricate forest, the antient Druids of Gaul, Britain, and Germany, were accustomed to sacrifice to their gods.—Virgil, who describes Elysium, as abounding in the most luxuriant gifts of nature, represents it as one of the highest enjoyments of the happy spirits to repose on flowery banks, and to wander among shady groves: while the Icelanders believe, that on the summit of the Boula, a mountain, which no one has hitherto ascended, there is a cavern, which opens to a paradise in perpetual verdure, delightfully shaded by trees, and abounding in large flocks of sheep.

"The Sicilians had, at one time, a great veneration for the chestnut tree, which grew in the region, called La Regione Sylvana: in Otabeite, the weeping-willow is permitted to be planted only before the houses of the higher classes of the community: in Pennsylvania, churches are isolated in woods, and pulpits erected beneath the branches of oaks; while, among the Dugores, there are sacred groves, in which every family has its appropriate place for erecting huts and offering sacrifices.—In the Romish church, palms are esteemed sacred even in the present times.

"The temples of the antient Greeks were mostly situated in groves; and the Persians, who esteemed woods and forests the most proper for religious sacrifices, ridiculed their more accomplished neighbours, for building

temples to their gods, who had the whole universe for their residence.

"As Antigua is without rivers, so is Morocco almost destitute of woods: hence it arises, that in that state, as in other warm climates, shade is esteemed the most powerful charm in every landscape.—The inconveniences, arising from the want of it, gave occasion to Girolamo Fraastoro to write his curious poem of Syphilus. The shepherd Syphilus was employed in watching the herds belonging to Alcithous, king of Atlantis.—One season the rays of summer were so intense, that the angry shepherd, impatient under their influence, with many impieties refused to offer up sacrifices to Apollo, and, in revenge, erected an altar to his master, Alcithous.—Stung with the indignity, Apollo infected the air with such noxious vapours, that the shepherd contracted a dangerous and nauseous disease, which affected his whole body.—His various attempts to conquer his malady, constitute the principal argument of the poem.

"It was on account of its shade, that the gardens of Arden, the paradise of the Arabian poets, were so enthusiastically celebrated; and Amytis, daughter of Astyages, and wife of Nebuchodnosor, accustomed to the glens and woods of Media, sighed for their shades in the sandy soil of Babylon: hence were constructed those hanging gardens, which were the boast of Babylonian kings and the wonder of historians. The gardens of the Moors appear to have resembled those of the East, in no inconsiderable degree; their walks were paved with marble; their parterres shaded by orange-trees, and embellished with baths: the whole entirely walled round,

round, and secluded from every eye.—Such is that of Alcazar, at Seville, which, as a specimen of Moorish gardening, is visited by every traveller of information and taste.

“The manners and pursuits of the pastoral Arabs present something peculiarly gratifying to the imagination. The toils and privations which they undergo, in wandering from one province to another, in quest of water and shade, is amply repaid by the festivity that ensues upon the discovery of a well or fountain in a shady grove. The manners of the Arabians assimilated, in a striking degree, with those of the Scythians—the purity of whose morals has been so much celebrated by Horace and by Justin. Though the manners and morals of these wandering nations were so strikingly illustrative of each other, the similarity did not arise from any coincidence in regard to climate or scenery; for, while the one roved from wood to wood, and from fountain to fountain, over pathless and scorching deserts, the others were, at all times, in the reach of shade, and, at intervals, pitched their tents in scenery, the like of which is scarcely to be paralleled in all the globe.—While the Arab sought shade, as one of the most agreeable luxuries of life, the Scythian and the Celt imagined the oak to be the tomb of Jupiter; and the philosophers of Siam, who numbered five elements, added wood to the fourth.

“To a native of Jamaica no luxury is superior to that of walking among the odoriferous groves of Pimentos, that adorn the eminences, which form a barrier to the encroachments of the ocean;—and the Circassians, long and loudly cele-

brated for the beauty and cheerful disposition of their women, quit their towns and cities in the summer, and erect their tents among their woods and valleys, after the manner of the neighbouring Tartars. To an Hindoo, nothing is more grateful than to walk among the cool recesses and shady vistas, formed by the arms of the Banian tree, which he esteems an emblem of the Deity himself. The Hindoo Bramins, whose placidity of disposition was, in some measure, the natural result of a total abstinence from animal food, reside, for the most part, in their gardens, which they cultivate with their own hands, and occupy their time in reading, in walking, and in reclining beneath the spreading boughs of their Banian trees.

“The use, which the poets have made of trees, by way of illustration, are moral and important.—Homer frequently embellishes his subjects with references to them, and no passage in the Iliad is more beautiful than the one, where, in imitation of Musæus, he compares the falling of leaves and shrubs to the fall and renovation of great and ancient families.

“Illustrations of this sort are frequent in the sacred writings.—‘I am exalted like a cedar in Libanus,’ says the author of Ecclesiastes, ‘and as a cypress tree upon the mountain of Hermon. I was exalted like a palm tree in Engeddi, and as a rose plant in Jericho; as a fair olive in a pleasant field, and grew up as a plane tree by the water; as a turpentine tree I stretched out my branches, and my branches are the branches of honour and grace; as a vine brought I forth pleasant savour, and my flowers are the fruits of honour and victory.’—In the

the Psalms, in a fine vein of allegory, the vine tree is made to represent the people of Israel: 'Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt; thou hast cut out the heathen, and planted it. Thou didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the land. The hills were covered with its shadow, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars. Why hast thou broken down her hedges, so that all do pluck her? The boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast doth devour it. Return, we beseech thee, O God of Hosts; look down from heaven, and behold and visit this vine, and the vineyard thy right hand hath planted.'

"In Ossian, how beautiful is the following passage of Malvina's lamentation for Oscar:—'I was a lovely tree in thy presence, Oscar, with all my branches round me; but thy death came, like a blast from the desert, and laid my green head low; the spring returned with its showers, but no green leaf of mine arose.' Again, where old and weary, blind and almost destitute of friends, he compares himself to a tree, that is withered and decayed.—'But Ossian is a tree that is withered; its branches are blasted and bare; no green leaf covers its boughs:—from its trunk no young shoot is seen to spring; the breeze whistles in its grey moss; the blast shakes its head of age; the storm will soon overturn it, and strew all its dry branches with thee, oh Dermid, and with all the rest of the mighty dead, in the green winding vale of Cona.'

"That traveller esteemed himself happy, who first carried into Palestine the rose of Jericho from the plains of Arabia; and many of the Roman nobility were gratified, in a

high degree, with having transplanted exotic plants and trees into the orchards of Italy. Pompey introduced the ebony, on the day of his triumph over Mithridates; Vespasian transplanted the balm of Syrian, and Lucullus the Pontian cherry. Auger de Busbeck brought the lilac from Constantinople; Hercules introduced the orange into Spain; Verton the mulberry into England:—and so great is the love of nations for particular trees, that a traveller never fails to celebrate those, by which his native province is distinguished. Thus, the native of Hampshire prides himself upon his oaks; the Burgundian boasts of his vines, and the Herefordshire farmer of his apples.—Normandy is proud of her pears; Provence of her olives; and Dauphiné of her mulberries; while the Maltese are in love with their own orange trees. Norway and Sweden celebrate their pines—Syria her palms; and since they have few other trees, of which they can boast, Lincoln celebrates her alders, and Cambridge her willows! The Paphians were proud of their myrtles, the Lesbians of their vines: Rhodes loudly proclaimed the superior charms of her rose-trees; Idumea of her balsams; Media of her citrons, and India of her ebony.—The Druses boast of their mulberries; Gaza of her dates and pomegranates; Switzerland of her lime trees; Bairout of her figs and bananas; Damascus of her plums; Inchonnanagan of its birch, and Inchnolaig of its yews. The inhabitants of Jamaica never cease to praise the beauty of their manchenillas; while those of Tobasco are as vain of their cocoas. The natives of Madeira, whose spring and autumn reign together, take pride in their cedars and citrons; those of

of Antigua of their tamarinds, while they esteem their mammee sappota to be equal to any oak in Europe, and their mangos to be superior to any tree in America. Equally partial are the inhabitants of the Plains of Tahta to their peculiar species of fan palm; and those of Kous to their odoriferous orchards. The Hispaniolans with the highest degree of pride, challenge any of the trees of Europe or Asia to equal the height of their cabbage trees, towering to an altitude of two hundred and seventy feet!—Even the people of the Bay of Honduras have imagination sufficient to conceive their logwood to be superior to any trees in the world; while the Huron savages inquire of Europeans, whether they have any thing to compare with their immense cedar trees.

“So natural is this love of mankind, that the ancients conceived even their gods to be partial to one tree more than any other. For this reason the statues of Diana, at Ephesus, were made of cedar and ebony; that of Apollo, at Sicyone, of box; while in the temple of Mercury, on Mount Cyllenes his image was formed of citron, a tree which he was supposed to hold in high estimation.

“England may well take pride in her oaks!—To them is she indebted for her existence as a nation; and, were we an idolatrous people, I should be almost tempted to recommend, (in imitation of our Druidical ancestors, who paid divine honours to the mistletoe), that the oak be received in the number of our gods.—It is a curious circumstance, my Ld., and not generally known, that most of those oaks, which are called *spontaneous*, are planted by the squirrel. This little animal has performed the most es-

sential service to the English navy.

—Walking, one day, in the woods belonging to the Duke of Beaufort, near Troy-house, in the county of Monmouth, Colonna's attention was diverted by a squirrel, which sat very composedly upon the ground. He stopped to observe his motions. In a few minutes the squirrel darted, like lightning, to the top of a tree, beneath which he had been sitting. In an instant he was down, with an acorn in his mouth, and began to burrow in the earth with his hands. After digging a small hole he stooped down, and deposited the acorn: then covering it, he darted up the tree again. In a moment he was down with another, which he buried in the same manner. This he continued to do, as long as Colonna thought proper to watch him. The industry of this little animal is directed to the purpose of securing him against want in the winter; and, as it is probable, that his memory is not sufficiently retentive to enable him to remember the spots in which he deposits every acorn, the industrious little fellow, no doubt, loses a few every year. These few spring up, and are destined to supply the place of the parent tree!—Thus is Britain, in some measure, indebted to the industry and bad memory of a squirrel, for her pride, her glory, and her very existence!

“Not only woods, fountains, and rivers, but *mountains*, have had a sacred character attached to them.—Upon their summits the Jews, the Persians, the Bithynians, the infidel nations around Palestine, and the Druids of Gaul, Britain, and Germany were accustomed to sacrifice: and, while the Celts conceived, that the spirits of their heroes resided among the clefts of the rocks,

rocks, and on the tops and sides of the mountains, the natives of Greenland believed them to be the immediate residence of their deities.

"The Greeks coincided, in a great degree, with this idea; and it was an opinion sanctioned by many of their poets and philosophers, among whom we may instance Plato, Homer, and Strabo, that, after the deluge of Deucalion, the inhabitants of the earth resided, for a long time, on the tops of the mountains, whence they gradually descended into the vales and valleys below: grounding their preference, not more upon their comparative security from future inundations, than upon the sacred character of those lofty eminences. Of those mountains, three had the honour of giving general names to the Muses;—and Mount Athos still retains such an imposing aspect, that the Greeks of modern ages have erected upon it a vast number of churches, monasteries, and hermitages, which are frequented by devotees of both sexes without number. Hence it has acquired the title of the *Holy Mountain*, an appellation which has been also given to the Skirrid, in the county of Monmouth, by religious catholics in the west of England, most of whom entertain an ardent desire of having a few moulds from that craggy eminence sprinkled over their coffins: while great numbers of pilgrims resort to the promontory near Gaeta, a small piece of which Italian seamen wear constantly in their pockets to preserve them from drowning.

"What has been observed of Mount Athos, is equally applicable to Mount Tabor, near the city of Tiberias; a great number of churches and monasteries having been built upon it. This is the mountain, on

which St. Peter said to Christ, 'It is good for us to be here; and let us make three tabernacles; one for thee; and one for Moses; and one for Elias.' The view from this fine summit is represented to be so exceedingly various and magnificent, that the spectator experiences all those sensations, which are produced by a mixture and rapid succession of varied and gay, gloomy and majestic objects. What a contrast does this fine eminence exhibit to that of the Norwegian mountain of Filefield, covered with eternal snow; where neither a house, nor a cottage, nor a hut, nor a tree; neither a shrub, nor a flower, nor a human being, are ever to be seen!

"The Jews were accustomed to bury their dead on the sides of mountains; Moses received the Law on the top of Sinai; and so holy was that mountain esteemed, that no one but himself was permitted to touch it.

"The Messiah frequently took his disciples up to the top of a high mountain to pray; there it was he transfigured before them, and many of the incidents recorded in Scripture took place in the garden and on the Mountain of Olives.

"A country, destitute of mountains, may be rich, well cultivated, elegant and beautiful, but it can in no instance be grand, sublime, or transporting; and to what a degree boldness of scenery has the power of elevating the fancy may be, in some measure, conceived from an anecdote, recorded of an epic and descriptive poet. When Thomson heard of Glover's intention of writing an epic poem, the subject of which should be Leonidas of Sparta, 'Impossible!' said he, 'Glover can never be idle enough to attempt an epic!—

epic!—He never saw a mountain in his life!

“Petrarch had long wished to climb the summit of *Mount Ventoux*, a mountain presenting a wider range of prospect, than any among the Alps or Pyrenées. With much difficulty he ascended. Arrived at its summit, the scene presented to his sight was unequalled!—After taking a long view of the various objects, which lay stretched below, he took from his pocket a volume of St. Augustine's Confessions: and, opening the leaves at random, the first period that caught his eye was the following passage:—‘*Men travel far to climb high mountains, to observe the majesty of the ocean, to trace the sources of rivers—but, they neglect themselves.*’ Admirable reasoning! conveying as admirable a lesson! Instantly applying the passage to himself, Petrarch closed the book, and falling into profound meditation,—‘If, thought he, ‘I have undergone so much labour in climbing this mountain, that my body might be the nearer to heaven, what ought I not to do, in order that my soul may be received in those immortal regions!’ Let us, my Lelius, while climbing any of our British Alps, be visited by similar reflections, and be actuated by similar resolutions!

“Though the view of mountains serve to elevate the mind, the inhabitants of those regions are, undoubtedly, more prone to rapine and to warlike enterprise, than the inhabitants of vales. This arises from the austerity of their climate and the comparative poverty of their soil; but this remark, though true, when generally applied, is not always so in particular. For though, in the time of Cesar, the Helvetii, inhabiting that part of Switzerland,

lying round the Lake of Geneva, were the most warlike people of Gaul; yet they were not more so than the Parthians, who were natives of unexplored deserts. The Assyrians and the Chaldees, both originally descended from the mountains of Atouria, with the Persians, inhabiting a country abounding in hills, were those people the most remarkable for having established extensive empires; yet we must not infer from thence, that their conquests arose from that severe energy, which is imbibed from the keen air of mountainous regions, since we find people, residing in plains, acquiring empires equally extensive. The Arabians, for instance, so remarkable for their conquests during the middle ages; the Egyptians, in more remote times; the Tartars, who subjected China; and the Romans, who conquered not so much by the sword, as by the arts: for it was the severity of their discipline, and not the severity of the Apennines, which subdued the world; of all their numerous legions, not one-tenth, in the time of Augustus or of Trajan, had ever breathed the air of Italy.

“The most picturesque parts of Asian Tartary are those in the neighbourhood of the Armenian and Ararat mountains, on which the ark is said to have rested. This celebrated eminence, on the top of which stand several ruins, rises in the form of a pyramid, in the midst of a long extended plain. It is always covered with snow from its girdle to the summit, and for several months of the year is totally enveloped by clouds.

“What scenes in Russia are comparable to those in the neighbourhood of the Oural and Riphean mountains? which the inhabitants, in



in all the simplicity of ignorance, believe to encompass the earth; in the same manner, as the Malabars imagine the sun to revolve round the largest of theirs. Where does the Spaniard behold nobler landscapes, than at the feet and between the sides of the Blue Ridge, that back the Escorial; among the wilds of the Asturias, or among the vast solitudes of the Sierra Morena? With what feelings of awe does the Hungarian approach the Carpathian Mountains, that separate him from Galicia! and with what joy and admiration does an African traveller, long lost among deserts and continents of sand, hail the first peak that greets his sight, among the mountains of the moon! Can the American painter rest on finer scenes than those, which are exhibited among the Glens of the Laurel, the Blue Ridge, the Cumberland and Allegany Mountains? And where, in all the vast continent of the western world, shall the mind acquire a wider range of ideas, more comprehensive notions of vastness and infinity, than on the tops of the Cordilleras and the Andes; or on those uninhabitable ranges of mountains, which stretch from the river of the west to within a few degrees of the northern circle?

"What a sensible gratification, and what interesting reflections were awakened in the mind of the celebrated Cook, when standing upon one of the mountains, that commanded almost the whole of the beautiful island of Eooa, in the southern ocean!—This view is one of the most delightful that can possibly be imagined. 'While I was surveying this prospect, (says the benevolent navigator), I could not help flattering myself with the pleasing idea, that some future voyager

may, from the same station, behold these meadows stocked with cattle, brought to these islands by the ships of England; and that the completion of this single benevolent purpose, independent of all other considerations, would sufficiently mark to posterity, that our voyages had not been useless to the general interests of humanity.'

"No one mounts a towering eminence, but feels his soul elevated: the whole frame acquires unwonted elasticity, and the spirits flow, as it were, in one aspiring stream of satisfaction and delight: for what can be more animating than, from one spot, to behold the pomp of man and the pride of nature lying at our feet? Who can refrain from being charmed, when observing those innumerable intersections, which divide a long extent of country into mountains and vales; and which, in their turn, subdivide into fields, glens, and dingles, containing trees of every height, cottages of the humble, and mansions of the rich: here, groups of cattle; there, shepherds tending their flocks; and, at intervals, viewing, with admiration, a broad, expansive river, sweeping its course along an extended vale; now encircling a mountain, and now overflowing a valley; here gliding beneath large boughs of trees, and there rolling over rough ledges of rocks: in one place concealing itself in the heart of a forest, under huge massy cliffs, which impend over it; and in another, washing the walls of some ivied ruin, bosomed in wood!

"How beautiful are the reflections of Fitz-James, upon gaining the top of a precipice, whence he threw his eyes below, and beheld the crags, knolls, and mounds of Ben-Venue, the bare point of Ben-An,

An, and the creek, promontory,  
and islands of Loch-Katrine!

From the steep promontory gazed  
The stranger, raptur'd and amaz'd;  
And 'what a scene were here,' he cried,  
'For princely pomp or churchman's pride!  
On this bold brow, a lordly tower;  
In that soft vale, a lady's bower;  
On yonder meadow, far away,  
The turrets of a cloister gay;  
How blithely might the bugle horn  
Chide, on the lake, the lingering morn!  
How sweet at eve, the lover's lute  
Chime, when the groves were still and  
mute!

And when the midnight moon did lave  
Her forehead in the silver wave,  
How solemn on the ear would come  
The holy matins' distant hum;  
While the deep peal's commanding tone  
Should wake, in yonder islet lone,  
A sainted hermit from his cell,  
To drop a bead with every knell—  
And bugle, lute, and bell and all,  
Should each bewildered stranger call  
To friendly feast and lighted hall.

"Scenes, similar to those, which gave rise to these reflections, whether observed at the rising or the setting of the sun, never fail to inspire us with feelings, which it were grateful to indulge and cultivate.—If seen in the morning, they give a vigorous tone to the nerves, and prepare the mind to a willing and active discharge of its various duties; if in the evening, every object being mellowed by the declining rays of light, the soul acquires a softened dignity, and the imagination delights in pointing, with grateful anticipation, towards that mysterious world to which the sun appears to travel in all its glory!

"If towering eminences have the power to charm and elevate men, who are pursuing the milder occupations of life, with what rapture shall they inspire the hearts of those long encompassed with danger, who,

from the top of high mountains, behold the goal to which their wishes and exertions have long been anxiously directed!—Zenophon affords a fine instance of the power of this union of association and admiration over the mind and heart. The Ten Thousand Greeks, after encountering innumerable difficulties and dangers, in the heart of an enemy's country, at length halted at the foot of a high mountain. Arrived at its summit, the sea unexpectedly burst, in all its grandeur, on their astonished sight! The joy was universal; the soldiers could not refrain from tears; they embraced their generals and captains with the most extravagant delight; they appeared already to have reached the places of their nativity, and, in imagination, again sat beneath the vines that shaded their paternal dwellings!

"On the other hand the soldiers of Hannibal shrunk back with awe and affright, when they arrived at the foot of the mountains, that backed the town of Martigny. The sight of those enormous rampires, whose heads, capped with eternal snow, appeared to touch the heavens, struck a sensible dejection on the hearts of the soldiers. It was in the middle of autumn; the trees were yellow with the falling leaf; and a vast quantity of snow having blocked up many of the passes, the only objects which reminded them of humanity, were a few miserable cottages, perched upon the points of inaccessible cliffs; flocks almost perished with cold; and men of hairy bodies and of savage visages!—On the ninth day, after conquering difficulties without number, the army reached the summit of the Alps. The alarm, which had been circulating among the troops all the way,

now

now became so evident, that Hannibal thought proper to take notice of it; and, halting on the top of one of the mountains, from which there was a fine view of Italy, he pointed out to them the luxuriant plains of Piedmont, which appeared like a large map before them. He magnified the beauty of those regions, and represented to them, how near they were of putting a final period to their difficulties, since one or two battles would inevitably give them possession of the Roman capital. This speech, filled with such promising hopes, and the effect of which was so much enforced by the sight of Italian landscapes, inspired the dejected soldiers with renewed vigour and alacrity; they sat forward, and soon after arrived in the plains, near the city of Turin.

"This celebrated march, performed at such an unfavourable season of the year, in a country, rendered by nature almost inaccessible, has been the admiration of every succeeding age; and many a fruitless attempt has been made to ascertain its actual route. General Melville has at length settled the question. With Polybius in his hand, he traced it 'from the point where Hannibal is supposed to have crossed the Rhone, up the left bank of that river, across Dauphiné to the entrance of the mountains at Les Echelles, along the vale to Chamberry, up the banks of the Isère, by Couffians and Moustier, over the gorge of the Alps, called the Little St. Bernard, and down their eastern slopes by Aosti and Ivrea, to the plains of Piedmont, in the neighbourhood of Turin.'

"On the 6th of May, in the year eighteen hundred, Napoleon, then first consul of France (*gaudent viam*

*fecisse ruina*.) set off from Paris to assume the command of the army of Italy. On the thirteenth, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Lausanne. Having reviewed his troops, he pursued his journey along the north banks of the lake of Geneva, and passing through Vevey, Villeneuve, and Aigle, arrived at Martigny, situated near a fine sweep of the Rhone, near its confluence with the Durance. From this place the modern Hannibal, (not more resembling that warrior in military talent than in perfidy,) passed through Burg, and St. Brenchier; and after great toil, difficulty and danger, arrived with his whole army at the top of the great St. Bernard. The road up this mountain is one of the most difficult, and the scenes, which it presents, are as magnificent as any in Switzerland. Rocks, gulphs, avalanches, or precipices, presented themselves at every step. Not a soldier but was alternately petrified with horror, or captivated with delight. At one time feeling himself a coward, at another, animated with the inspirations of a hero! Arrived at the summit of that tremendous mountain, and anticipating nothing but a multitude of dangers and accidents in descending from those regions of perpetual snow, on a sudden turning of the road, they beheld tables, covered, as if by magic, with every kind of necessary refreshment!—The monks of St. Bernard had prepared the banquet. Bending with humility and grace, those holy fathers besought the army to partake the comforts of their humble fare. The army feasted, returned tumultuous thanks to the Monks, and passed on. A few days after this event, the battle of Marengo decided the fate of Italy.

"To

"To the eye and heart of the ambitious, how many subjects of inducement and delight do mountains present! Who would not be proud to climb the summits of the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Andes? Is there a Sicilian, who does not boast of Etna? Is there a Scot, who does not take pride in celebrating Ben Lomond? and is there an Italian, that is not vain of the Apennines? Who, that is alive to nature and the muse, would not be delighted to wander up the sides of the Caucasus, the cone of Teneriffe, or those beautiful mountains, situated on the confines of three nations, so often and so justly celebrated by the poets of ancient Greece? and shall our friend Colonna be censured for confessing, that the proudest moments of his existence have been those in which he has reached the summits of the Wrekin, the Ferywn, and the cone of Langollen? or when he has beheld from the tops of Carnedda David, and Llewellyn, a long chain of mountains, stretching from the north to the south, from Pentindennawr to Cader Idris? Snowdon rising in the centre, his head cap with snow, and towering above the clouds, while his immense sides, black with rugged and impending rocks, stretched in long length below!

"During his continuance on *Pen-y-Voel*, Mr. Cox, the celebrated Swiss traveller, felt that extreme satisfaction, which is ever experienced when elevated on the highest point of the adjacent country. 'The air,' as that gentleman justly observes from Rousseau, 'is more pure, the body more active, and the mind more serene. Lifted up above the dwellings of man, we

discard all grovelling and earthly passions; the thoughts assume a character of sublimity, proportionate to the grandeur of the surrounding objects: and as the body approaches nearer to the ethereal regions, the soul imbibes a portion of their unalterable purity.' In a note to this passage Rousseau expresses his surprise, that a bath of the reviving air of the mountains is not more frequently prescribed by the physician, as well as by the moralist.

"Emotions of religion are always the most predominant in such elevated regions. Mr. Adams, when employed as minister plenipotentiary, from the States of America to the court of Berlin; visited the vast mountains that separate Silesia from Bohemia. Upon the Schneecnigen he beheld the celebrated pits, where the snow remains unmelted for the greater part of the year: upon the Risenkoppe, the highest pinnacle in Germany, he beheld all Silesia, all Saxony, and Bohemia, stretched like a map before him. 'Here,' says he, 'my first thought was turned to the Supreme Creator, who gave existence to that immensity of objects, expanded before my view. The transition from this idea to that of my own relation, as an immortal soul with the Author of nature, was natural and immediate; from this to the recollection of my country, my parents, and my friends.'

"It is highly interesting to observe, what pride a mountaineer takes in his country. Mr. Cox, travelling near Munster, was requested by a peasant to inform him what he thought of his country; and pointing to the mountains with rapture, he exclaimed, 'behold our walls and bulwarks; even Constantinople'

tinople is not so strongly fortified.' And Colonna never reflects, but with pleasure, on the self-evident satisfaction with which a farmer, residing in one of the most inaccessible cliffs, near Ffestiniog, replied to his assertion, that England was the finest and best country in the world, 'ah! but you have no mountains, sir; you've got no mountains!'—The Sicilian peasants, in the same manner, have such an affection for Etna, that they believe Sicily would not be habitable without it. 'It keeps us warm in winter,' say they, 'and furnishes us with ice in summer.'

'If we except mountains, nothing has so imposing an effect upon the imagination, as high, impending and precipitate rocks; those objects, which, in so peculiar a manner, appear to have been formed by some vast convulsion of the earth; and I remember, my Lelius, few scenes, which have given me greater severity of delight, than those vast crags, which rear themselves in a multitude of shapes, near Ogwen's Lake; at the falls of the Conway; at St. Gwen's Chapel in Pembrokeshire, and the singular masses at Worm's Head, in the district of Gower. The first of these scenes is the more endeared to my fancy, from the following Ode having been written by La Rochefort, among its rude and sterile precipices.

#### ODE.

##### I.

To th' Oak, that near my cottage grow,  
I gave a lingering, sad adieu;  
I left my Zenophelia true  
To love's fine power—  
I felt the tear my cheek bedew  
In that sad hour,—

##### II.

Upon the mountain's side I stood,  
Capt with Rothsay's arching wood;

And, as I view'd the mimic flood,  
So smooth and still,  
I listen'd—gas'd in pensive mood—  
Then climb'd the hill.

##### III.

'Adieu, thou wood-embosom'd spire,  
'No longer shall my rustic lyre  
'In tender, simple notes respire  
Thy tombs among;  
'No longer will it sooth thy choir,  
With funeral song.

##### IV.

'The world before me;—I must rove  
'Through vice's glittering, vain alcove;  
'Alas! as 'mid the world I move,  
Shall I have time  
'To tremble at the name of love,  
And speak in rhyme?'

##### V.

Five years are past, since this I sigh'd,  
Since to the world without a guide;  
My fortunes I oppos'd to pride;—  
Oh! time mispent!—  
My pains are lost—my talents tried—  
With punishment!

##### VI.

Now to my hamlet I'll retire,  
Gard of every vain desire;  
And burning with the sacred fire,  
That charm'd my youth;  
To love I'll dedicate my lyre,  
And heaven-born truth.

"When rocks are scattered among woods, covered with ivy, and peopled with animals, as in the celebrated pass at Undercliff, nothing can be more embellishing to scenery, and nothing fascinates the imagination in a more vivid and impressive manner. Of all the rocks, which this island can boast, few can compare with those that alternately form the sides, the front screens, and the back grounds of the Wye. 'There,' says Mr. Gilpin, who has described the general character of this unequalled river with the skill and judgment of a painter, and with all the taste and genius of a poet, 'the rocks are continually starting through the woods, and are generally simple and grand;

grand; rarely formal or fantastic. Sometimes they project in those beautiful square masses, yet broken and shattered in every line, which is characteristic of the most majestic species of rock. Sometimes they slant obliquely from the eye in shelving diagonal strata; and sometimes they appear in large masses of smooth stone, detached from each other and half buried in the soil. These masses of smooth rock are those objects of nature, which most resemble the architecture of man. Sometimes they rear themselves into vast natural amphitheatres; at other times into rampires, with all the regularity of immense walls; and with no herbage, no hanging masses of shrubs, no ivy adorning their crevices, they surprise, without delighting us. For, as the same elegant writer truly observes, no object receives so much beauty from contrast as the rock. 'Some objects,' says he, 'are beautiful in themselves; the eye is pleased with the tuftings of a tree; it is amused

with pursuing the eddying of a stream; or it rests with delight on the broken arches of a gothic ruin. Such objects, independent of composition, are beautiful in themselves.—But the rock, bleak, naked and unadorned, seems scarcely to deserve a place among them. Tint it with mosses and lichens of various hues, and you give it a degree of beauty; adorn it with shrubs and hanging herbage, and you make it still more picturesque; connect it with wood, water, and broken ground, and you make it in the highest degree interesting. Its colour and its form are so accommodating, that it generally blends into one of the most beautiful appendages of landscape."

—where high rocks, o'er ocean's  
dashing floods,  
Wave high in air, their panoply of woods,  
Admiring taste delights to stray beneath  
With eye uplifted, and forgets to breathe;  
Or, as aloft his daring footsteps climb,  
Creates their high summits with his arm  
sublime.

*Darwin, c. 3. l. 1223.*

**METAPHORS OF POETRY FROM NATURE.**

[From the same.]

**B**UT to confine ourselves to British poets.—Chaucer, active, ardent, and gay, a lover of wine, fond of society, and well qualified to charm by the elasticity of his spirits, the agreeableness of his manners, and the native goodness of his heart, was a lover of that kind of cheerful scenery, which amuses us in the fields, or delights us in the garden. The rising sun, the song of the sky-lark, a clear day,  
1812.

an extended landscape, had peculiar charms for him. His descriptions, therefore, are animated and gay, full of richness, and evidently the result of having studied for himself.—Spencer, the wild, the fascinating Spencer, delineates, with force and simplicity, the romantic and enchanting.—Milton was a lover of the beautiful in nature, as he was of the sublime in poetry: and though his *Il Penseroso* abounds in those  
R images,

images, which excite the most sombre reflections, the general character of his delineations are of an animated cast. In his minor poems, which afforded him an opportunity of consulting his natural taste, unconnected with epic gravity, we find him almost universally sketching with a light, an animated and elegant pencil. What can be more cheerful than his Song on May Morning, or his beautiful Latin Poem on the Coming of Spring? And can any thing be more rich and fascinating than the scenery of Cornus, or more profusely abounding in all, that renders rural imagery delightful, than his exquisite lyric of L'Allegro? And beyond all this, what shall we compare with his Garden of Eden?—Nothing in the *Odyssey*; nothing in the descriptions we have received, of the Groves of Antioch, or the Valley of Tempé: neither the Gardens of Armida, or the Hesperides; the Paradise of Ariosto;—Claudian's Garden of Venus; the Elysium of Virgil and Ovid, or the Cyprus of Marino;—neither the Enchanted Garden of Boyardo, the Island of Camoëns, or Rousseau's Verger de Clarend, have any thing to compare with it.

“But however well a scene may be described, every landscape, so exhibited, does not necessarily become a subject for the palette of the painter. Some descriptions embrace objects too minute, some are too humble and familiar, others too general, and some there are too faithful to be engaging. This poet delights in describing the *familiar*, that the *beautiful*; some in delineating the *picturesque*, and others in sketching the *sublime*.—These may be styled the *four orders* of landscape. In the first we may

class Cowper; in the second, Pope; in the third, Thomson; in the fourth, Ossian. The descriptions of Cowper are principally from humble and domestic life, including objects, seen every day and in every country. The gipsy group is almost the only picturesque sketch, he affords. Highly as this has been extolled, how much more interesting had the subject become in the hands of a Dyer, a Thomson, or a Beattie! Pope excels in painting the beautiful, and yet is he so general, that his vales, slopes, plains, and woods, flit before the imagination in graceful abundance, leaving on the memory few traces of existence. Thomson, also, deals considerably in generals, and seems mostly to have viewed nature from the summit of a hill, and to have drawn his images from the vale below. His pictures are principally adapted to the latitude of Richmond. Some, however, are enchantingly picturesque, and others sublime to the last degree: they present themselves to the eye in strong and well-defined characters; the keeping is well preserved, the outlines are boldly marked.

“Dyer tinted like Ruysdale, and Ossian with all the force and majesty of Salvator Rosa. In describing wild tracks, pathless solitudes, dreary and cragged wildernesses, with all the horrors of savage deserts, partially peopled with a hardy, a virtuous, and not inelegant race of men, Ossian is unequalled. In night scenery he is above all imitation for truth, solemnity and pathos; and no one more contrasts the varied aspects of nature with the mingled emotions of the heart.—What can be more admirable than his address to the evening star, in the songs of Selma; to the moon

in *Darthula*; or that fine address to the sun in his poem of *Carthor*? passages almost worthy the sacred pen of the prophet *Isaiah*.

"The uniformity, that has been observed in the imagery of *Ossian*, is not the uniformity of dulness. Local description only aids the memory; for a scene must be actually observed by the eye, before the mind can form a just and adequate idea of it. No epicure can judge of a ragout by the palate of another—a musician must hear the concert, he presumes to criticise; and the reader will gain but a very imperfect idea of the finest landscape in the universe, by reading or hearing it described; for we can neither taste, nor hear, nor smell, nor feel, nor see by proxy. Thus, when *Ossian* describes vales, rocks, mountains and glens, the words he uses are the same, and the images, they respectively suggest, would appear to be the same, but the scenes themselves are dressed in an infinite variety of drapery. It is not that nature is poor, but that language is indigent. A superficial reader, possessing no play of fancy, when the sun is represented as going down, and the moon as rising; when a cataract is said to roar, and the ocean to roll, can only figure to himself the actual representations of those objects, without any combinations. A man of an enlarged and elegant mind, however, immediately paints to himself the lovely tints that captivate his fancy in the rising and setting of those glorious luminaries; he already sees the tremendous rock, whence the cataract thunders down, and thrills with agreeable horror at the distant heavens of an angry ocean.

"Possessing a mind, that fancy never taught to soar, the one per-

ceives no graces in a tint; a broad and unfinished outline only spreads upon his canvas; while, by the creative impulses of genius, the outline is marked by many a matchless shade, and the foreground occupied by many a bold or interesting group.

"Gifted with an elegant and accomplished mind, the poet walks at large, amid the gay creations of the material world, imbibing images, at every step, to form his subjects and illustrate his positions: for there is an analogy between external appearances of nature, and particular affections of the soul, strikingly exemplificative of that general harmony, which subsists in all the universe. From this analogy the heavenly bodies were considered symbols of majesty, and the oak an emblem of strength; the olive, of peace; and the willow, of sorrow. One of the *Psalms* of *David*, pursuing this analogy, represents the Jews, hanging their harps upon the willows of *Babylon*, bewailing their exile from their native country. The yellow-green, which is the colour nature assumes at the falling of the leaf, was worn in chivalry, as an emblem of despair.—Red is considered as indicative of anger; green, of tranquillity; and brown, of melancholy. In the same manner, the yew and the cypress have long been acknowledged as emblems of mourning; the violet, of modesty; the lily of the valley, of innocence; the rose, of beauty; the aloe, of constancy; and the palm of laurel, of honour and victory.

"By analogy, we associate good fortune with a fine morning; ignorance with darkness; youth with spring; manhood with summer; autumn with that season of life, when, as *Milton* observes in a



fine vein of melancholy, we are fallen into 'the sere and yellow leaf.'—Winter we associate with age. We assimilate summer and winter, too, with good and ill fortune; an instance of which occurs in *Cymbeline*, a play, which will live, till 'time shall throw a dart at death,' though it has been so wantonly depreciated by Johnson. Even the art of war has some analogies with natural objects; hence is it no infrequent practice, among generals, to encamp their forces in a form, which they descriptively call the 'rose-bud;' the works flanking and covering each other like the lips of roses.

"Availing ourselves of these analogical licenses, we compare a dingle to a smiling infant, a glen to a beautiful girl, a valley to a captivating virgin, and when the valley opens into a vale, it may, not inelegantly, be associated with the idea of a well-formed, finished matron. In speaking of the sun, if we may be allowed to indulge in flowers of rhetoric, so exotic, we might almost be excused for saying, that it rises from behind rocks of coral, glides in a universe of sapphire over fields of emerald, mounts its meridian among seas of crystal, and, tinging every cloud with indigo, sinks to slumber among beds of æthiops."

"After the same manner, the three first periods of society were allegorically distinguished by different aspects of nature, by comparative amenity of climate and fecundity of soil. Thus the *iron* age was deformed by clouds and storms; the bowels of the earth were searched for minerals, while its surface was utterly neglected, untill by the husbandman, and ungrazed by the shepherd. Every morning was

gloomy, and every night tempestuous.—In the *silver* age, the year was divided into seasons; then were first experienced the heat of summer, and the vicissitudes of winter. In the *golden* age, the seasons were distinguished by perpetual temperature; the earth was profusely fertile, and flowers, vines, olives, and every luxury of nature, had consequent effects upon the minds, manners, and morals of mankind. In nature, all was blooming and captivating; among men all was virtue, security, and happiness. Every one, having nature for his guide, love and friendship were inheritances, and law and property were alike unheard of and unknown.

"Sometimes, as we have before observed, the poets draw similitudes from the common appearances and phenomena of the heavens. Dryden has a fine metaphor in his play of *All for Love*, where Anthony compares himself to a meteor; an idea, more than once adopted by Rowe and Congreve. Haller compares reason to the moon, and revelation to the sun. Horace affords innumerable instances.—In Homer, and in Milton, in Shakespeare, and in Tasso, (who has scarcely a simile, in his *Jerusalem Delivered*, that is not drawn from the country), references to the animal, the feathered and the vegetable world are perpetual. Those instances in the *Æneid*, where Virgil compares Orpheus to a Nightingale; the Love of Dido to the anguish of a wounded Stag, and the engagement of Tarchon and Venulus to the combat of an Eagle and a Serpent, are admirable. The last is, assuredly, the finest simile in all Virgil. In common conversation, too, how often do we indulge ourselves in such expressions as, 'he

is as strong as an oak; 'she is as mild as a dove;' and when is the lover weary of comparing his mistress to violets, to lilies, and to roses?

"No illustration, however, do I remember, that so justly bears upon our subject, as that, where Addison contrasts the *Iliad* and the *Eneid* by the different aspects of grand and beautiful scenery.—'The reading of the *Iliad*,' says he, 'is like travelling through a country uninhabited, where the fancy is entertained with a thousand savage prospects of vast deserts, wide and uncultivated marches, huge forests, mishapen rocks and precipices. On the contrary, the *Eneid* is like a well-ordered garden, where it is impossible to find any part unadorned, or to cast our eyes upon a single spot, that does not produce some beautiful plant or flower.' In another place, when comparing those poets, who are indebted principally to their own resources and genius, with those who have been formed by rules, and whose natural parts are chastised by critical precepts, Mr. Addison elegantly says, 'the genius in both classes of authors may be equally great, but shews itself after a different manner. In the first, it is like a rich soil in a happy climate, that

produces a whole wilderness of plants, rising in a thousand beautiful landscapes, without any certain order or regularity. In the other, it is the same rich soil, under the same happy climate, that has been laid out in walks and parterres, and cut into shape and beauty by the skill of the gardener.'

"Scenery not only inspires the poet but his reader also: for when do we enjoy his pictures and relish his sentiments with such charmed perception, as when seated beneath a bower, under a tree, or beside a rivulet? In such and in other scenes, even bad poetry and worse music are not unattended with a sensible pleasure. 'The flute of a shepherd,' as Dr. Beattie justly remarks, 'heard at a distance in a fine summer's day, amidst a romantic scene of groves, hills, and waters will give rapture to the ear of the wanderer, though the tune, the instrument, and the musician be such, as he could not endure in any other place.' Often has Colonna experienced the truth of these observations, and he never reflects but with pleasure on the satisfaction he enjoyed, in listening to a blind old man, in the valley of Rhymney, about two miles from the grand towers of Caerphilly Castle."

## ARTS, SCIENCES, AND NATURAL HISTORY.

### METHOD OF TAKING IRONMOULDS OUT OF COTTON.

[From Dr. Thomson's Annals of Philosophy.]

EVERY body knows that cottons of all kinds are apt to receive a dirty yellowish, or orange stain, from iron, which, if allowed to remain, gradually corrodes the cloth and forms a hole. At first these stains are easily removed by means of muriatic acid, or any other diluted acid (except vinegar); but, after they have remained for some time, acids have no effect upon them. It may be acceptable to my readers to point out the method of removing these moulds in such inveterate cases.

The iron in them is in the state of red oxide; and it appears, from various facts well known to chemists, that the red oxide of iron has a much greater affinity for cotton cloth than the black oxide. The object in view, therefore, should be to

bring the iron in the mould to the state of black oxide: after which, muriatic acid will easily remove it. Now there are two methods of doing this; both of which in the present case answer the purpose completely. The first is to touch the mould with the yellow liquid formed by boiling a mixture of potash and sulphur in water, called hydrogureted sulphuret of potash by chemists. The mould becomes immediately black, and the action of diluted muriatic acid immediately effaces it. The second method is to daub the mould over with ink so as to make it quite black. After this muriatic acid takes it out as in the former case. I conceive that this is occasioned by the action of the nutgalls in the ink, which reduces the iron in the mould to the state of black oxide.

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### [ON THE CHANGES OF COLOUR PRODUCED ON THE SURFACE OF STEEL.]

[From the same, in a Letter to the Editor from Sir Humphrey Davy.]

Berkeley-square, Jan. 13, 1818.

DEAR SIR,

IN the last edition of your elaborate and learned System of Chemistry, vol. i. p. 224, you

have stated that the changes of colour produced by heat on the surface of polished steel takes place under oil. In my Elements of Chemical Philosophy, page 390, I have

have said that these changes occur when the metal is plunged beneath the surface of mercury, and we both conclude that the effect probably does not depend upon the oxidisation of the metal.

"I was led to doubt of the perfect correctness of our statements, and the justness of our conclusions, by a letter from Mr. Stoddart, who has made many accurate experiments on the tempering of steel; and that gentleman sent me two pieces of steel which had been heated to the same degree, one in the atmosphere and the other under the surface of pure mercury, where it had been suffered to cool; the first was blue, the second had suffered no change of colour; and both seemed to possess the same degree of hardness.

"As I had formerly made but one experiment on this subject, and as the mercury I used was impure and not cleaned with any particular care, it appeared most likely that I had been deceived by some metallic oxides, or saline matter adhering to the mercury; and I invited Mr. Stoddart to assist in some new trials on the subject.

"A piece of polished steel was introduced into a retort, which was exhausted and filled with hydrogen gas, and this hydrogen gas was deprived of oxygen, a small quantity of which might have entered with common air in the stop-cock, by melting phosphorus in it; the retort was then gradually heated. Where it was in contact with the steel, a

slight tint of yellow was soon observed on the surface of the metal, but it did not increase as it would have done in the atmosphere during the increase of temperature.

"A piece of polished steel was plunged in very pure olive oil, which had been previously heated to deprive it of air; the temperature of the oil was increased until it began to boil, but no change of colour took place on the surface of the steel.

"I had little doubt that the slight change of colour produced on the metal in the hydrogen gas was owing to some aqueous vapour in the gas, or to some action of the phosphorus, and I have since proved the truth of this conjecture.

"By heating polished steel in pure azote, deprived of aqueous vapour by sticks of potash over mercury, I found that no change of colour took place.

"It appears evident, then, that the changes of colour produced during the tempering of the steel are owing to the formation and increase of a plate of oxide, and that they are mere indications of, and not connected with, that change in the arrangement of the particles of the steel which produce the diminution of its hardness.

"If you should not deem this statement of too little importance for publication, you will oblige me by inserting it in your Journal.

I am, dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

HUMPHRY DAVY.

## NEW PROPERTIES OF LIGHT.

[From the same.]

"IN our last number we gave a short summary of the new experiments on light made by Dr. Brewster, and likewise of what had been done on the same subject by Biot and Arago in France; but we have reason to believe that a more particular explanation of some of the points will be acceptable to our readers.

"The double refraction of light by certain bodies has occupied the attention of philosophers from the first observation of the phenomenon by Bartholine and Huygens, down to our own time; but no satisfactory explanation of it has been offered. Even Newton contributed but little to the elucidation of this difficult subject. Nor is the late effort of Laplace such as corresponds with his well-earned celebrity, and with his eminence as a mathematician. The phenomena of double refraction are as follows:

"If a ray of light fall upon one of the surfaces of a rhomboid of Iceland crystal, and is transmitted through the opposite surface, it is separated into two pencils, one of which proceeds in the direction of the incident ray, while the other forms with it an angle of  $6^{\circ} 16'$ . The first of these pencils is said to experience the usual or ordinary refraction, and the other the unusual or extraordinary refraction. If the luminous object from which the ray of light proceeds be looked at through the crystal, two images of it will be distinctly seen, even when the rhomboid is turned round the axis

of vision. If another rhomboid of Iceland spar is placed behind the first, in a similar position, the pencil refracted in the ordinary way by the first will be so also by the second, and the same thing holds with the extraordinarily refracted pencil—none of the pencils being separated into two, as before. But if the second rhomboid is turned slowly round, while the first remains stationary, each of the pencils begin to separate into two; and when the eighth part of a revolution is completed, the whole of each of the pencils is divided into two portions. When the fourth part of a revolution is completed, the pencil refracted in the ordinary way by the first crystal will be refracted in the extraordinary way only by the second, and the pencil refracted in the extraordinary way by the first will be refracted in the ordinary way only by the second; so that the four pencils will be again reduced to two. At the end of  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$ , and  $\frac{7}{8}$  of a revolution, the same phenomena will be exhibited as at the end of  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a revolution. At the end of  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a revolution, the same phenomena will be seen as at the first position of the crystals, and at the end of  $\frac{7}{8}$  of a revolution.

"If we look at a luminous object through the two rhomboids, we shall at the commencement of the revolution see only two images, viz. one of the least, and of the greatest refracted images. At the end of  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a revolution four images will

will be seen, and soon as in the preceding example.

"It is obvious that the light which forms these images has suffered some new modification; or acquired some new property, which prevented it in particular parts of a revolution from penetrating the second rhomboid. This property has been called polarization; and light is said to be polarized by passing through a rhomboid of calcareous spar, or any other doubly refracting crystal.

"Almost all crystallized substances possess the property of double refraction, and consequently the power of polarizing light. The most important of these, arranged in the order of their refractive power, according to the experiments of Dr. Brewster, are the following:—

1. Chromate of lead.
2. Carbonate of lead.
3. Zircon.
4. Pistazite.
5. Carbonate of strontian.
6. Crysolite.
7. Calcareous spar.
8. Topaz.
9. Tartaric acid.
10. Rock crystal.
11. Sulphate of copper.
12. Selenite.
13. Sulphate of iron.

"Some years ago Malus, a colonel of engineers in the French army, announced the discovery of a new property of reflected light. He found that when light is reflected at a particular angle from all transparent bodies, whether solid or fluid, it has acquired by reflection that remarkable property of polarization, which had hitherto been regarded as the effect only of double refraction.

"If the light of a taper, reflected

from the surface of water at an angle of  $52^{\circ} 45'$ , be viewed through a rhomboid of Iceland crystal which can be turned about the axis of vision, two images of the taper will be distinctly visible at one position of the crystal. At the end of  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a revolution one of the images will vanish, and it will re-appear at the end of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a revolution. The other image will vanish at the end of  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a revolution, and will re-appear at the end of  $\frac{3}{4}$ ; and the same phenomena will be repeated in the other two quadrants of its circular motion. The light reflected from the water therefore has evidently been polarized, or has received the same character as if it had been transmitted through a doubly refracting crystal.

"The angle of incidence at which this modification is superinduced upon reflected light increases in general with the refractive power of the transparent body; and when the angle of incidence is greater or less than this particular angle, the light suffers only a partial modification, in the same manner as when two rhomboids of Iceland spar are not placed either in a similar or in a transverse position.

"Malus found that light reflected from opaque bodies, such as black marble, ebony, &c. was also polarized. But polished metals, according to him, did not impress that property, though they did not alter it when it had been acquired from another substance. Dr. Brewster, however, has observed, that polished metals polarize light as well as other substances.

"When a ray of light was divided into pencils by a rhomboid of Iceland spar, Malus made these pencils fall on a surface of water at an angle of  $52^{\circ} 45'$ . When the principal section of the rhomboid (or the plane which bisects the obtuse angles)

angles) was parallel to the plane of reflection, the ordinary pencil was partly reflected, and partly refracted, like any other light; but the extraordinary ray penetrated the water entire, and not one of its particles escaped refraction. On the contrary, when the principal section of the crystal was perpendicular to the plane of reflection, the extraordinary ray was partly refracted and reflected, while the ordinary ray was refracted entire.

"While Dr. Brewster was employed in repeating the experiments of Malus, and observing the effect produced upon light by transmitting it through transparent and imperfectly transparent bodies, he was struck by a singular appearance of colour in a plate of agate. This plate, bounded by parallel faces, was about the 15th of an inch in thickness, and was cut in a plane perpendicular to the laminæ of which it was composed. This agate was very transparent, and gave a distinct image of any luminous object. On each side of this image was one highly coloured, forming with it an angle of about  $10^\circ$ , and so deeply affected with the prismatic colours that no prism of agate with the largest refracting angle, could produce an equivalent dispersion. Both the coloured images and the colourless image were found to be polarized. Dr. Brewster found that when the image of a taper, reflected from water at an angle of  $52^\circ 45'$ , is viewed through a plate of agate, having its laminæ parallel to the plane of reflection, it appears perfectly distinct; but when the agate is turned round, so that its laminæ are perpendicular to the plane of reflection, the light which forms the image of the taper suffers total reflection, and not one ray of it penetrates the agate.

"He found likewise that if a ray of light incident upon a plate of agate be received after transmission upon another plate of the same substance, having its laminæ parallel to those of the former, the light will find an easy passage through the second plate; but if the second plate has its laminæ perpendicular to those of the first, the light will be wholly reflected, and the luminous object will cease to be visible.

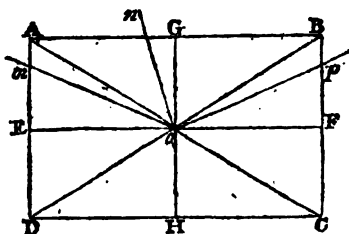
"But the most curious observation made by Dr. Brewster on the agate is the presence of a faint nebulous light, unconnected with the image, though always accompanying it, lying in a direction parallel to the laminæ. This unformed light never vanishes along with the images; and in one of the specimens of agate it is distinctly incurvated, having the same radius of curvature with the adjacent laminæ. Dr. Brewster found the same property in the cornelian and chalcedony, minerals of which the agate is usually composed. Dr. Brewster ingeniously conjectures that the structure of agate is an approach to that particular kind of crystallization which occasions double refraction, and that the nebulous light is an imperfect image arising from that imperfection of structure. He conceives that the phenomena of double refraction are produced by an alternation of laminæ of two separate refractive and dispersive powers. Thus in calcareous spar, one set of laminæ may be composed of lime, the other of carbonic acid. The only double refracting crystal incompatible with this supposition is sulphur, which, however, may hereafter be ascertained to be a compound.

"Another very singular discovery of Dr. Brewster is, that when polarized light is transmitted through certain transparent bodies, it is unpolarized

polarized by these bodies in certain positions, and unaltered by them in others. The transparent bodies which possess this property are rock crystal, topaz, chrysolite, borax, sulphate of lead, felspar, selenite, citric acid, sulphate of potash, carbonate of lead, leucite, tourmaline, pistazite, mica, Iceland spar, agate without veins, some pieces of plate glass. Gum arabic, horn, glue, and tortoiseshell, depolarize light in every position.

“ Dr. Brewster has observed that mica and topaz exhibit some singular phenomena with light. Let the rectangle  $A B C D$  represent a plate of mica. When a prism of calcareous spar is placed in a vertical, or a horizontal line, upon this plate, polarized light viewed through them both suffers no change. The horizontal and vertical lines  $E F$ ,  $G H$  upon the plate of mica may be called the neutral axis of the mica. When the Iceland spar is placed in

and hence these diagonals may be called depolarizing axes. If we examine a polarized image by the prism of Iceland spar, placed upon the vertical neutral axis of the mica, the polarity of the light will of course continue, and only one image will be seen; but if we incline the plate of mica forwards, so as to make the polarized light fall upon it at an angle of about  $45^\circ$ , the image that was formerly invisible starts into existence, and therefore the light from which it was formed has been depolarized. If the same experiment is made upon the horizontal neutral axis, no such effect is produced; and hence it follows that the vertical neutral axis is accompanied by an oblique depolarizing axis. By making the same trials with the depolarizing axes, it will be found that each is accompanied by an oblique neutral axis; and therefore each plate of mica possesses two oblique neutral axes, and one oblique depolarizing axis. The oblique depolarizing axis is represented by the line  $o n$ , and the two oblique neutral axes by the lines  $o m$  and  $o p$ . The angles  $G o n$ ,  $G o m$ ,  $G o p$ , being about  $45^\circ$ , and the planes of these angles being perpendicular to the plate of mica. Topaz was found to exhibit the same phenomena to a limited extent; but no other substance tried.



the diagonals  $A C, B D$  of the plate, the polarized light is depolarized,



## ON THE FORMATION OF SULPHUR IN INDIA.

{By *Benj. Heyne*, M. D. &c. communicated to the Editor of the *Philosophical Magazine*.

"SULPHUR has been considered to be indigenous only where deep seated mines of metals are found, or where volcanoes or earthquakes have ravaged the bowels and surface of a country. Nothing therefore is known of its formation, nor have analytical experiments afforded any other than distant hints, and these so very indistinct that our modern chemists have ranked it among simple substances.

"Circumstances requisite for the production of any particular substance sometimes, however, unite at accessible places, and it then becomes possible for an attentive observer to penetrate into such mysteries, and to develop them where or when least expected. I will not say that this is precisely the case here, but I trust that what I have observed on this subject will not be thought altogether unworthy of notice.

"I must premise, that I have nowhere found brimstone on the peninsula of India, though always travelling and inquiring into subjects of natural production and curiosity; nor has it been discovered, as far as I know, by any other person, either in a simple state or in combination. Once indeed I understand, from very respectable authority, that a large lump of very fine brimstone was found at Condapitty in the Masulipatam circar, in the trunk of a Margosa tree, (*Melia azadiracta*) torn up, and (as was sup-

posed) shattered to pieces by lightning; I was therefore not a little astonished when a substance in powder or small pieces evidently brimstone was shown me in the Northern circars, with the intimation that it had been collected on the banks of the Godavery.

"The place to which I was directed is not far from Maddepolam and Ammalapore, places situated about half way between Coringa and Masulipatam, and between the branches of the river Godavery, known for the manufacture of fine long cloth, which is carried on to a great extent in this part of the country; but, even there, this circumstance was unknown to all with whom I conversed. My guide however convinced me soon of the truth of this assertion, by conducting me to a small village about twelve miles east of Ammalapore, called Soora-Sauny-Yanam, belonging to the Bommadaurum Mootak, one of the Peddatore rajah's districts. Hard by is a lake in which I found the confirmation of my researches. It is a narrow lake extending several miles in the direction from south to north along the village, and seems to be every where very shallow. At its southern extremity it communicates with a branch of the Godavery and a salt-water creek, from which it receives its water in the rainy monsoon.

"In the hot season it is nearly dry, and the mud then exposed to the

the sun exhales a disagreeable smell, which at some places I thought was like that of a sulphuret.

"The first excursion I made with my guides was to a place due west of the village, where they went trampling up and down in the water, and at times taking up a handful of mud, which, on examination certainly had a faint smell of brimstone, but did not at all resemble the substance which had been shown to me some time ago, and which had induced me to make this expensive excursion.

"Under the full impression of disappointment, I was sitting after my fruitless return to the village in my palanquin, scarcely observing that it was surrounded by a number of inquisitive visitors, when on a sudden my attention was attracted by the clamorous vociferations of a woman in the pursuit of all my palanquin bearers, who had robbed her little garden of a pumpkin. She appealed to the renter for protection; but he, like many in his situation in absolute power, magnanimously made a present of it to the strangers, who were carrying their booty off in great triumph. Unluckily for them, however, I interfered, and ordered them to restore the stolen goods, which brought on a slight, but friendly altercation between me and the renter; and this ended in the payment for the pumpkin, and an offer of all the bystanders to conduct me to the place from which they collected brimstone.

"I then followed a man whom they procured, immediately to the northern extremity of the lake, where we found without much searching brimstone in small heaps and in abundance.

"I was told that this substance was to be found further north in

the same lake, and in small quantities only to the southward, where the lake gets soonest dry. There it is collected in a loose soft form, or in semi-indurated nodules of a grayish yellow colour after it is dry; and never deeper than a foot from the very surface of the ground on which the water stands.

"This salt lake, I learnt, was but of recent formation. Only fifty years ago, the spot where it is now found was under cultivation. The country for a great number of miles in all directions is quite plain; nay, I may add that not a hillock is to be seen within fifty miles.

"Stones of all kinds are nearly as scarce, except some indurated marl which I found in the stratum below the superficial one.

"The soil all over this part of the country is either a rich red earth mixed with vegetable mould, which renders it very productive; or it is the black vegetable cotton soil, which is always accompanied with a stratum of marl. This is also the soil which I observed on the spot where the lake is.

"Earthquakes are entirely unknown here, and volcanic substances are not to be found.

"It might be supposed that the brimstone found here was deposited by the water of the Godavery, as the lake is in conjunction with one of its smaller branches; or that it had been thrown up from the sea, with which it is also connected. Against the former supposition may be adduced, that it is found in none of the manifold beds of that river, or in its vicinity; and against the second, that it is not observed in any other creek or inlet, and here only where it is remotest from the sea.

"Against the existence of extin-

guished

guished volcanoes, or earthquakes, may I think strongly be urged the confined compass of the spot where this substance is found; besides what has been observed before of the appearance of the country in general, and its minerals. The only way to account for its existence in the humid way therefore is, in my opinion, the supposition of its having been formed here. The substances we have then to consider are sea water, lime, and vegetable mould.

"I filled some bottles with the water of this lake, and having carried them along with me for further examination, I found that neither the nitric nor sulphuric acids had any visible effect on it.

"Soda precipitated immediately a plentiful white sediment. Oxalic acid produced a copious sediment. Muriate of barytes caused also a plentiful precipitate.

"All I wished to ascertain was,

whether this water contained alkali line or calcareous sulphurets, or the sulphuric acid in a free state.

"From the few experiments above noted, it appears however that it is not impregnated with sulphurets of any description, as these would have been precipitated both by the sulphuric and nitric acids; but that, like most sea waters, it contains some sulphates; and probably the sulphate of lime, as the latter basis was indicated by the oxalic acid, and the former by the sulphuric acid and the muriate of barytes. I will not enter upon any theoretical disquisitions; but I cannot help observing, that the presence of brimstone in substances which not only can, but actually do produce hydrogen gas in such abundance, has suggested to my mind that sulphur itself may be a product of them, and possibly only a modification of hydrogen.

#### PROCESS FOR ARTIFICIAL STONE CHIMNEY PIECES.

[By Mr. *Wilson*, Southwark, communicated to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c.]

"TAKE two bushels of sharp drift sand, and one bushel of sifted slacked quicklime, mix them up together with as little water as possible, and beat them well up together for half an hour, every morning for three or four successive days, but never wet them again after their first mixture.

"To two gallons of water, contained in a proper vessel, add one pint of single size, made warm; a quarter of a pound of alum, in powder, is

then to be dissolved in warm water, and mixed with the above liquor.

"Take about a shovel full of the first composition, make a hole in the middle of it, and put therein three quarters of a pint of the mixture of alum and size, to which add three or four pounds of coarse plaster of Paris; the whole is to be well beaten and mixed together rather stiff; put this mixture into the wooden moulds of your intended chimney-piece, the sides, ends and

and tops of which moulds are made of moveable pieces, previously oiled with the following mixture.

"Take one pint of the droppings of sweet oil, which costs about one shilling the pint, and add thereto one pint of clear lime water, made from pouring boiling water on lumps of chalk lime in a close vessel till fully saturated: when the lime water becomes clear, it is proper to be added to the oil as above mentioned, and on their being stirred together they will form a thick oily mixture, or emulsion, proper to apply upon the moulds.

"In forming the side or jamb of a chimney-piece, the mould is to be first half filled with the sand-lime and plaster composition, then two wires wrapped round with a thin layer of hemp, and which wires are nearly the length of the piece to be moulded, are to be placed in parallel lines, lengthways, in the mixture or composition in the mould, and afterwards the mould is filled up with more of the composition, and if there is any superfluous quantity, it is to be struck off with a piece of flat board.

"The lid or top part of the mould is then to be placed upon it, and the

whole subjected to a strong pressure from weighted levers on a screw press. The composition is to remain under this pressure for twenty or thirty minutes; the precise time necessary may be known from examining a small specimen of the composition reserved purposely to determine the time it requires to harden and set firm.

"The sides of the mould are to be held together by iron clamps and wedges.

"The wires above mentioned answer a double purpose, by giving strength to the jambs, and retaining the whole mass together in case it should at any time be cracked by accident.

"The chimney-pieces may be made either plain or fluted, according to the mould, and when moulded, they are finished off by rubbing them over with alum water, and smoothing them with a trowel and a little wet plaster of Paris.

"A common plain chimney piece of this composition is sold at only seven shillings, and a reeded one at twenty-eight shillings, completely fitted up.

ON MORTARS AND CEMENTS.

[By Mr. B. G. Sage, from the Papers of the French Imperial Institute.]

"H<sup>A</sup>VING found that an alkaline lixivial gas was evolved from a mixture of three parts of sand and two of lime-slacked by immersion; and desirous of ascertaining, whether the products of the three kingdoms, mingled in the same proportions,

would afford a similar gas; Mr. Sage made a number of experiments, which taught him, that the force of cohesion contracted by slacked lime was greater with metallic oxides in general, than with any other substance. These trials led him to new facts, which enabled him

him to discover mortars, and cements, at least as solid and impermeable as those made with the best puzzolana, which is of the greatest use, particularly in hydraulic structures.

"The work we announce points out also a prompt and easy method of ascertaining the solidity and impermeability of mortars or cements, which cannot but be highly interesting to builders.

"We must not always judge of the goodness of a cement from its having acquired a great deal of solidity in the open air, for it frequently loses this in water, in which it diffuses itself. Buildings made with such mortar soon tumble to pieces.

"The necessity of a minute division of the substances, that enter into a cement, cannot be insisted on too strongly. They should first be mixed together uniformly while dry; and they must not be drowned in water, which must be added gradually, till the mixture is reduced to a soft paste.

"It is of the greatest importance to determine with precision the quantity of lime employed to obtain the most solid mortars or cements; and in general to use no lime but what has been made from pure limestone, and which has been kept well secured from the air after it is slacked.

"In the experiments of Mr. Sage he always employed two parts of lime to three of puzzolana, of sand, &c., which afforded him very hard and impermeable mortar: and he thinks this proportion of lime may even be lessened, when the architect is fully convinced of the impropriety of leaving the preparation of mortar to bricklayer's labourers, since the strength and solidity of

hydraulic structures depends so much on it.

"The author has divided his experiments into five classes. 1. Mortars or cements made with substances, that have undergone the action of fire. The ashes of vegetables, whether lixiviated or not, being mixed with two thirds of lime slacked by immersion, forms one of the most solid and impermeable cements: a property which they appear to derive from the minutely divided quartz, which these ashes contain in the proportion of one fourth.

"2. Mortars or cements made with metallic substances. Iron adds to the hardness of all mortars; and of itself, in rusting, concurs in the agglutination of gravel and pebbles, as we see on the sea-shore. According to the state in which the iron is, that is combined with two parts of slacked lime, its force of cohesion is more or less considerable.

"3. Mortars or cements made with stones of different natures. Gastein, chalcedony, sandstone, and gravel, form very hard and impermeable mortar with lime. Feldspar, better known by the name of petuntze, being mixed with two thirds of slacked lime, produces an impermeable and solid mortar.

"4. Mortars or cements that alter in water. Vegetable earth, or mould, is essentially composed of minutely divided quartz; clay, and iron. Mixed with two parts of slacked lime, and water enough to form a soft paste, the brick produced from it, when dried, has some solidity, which it loses under water, where it cracks.

"5. Mortars or cements made with combustible substances. Mortar, or cement, made with sulphur and

and two parts of slacked lime, forms a hard and very sonorous brick, which is not altered under water; while mortars made with pulverised vegetable charcoal, or pitcoal, though

they produce hard and sonorous bricks, soon fall to pieces in water; as do bricks made with sawdust, or raspings of ivory.

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ON THE ART OF MAKING COFFEE IN THE HIGHEST PERFECTION.

By Benjamin Count of Rumford, F. R. S. Abridged by the Editor of Nicholson's Journal.

“THE count begins his essay with an eulogium in coffee. He celebrates it as uncommonly agreeable in its taste, salubrious in its effects, and producing exhilaration which lasts many hours, and is not followed by sadness, languor, or debility. The glow of health, the consciousness of increased vigour of mind it affords, and the uniform experience of many able, brilliant, and indefatigable men of the first talents in its favour—are among the topics on which the animated writer dwells in his praises of this most delightful vegetable. He acknowledges his own obligation to its powers, and society will admit that a more cogent instance could scarcely have been adduced in support of his argument.

“But there is no culinary process so uncertain in its results as that of making coffee. The same materials, in the same proportions, shall produce good or bad coffee according to the management. If the peculiar aromatic flavour of coffee be dissipated and lost, its exhilarating quality is gone, and all that would have made it valuable. To prepare it as it ought to be done, is the object of the Essay before us.

1813.

“Great care must be taken not to roast coffee too much. As soon as it has acquired a deep cinnamon colour, it should be taken from the fire and cooled: otherwise much of its aromatic flavour will be dissipated, and its taste will become disagreeably bitter.

“In some parts of Italy, coffee is roasted in a thin Florence flask, slightly closed by a loose cork, and held over clear burning coals with continual agitation. No vapour issues from the coffee sufficient to prevent the progress of its roasting from being clearly seen. The count has adopted this process by using a thin globular vessel of glass, with a long neck, which he closes, when charged, with a long cork, having a small slit on one side, to allow the escape of the vapours, and projecting far enough out of the neck to be used as a handle to turn the vessel round, while exposed to the heat of a chafing dish of coals. This vessel is laid horizontally, and is supported by its neck so as to be easily turned round; which may be done without the least danger, however near the coals, provided the glass be thin, and kept constantly turned.

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" In order that the coffee may be perfectly good, and very high flavoured, not more than half a pound of the grain should be roasted at once; for when the quantity is greater, it becomes impossible to regulate the heat so as to be quite certain of a good result. The progress of the operation, and the moment most proper to put an end to it may be judged and determined with great certainty; not only by the changes which take place in the colour of the grain; but also by the peculiar fragrance which will first begin to be diffused by it when it is nearly roasted enough.

" If coffee in powder be not defended from the air, it soon loses its flavour and becomes of little value; and the liquor is never in such high perfection as when the coffee is made immediately after the grain is roasted. This fact is well known to those who are accustomed to coffee in countries where the use of it is not controlled by the laws; and if a government be seriously disposed to encourage the use of coffee, the count considers it as indispensable that individuals should be permitted to roast it in their own houses. But as the roasting and grinding of coffee take up considerable time, the author describes a contrivance of a canister to keep it in, which has a double cover. This vessel is a cylinder of tin, having a sliding piston within, of the same material, formed like the cover of a box, but having several slits in its sides, by which they are sprung outwards and cause it to retain its place in the cylinder with considerable force. The piston being pressed down upon the coffee retains it and defends it from the air, while the same object is more

completely secured by a common well-fitted cover at top. It may be here remarked—that this kind of canister has the advantage of confining the article without including any air in the same space, except what may be diffused between the particles;—but that, with this exception, a well-corked bottle or other fit vessel may answer the same purpose.

" After giving instructions for roasting the coffee and keeping it for use when ground, the preparation of the liquor constitutes the next subject of inquiry. Why this should be so uncertain can only be explained by reference to the circumstances on which those qualities depend which are most esteemed in coffee.

" Boiling hot water extracts from coffee, which has been properly roasted and ground, an aromatic substance of an exquisite flavour, together with a considerable quantity of astringent matter of a bitter, but very agreeable taste; but this aromatic substance, which is supposed to be an oil, is extremely volatile; and is so feebly united to the water that it escapes into the air with great facility.

" If a cup of the very best coffee prepared in the highest perfection, and boiling hot, be placed on a table in the middle of a room, and suffered to cool, it will, in cooling, fill the room with its fragrance; but the coffee, after having become cold, will be found to have lost a great deal of its flavour. If it be again heated, its taste and flavour will be still farther impaired; and after it had been heated and cooled two or three times, it will be found to be quite vapid and disgusting.

" The fragrance diffused through the

the air is a proof, that the coffee has lost some of its most volatile parts; and as that liquor is found to have lost its peculiar flavour, and also its exhilarating quality, it is inferred, that both these qualities must undoubtedly depend on the preservation of those volatile parts which so readily escape.

If the liquid were perfectly at rest, the particles which could escape from its surface, would be incomparably less in quantity, than would escape by agitation, which would continually present new portions of the fluid to the air. But all fluids, while heating or cooling, by partial communication, are known to be agitated; a fact long and well known, but particularly explained and insisted upon by our author, in many of his valuable works, and which he again perspicuously and familiarly explains in the present essay. His object is to indicate by what means the heat of the liquor may be uniformly kept up in all its parts: for the consequence being, that the parts will, in those circumstances, be at rest, the motions by which the aromatic parts might have been dissipated, will not take place.

"By pouring boiling water on the coffee, and surrounding the containing vessel with boiling water or with the steam of boiling water, the coffee itself will be kept permanently at the same heat, and will not circulate, or be agitated.

"The count observes, that from the well-known fact, that boiling water is not the most favourable for extracting the saccharine parts from malt in brewing, he was induced to try a lower temperature than the boiling heat in making coffee; but the coffee did not prove so good. The cold infusion of coffee, which

he also tried, was of very inferior quality,

"The common method of boiling coffee in a coffee pot, is neither economical nor judicious. A large quantity of the material is wasted in this method, and more than half of the aromatic parts, so essential to its good qualities, are lost.

"One pound of good Mocha coffee, which, when properly roasted and ground, weighs only fourteen ounces, will make, by proper management, fifty-six full cups of the very best coffee that can be made.

"If it be not ground finely, the surfaces of the particles only will be acted upon by the hot water, and the waste will be very great, from the large proportion of coffee left in the grounds.

"The size of a coffee cup in England usually answers to  $8\frac{1}{2}$  cubic inches, but the count considers the gill measure as a proper standard for a cup of coffee, which he therefore adopts. This will fill the former cup to seven-eighths of its capacity, and a quarter of an ounce of ground coffee will be fully sufficient to make a gill of the most excellent coffee.

"It is well known to chemists, that any solvent already in part charged with a substance intended to be taken up, will be less disposed than before to take up any additional quantity; and upon this is founded the process of percolation or straining, as is practised in brewing and other arts, and has been for some time recommended and used in making coffee. To this the count gives this approbation. He finds, by experience, that the stratum of ground coffee to be laid upon a perforated metallic bottom of a vessel or strainer, ought to be about two-thirds of an inch thick, and to be



reduced by pressure by a piston or flat plate of metal (after levelling it) to less than half an inch. From the data he infers, by a chain of observations, that if the height of a cylindrical vessel or strainer be taken constantly at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches, the diameter of its bottom must be—  
To make 1 cup of coffee  $\doteq 1\frac{1}{2}$  inch  
— 2 cups  $\doteq 2\frac{1}{2}$ —3 or 4 cups  $\doteq 2\frac{3}{4}$   
— 5 or 6  $\doteq 3\frac{1}{2}$ —7 or 8  $\doteq 4$ —9 or 10  $\doteq 4\frac{1}{2}$ —11 or 12  $\doteq 5$ .

“These strainers are to be suspended in their reservoirs or vessels for containing the coffee, and the whole included in another vessel called the boiler, which is to contain boiling water, kept hot by a lamp, or otherwise. The forms of these are given with drawings, upon which it does not seem needful to enlarge in the present abridgment, because there are several vessels of this description, with the exception of the surrounding boiler, to be found in our shops.

“The reader must have recourse to the essay itself for these and other particulars of considerable interest, and delivered in the familiar and perspicuous style which distinguishes the writings of this author. The poor, and those who prefer simplicity of structure to the extremes of perfection, will be gratified by a description of his last apparatus, fig. 8. It is a porcelain, or earthen jug, with a tubular spout, not unlike those which we call milk jugs, except that these commonly have a lip-spout (which would answer nearly as well). Into the mouth of this is fitted a tin vessel, which fits and descends a little way down. It has a flat bottom perforated with many holes, and a good close cover;

and it would be well to have a round plate or rammer, to compress the coffee on its bottom, and defend it from the stream of hot water, when poured in. These several parts are to be dipped in boiling water before using, and the difference between coffee made by this simple and cheap apparatus, of which the *nyug* may also be applied to other uses, and that made by the most perfect machines, will scarcely be distinguishable.

“Sufficient length has already been given to our abstract, to forbid us to follow the count in the explanation of his views directed to the benefit of society, with relation to the comforts of individuals, as well as to the economy of the political aggregate. That it would be preferable to consume an article produced by the colonies of European nations, who demand the manufactures and products of the parent state, instead of sending bullion to China for an article of less value: that it would be preferable that the poor should enjoy the innocent exhilaration of coffee, and the nutriment of sugar, instead of forgetting their hardships during the momentary intervals of insanity, produced by fermented and distilled liquors; that they should be cheerful, benevolent, animated, healthy, and industrious with coffee, instead of becoming outrageous, mischievous, diseased, idle, and sunk in languor and debility with gin, &c. &c. These are among the meditations interspersed through this little work, which the reader will be gratified in consulting, and will probably be induced to make others in his turn.

ON THE PROCESSES EMPLOYED FOR DEFACING WRITING ON PAPER, FOR  
DETECTING, AND REVIVING IT; AND A NOTICE OF AN INDELIBLE  
INK.

[By B. H. Tarry, M. D. as abridged by M. M. Berthollet, Vauquelin,  
and Deyeux.]

**W**RITING is removed either by scraping with a knife, or by means of acids. When writing has been scratched out, commonly pounce or size is applied to the paper, that the ink afterward used may not run. If pounce have been employed, the strokes of the same pen will appear more slender, if size, more full, than on other parts of the paper. Immersion in warm water for a few minutes will dissolve and wash away size: alcohol will have the same effect on pounce. After the paper is taken out, it should be dried slowly; at first in the shade, till three parts dry, and afterward between the leaves of a book, or a quire of paper. While it is drying the ink last used will spread and sink into the paper more or less. Generally indeed close inspection with a good lens will show where any writing has been scratched out, by the appearance of some loose or torn filaments.

"If the means employed to obliterate writing have been such as to remove the whole of the iron from the paper, every attempt to restore the writing must be vain. If some ferruginous compound remain, the characters may be re-produced in their original form; though the colour will vary, according to the nature of the compound in which the iron is concealed, and of the re-agent employed.

"In some cases the gallic acid is capable of recomposing the writing, that has been made to disappear by chemical means; but its attraction for the oxide of iron is not so strong as is commonly supposed. The red or brown oxide of iron, obtained from the sulphate or nitrate by means of alkaline carbonates, cannot combine with the gallic acid to form ink, unless the carbonic acid have been expelled from the oxide of iron by some more potent acid. It is the same with respect to the oxalic acid, and acidulous-oxalate of potash: when this acid or this acidulous salt has seized the oxide of iron, the gallic acid cannot destroy the combination, because it has an inferior attraction for the oxide of iron.

"If the writing have been destroyed by nitric or oximuriatic acid, the gallic acid in tincture, infusion, or decoction of galls will revive it.

"Liquid prussiate of lime or potash is a good re-agent, to detect the presence of iron. If the ink have disappeared in consequence of the decomposition of gallic acid, as when oximuriatic acid has been employed, either of these will render it legible, causing it to appear of a light greenish blue while wet. If oxalic acid have been employed to obliterate the writing, the prussiate will restore it of a reddish brown colour.

colour. If nitric or sulphuric acid have been employed, the prussiate of lime will show this by staining the paper blue, but it cannot produce the writing.

“ Hidroguiretted sulphurets of the alkalis, or of the alkaline earths, are very prompt and powerful tests of ferruginous salts. The alkali, or earth, combines with the acid; and the sulphuretted hydrogen with the oxide of iron, forming an hidroguiretted sulphuret of iron. Iron in the state of red oxide is partly dis-oxidated by the hydrogen, water is formed, and the iron passes to the state of black oxide. This is the case with writing turned rusty: these re-agents immediately change it to a green black, much deeper than gallic acid would give. A solution of sulphate of iron mixed with an hidroguiretted sulphuret produces a very deep green black ink.

“ The same attractions are exerted when the hidroguiretted tests are applied where writing has been obliterated by the oxalic acidule or the oximuriatic or nitric acid. If the oxalic acidule were employed, the characters will reappear of a green black or brown red. If the oximuriatic acid, of a green black or pale rust colour. The less the revived writing approaches a black, the more the iron was oxidized in the metallic salt decomposed, or the less the iron was disoxidized by hydrogen. The writing on which nitric acid has acted strongly cannot be reproduced: but on passing sulphuretted hydrogen over the paper where it was, waving lines of a green black will be formed on the remotest parts to which the sulphuretted hydrogen penetrates. These lines may be produced in great number, and in different

directions. They are owing to the sulphuretted hydrogen combining with the oxide of the ferruginous nitrate. If the undulating lines, or the letters that have been restored, should disappear, they may be reproduced by dipping the paper into cold water. Beside the traces of writing, and the undulating lines just mentioned, the paper takes a yellow colour when it is not impregnated with an acid, and a green more or less deep when it is. The green colour will be deeper, in proportion as the acid was stronger, or in larger quantity. In all cases the paper retains the colour of fresh butter after it is dry. The hidroguiretted sulphurets should be diluted with half or two thirds their quantity of water before they are used, as in their ordinary state they are too strong.

“ From what has been said, we may hope to restore writing, that has been obliterated by any agent except the nitric acid: and if this have been employed only in small quantity, without the assistance of any other acid, and its action has not been too long continued, on holding the paper to the fire the writing will reappear of a rust colour.

“ With regard to the improvement of ink, little progress has been made since the time of Lewis. Inks made by infusion, and with green sulphate of iron, are of a Prussian blue colour, light, pale when written with, but growing black as they dry on the paper. Those made by decoction are blacker, thicker, and form a more copious sediment, which is of a dirty Prussian blue colour. Decoction extracts from galls all the soluble parts; infusion takes up chiefly the gallic acid, and mucilage,

lage, with a little extract and tannin. In the decoction the iron of the green sulphate becomes more oxidized, and the extract and tannin acquire oxygen, by absorption from the atmosphere; and the iron in a higher state of oxidation, and the oxygenized extract, produce a deeper black with the gallic acid and tannin. The more abundant sediment is owing to a larger quantity of extract and tannate of iron. In inks made by infusion, the oxide of iron, extract, and tannin, increase their oxygenation very little, till they come to dry on paper. Nitric acid immediately obliterates writing with ink made by infusion, but that which has been made by decoction resists its action much longer, on account of the larger quantity of extract in it.

"In proportion as the infusion or decoction of galls grows old, its surface is covered with mother, which is the mucilaginous principle separated. This mother ceases to form in about a year, during which the pellicle produced on the surface should be removed three or four times. The infusion or decoction of galls grows brown as it becomes oxygenized, takes an amber colour, and emits a pleasing smell; and, when combined with green sulphate of iron, no longer produces a Prussian blue, but a green black. The amber colour of this infusion or decoction is owing to the oxygenized extract and tannin. The green colour of the ink arises from the mixture of the black of the gallate of iron with the fawn colour of the oxygenized tannin, which in this state can no longer combine with the oxide of iron. If the tannin be separated from the infusion or decoction by means of an alkali, the green or red sulphate of iron

forms with it a very black and purer ink; and the alkali in the solution facilitates the union of the oxide of iron with the gallic acid, by combining with the sulphuric acid of the sulphate. The oxygenized extract concurs in rendering the ink blacker, as does the oxide of iron more highly oxidized.

"Infusion of galls is preferable to the decoction, as it dissolves the principle, that is essential to the composition, and very little of those that are foreign to it. Logwood browns the ink, and loads it with its colour; it is better therefore, to use in its stead a small quantity of galls in addition to that directed by Lewis. The following is the composition of a good ink.

"Infuse in one litre [a wine quart] of rain or river water 125 gram. [4 oz. troy] of bruised galls, letting them stand in the sun four hours in summer, or six hours in winter. This infusion may be used immediately after straining; but it is better to let it stand four or six months, removing the mother that forms on the top now and then, and finally separating by filtration both this and the tannin that has fallen to the bottom. In this dissolve 32 gr. [a troy ounce] of powdered gum arabic; then add the same weight of finely powdered sulphate of iron, superoxygenized by calcining it till it grows reddish; and continue shaking the mixture till this is completely dissolved. The ink thus made is fine, light, and of a purple tinge, but black when dried on the paper. It is nearly, if not precisely, the composition of Guyot's ink.

"Dr. Tarry next proceeds to his indelible ink, the composition of which however he does not disclose. He says only, that it contains neither galls,

galls, nor logwood, nor brazil, nor gum, nor any preparation of iron; that it is entirely vegetable; and that it resists the action of the most powerful acids, of alkaline solutions in their most concentrated state, and of all solvents. He sells it in a solid form; and for use it is to be mixed accurately in a mortar with eight parts of water, and then put into a bottle left at least one third empty, for the purpose of shaking it, which is to be done every six or eight hours for a couple of days. It soon softens quills, but metallic pens are well adapted to it, as it contains no acid. There is no danger from putting the pen into the mouth, as it contains nothing deleterious.

"Nitric acid has very little action

on this ink. Oximuriatic acid only changes it to the colour of goose dung. After it has been acted on by this acid, caustic alkaline solutions give it the colour of carburet of iron. The letters however still remain unchanged in form, and these effects require a long maceration for their production.

"From the report of the committee it appears, that the ink of Dr. Tarry possesses the properties he ascribes to it; but they add, it has one of the faults common to all the indelible inks proposed, that of pretty quickly forming a considerable sediment, which deprives the supernatant fluid of its properties, so that it requires to be shaken every time it is used."

#### ON THE SENSE OF SMELL IN FISHES.

[By *M. C. Dumerie*. From a Paper read to the French Institute.]

"ALMOST all the fishes hitherto observed have nostrils. At least this name is given to two deep holes, which are generally found in the heads of these animals between their eyes and lips. These cavities have a single slender orifice; and within they are lined with a mucous membrane, having numerous folds. The first pair of nerves from the brain enter into the substance of this membrane, ramify in it, and there terminate. Analogy therefore seems to indicate, that the nostrils of fishes are particularly intended for the organ of smell, as in all other animals with vertebræ. Against this opinion however, adopted by all naturalists and physiologists, I have some facts and re-

flections to offer, which perhaps will seem more consistent with our knowledge in comparative anatomy and physiology.

"I propose to show, that the organ of smell does not and cannot exist in the mouths of fishes, from their manner of breathing: that the organs, hitherto considered as adapted to the sense of smell in these animals, are intended for the perception of a sensation analogous to that of taste: and that there can be no true smell for an animal habitually immersed in a fluid.

"In animals with vertebræ, anatomy easily distinguishes among the nerves, that lead to the organs of sight, hearing, and smell, the trunks of those peculiarly intended to transmit

mit the sensation : but it is not the same with the organ of taste. We know indeed, that, at least among the mammalia, the gustatory faculty resides in the surface of the tongue : but, as this fleshy substance has other functions, and as its movements are particularly connected with the organs of speech and deglutition, it receives several nerves, and these greatly ramified, proceeding from three different regions of the brain. Hence anatomists have not been able precisely to determine, whether the sensation be imparted through the medium of the lingual branch of the fifth pair, that of the glossopharyngean, or that of the great hypoglossal nerve.

"It is true the majority agree in considering the lingual branch of the inferior maxillary nerve as the only one capable of transmitting the sensation of taste ; and most of them adduce in support of their opinion the observation of Colombo, who did not find this branch in a man destitute of the sense of taste. Soemmering, however, questions the circumstances of this fact, as well as of a similar one cited by Rolink.

"On the other hand some physiologists, at the head of whom is the great Boerhaave, have ascribed the gustatory faculty to the great hypoglossal nerve. These too rest their opinion on some anatomical observations, particularly on a case in pathology quoted by Hevermann, where the sense of taste was destroyed on the extirpation of a gland, with which the nerves, called at that time the great gustatory, or ninth pair, were removed.

"The particular subject of physiology and comparative anatomy before us, therefore, may throw some light on a question not yet completely resolved.

"Though the sense of taste is essentially necessary to animals, and must be the last obliterated, since on its decisions depend their preservation, by instructing them in the nature of the substances proper for their food, and the selection of them ; at first sight, however, it would appear, that fish are destitute of it, if we seek for this organ in the parts where it is commonly seated.

"In fact the inside of the mouth in fishes is lined with a thick, smooth, and polished membrane : of a very close texture, resembling that of the skin ; and most commonly of the same colour with it. Sometimes this membrane is completely detached from the bones of the palate, or retained merely by a few vessels ; as I have observed in the cod, frogfish, bullhead, ray, and shark : and I have never seen in it papillæ, or salivary glands.

"The tongue of fishes is seldom movable. A bone supports it throughout its whole length. Its point can neither turn backward, nor toward the sides. In general the lips, palate, tongue, and branchiostegous rays are covered with bony points, or laminae of different forms, which prevent the intimate contact of substances taken into the mouth. It is true in the muscles of the hyoides and of the branchiostegous rays, placed at the lower part of the mouth, we find all the ramifications of the nerves of the fifth pair, as well as those of the indeterminate nerve, which evidently has the place of the glossopharyngean. Yet neither I nor Mr. Cuvier could ever meet with the great hypoglossal nerve in fishes, notwithstanding our most attentive searches, when I enjoyed the advantage of editing his lectures on comparative anatomy.

anatomy. Besides, as this fact was of great importance to the subject of the present paper, I think it proper to add, that I have again satisfied myself of it by fresh anatomical researches.

"It is easy to imagine, that the water, by its continual entrance into the mouth, and the compression it there undergoes, as often as the fish exerts on it the action of deglutition necessary to force it through the gills, must exert a friction so often repeated, as to deaden all the sensibility of these parts.

"Now since the integuments of the inside of the mouth are coriaceous, destitute of salivary glands, and frequently roughened with teeth, or horny points; the tongue adherent, bony, and immovable; the great hypoglossal nerve wanting; and water continually exerting a friction on it: it is very probable, that the organ of taste cannot exist there. This was the first point I proposed to examine.

"As the organ of taste appears not to reside in the mouths of fishes, and this sense is indispensable to animals, we must meet with it elsewhere: and since tastes in general bear a considerable analogy to smells, let us inquire whether the sense of smell be not to a certain degree converted into that of taste. But, before we enter on this investigation, let us examine the nature of these two sensations.

"Natural philosophers, chemists, and subsequently physiologists, have generally attached to the idea of smell, that of the sensible existence of corporeal atoms of extreme minuteness. Though art has not yet been able to imitate an instrument so perfect as that met with at the entrance of the respiratory organ in animals that live in the air, we have

some means of proving chemically the material existence of those smells, the nature of which is best known. Thus the exhalation from nitrous gas, volatile oils, and ether, for example, may be destroyed by the combination of some of their principles with oxygen; and muriatic acid gas renders sensible to the eye the particles of ammonia, which cease to be odorate the moment this acid combines with them in the open air.

"The most perfect animals, those that possess all the five senses, are so organized as to perceive the principal modifications of the bodies surrounding them. They have sight, to enjoy the effects of light; feeling, to appreciate the solidity of palpable objects; hearing, to distinguish the vibrations of elastic bodies; taste, to discriminate the qualities of bodies capable of becoming liquid; and lastly smell, to collect the emanations of substances, that have the properties of a gas.

"Light exerts its action only on the eye; not on the tongue, nostrils, ears, or skins. It is the same with most smells, which do not act on the sight, taste, hearing, or touch. Each of the organs of sense then has its particular function, fixed and determined beforehand by the arrangement of its apparatus: for the sentient principle appears to be identical, and placed, as we may say, on the watch on the inside of each instrument, in order to collect and transmit the slightest modifications in the qualities of bodies.

"The sensations of smell and taste however, are most analogous, both in respect to the mode of action on our bodies, and to the apparent end at least for which nature seems to have given us organs to perceive them. The odours and rapid

sapid particles are conveyed either by the airs that serve for respiration, or the solid and liquid aliment that must enter the stomach. Stopped on their passage through the nostrils or the mouth, these particles touch the nerves distributed on those parts, and thus give notice of their presence. The nerves immediately excite the ideas of the sensations they perceive, and excite us to admit or reject the air or food, according as the impression produced on the organ is agreeable or not. The sapid and odorate qualities of bodies then are discriminated by the tongue, when they are contained in a liquid; and by the pituitary membrane, when they are suspended in a gas.

"From these general considerations of the nature of smells and tastes, it appears, that liquids cannot intrinsically possess smell, since this quality of bodies is inherent in their state of gas, or vapour. We are justified therefore in presuming, that an animal, which from its nature must be immersed in a liquid all its life, does not possess a sense of which it can make no use: and this is the case with cetaceous animals, fishes, most of the molluscæ, a great number of crustaceous animals and worms, and all the zoophytes.

"In a former paper I have pointed out the analogy between fishes and cetaceous animals, with regard to the mechanism of respiration. It is in consequence of this mode of respiration, if I may so say, and of their necessary abode in water, that the organ of smell appears to be annihilated in these animals; for as Daniel Major and John Hunter first observed, though only in a few species, and Cuvier has since shown generally and more at large, there are no olfactory nerves, and no eth-

moidal foramina, in the cetaceous animals. The pituitary membrane, that lines their nostrils, is smooth, dry, and coriaceous: it appears to have become insensible from the constant friction on it occasioned by the rapid and violent action of the water, that pervades the cavity of the nostrils. It appears however, that the organ of taste here supplies the place of that of smell; for, by a slight modification of the organs, the olfactory nerves of fishes may have another use, and be destined to make them sensible of tastes.

"From the ideas we have formed of the nature of smells, it necessarily follows, that fishes cannot receive impressions similar to those they occasion in animals that breathe air. Yet we know, that fishes are attracted by the emanations, that escape from several substances immersed in water, as is demonstrated by various baits employed in fishing; the salted roes of cod and mackerel, the broiled or stinking flesh of certain animals, old cheese, and many other things of strong smell.

"Aristotle was acquainted with most of these facts, and even recites them at large in his *History of Animals*: yet he says positively, "fishes have no distinct organ of smell, for there is but one orifice to the apertures they have in the place of the nostrils." And elsewhere, "we see in them no external organ of hearing or smell, not even an aperture." Mr. Schneider, in his *Synonymes of Arctedi's Fishes*, reproaches Aristotle with entertaining this opinion, after having so well described the olfactory organ and nerves in these animals. It is in some measure therefore a defence of Aristotle's opinion, if I endeavour to show, that every emanation in water must produce  
on



on the nerves, with which it comes into contact, a sensation analogous to that of taste.

"Since there are no real smells in water, the exhalations, that escape from bodies immersed in it, either rise to the surface in the form of gas, and consequently do not remain in the liquid; or they are suspended in it or combined with it, and they participate in all the properties of liquids. If however the qualities of these particles, thus dissolved, be perceptible, they necessarily come under the same circumstances as sapid bodies; and therefore it would be useless for fishes, which live habitually in water, to be endowed with the organ of smell.

"To prove the accuracy of this reasoning, it is necessary to investigate the use of the nervous apparatus, which has hitherto been supposed to be intended for the perception of smells: and to this I shall proceed, treating it more minutely than in the beginning of this paper.

"The cavities termed nasal are always situate before the eyes, in the space between the nasal bones and those of the upper lip. Sometimes they are in the substance of the bones of the nose themselves, or between these and the pieces which Artedi has called hypophthalmic. The heterosome fishes, as the pleuronectes, the only animals with vertebræ that are not symmetrical, are the only ones that have both nostrils on one side of the body, in some on the right, in others on the left, and unequal. Lastly, though most of these species have these cavities on the top of the head, in the forehead; they are found beneath, and most frequently communicating with the

mouth, in all the plaglostom es, the ray, the shark, &c.

"In all fishes these cavities present a kind of sinus, or cul-de-sac with a narrow opening; most commonly divided into two portions, sometimes into three, as in the eel, by a membranous septum, variously convoluted, which ichthyologists have frequently noticed as characteristic of species.

"We know from the observations of Monro, that these valves or curtains may be moved according to the will of the animal; and that under certain circumstances the orifice may be nearly covered by the septum. It is easy to observe this in live fishes, as I have seen in the goldfish and stickleback. It is then apparent, that the motion of the septum seems to be the consequence of the protraction of the lips; since at each inspiration the cavity opens and dilates, while it contracts and is covered as often as the mouth is closed: whence it seems to follow, that at every inspiration the fish causes a small quantity of water to enter on each side, which it may be said thus to analyse.

"Each of these perforations exhibits within a cavity, very spacious in proportion to its orifice; and on this is spread the sentient membrane covered with mucus, in the substance of which is expended the whole of the first pair of cerebral nerves, and one or more large branches of the fifth pair, according to the observation of Collins quoted and corrected by Cuvier.

"Nor must I forget to remark, as a circumstance particularly deserving notice, that these pretended nasal cavities are always separated from the canal of respiration; and that

that it is only in the rays, and some neighbouring genera, which have spiracles, that they are observed almost in the mouth. In fact it is to be presumed, that the liquid, in traversing them, would have deadened the sensibility of their surface by the rapidity of its motion, and the friction of its particles.

“Now are these peculiarities of structure, which I have mentioned, of such a kind as to lead us to abandon our first opinion, deduced from the knowledge of physics, that smells cannot be perceived in water? or is not this supposed organ of smell in fishes better adapted to excite in them the sensation of tastes? These questions I shall proceed to examine.

“Tastes and smells are nearly of the same nature: both sensations are produced by the physical and chemical qualities of bodies. We know, in fact, that very minute particles are continually separating from certain substances, which, without being decomposed, come to act immediately upon animals at that point of their surface alone, where they can manifest their presence. This phenomenon is effected by the in-

tervention of a fluid medium, and a sort of contact.

“All the conditions necessary for the impression or sensation of taste are united therefore in the organ under examination, and the nature of the substances that may produce it. First, the organ is placed secure in a cavity: it opens and shuts at the will of the animal, it admits or rejects emanations at pleasure. Secondly, the sentient surface receives numerous and bulky nerves from the fifth pair; it is soft, moist, and mucous; and it presents a great surface in a large space. Thirdly, it appears in a certain degree to supply the place of the organ of taste, which cannot exist in the mouth of fishes from the very mechanism of their respiration.

“It seems to follow then from all these circumstances, that the organ of taste in fishes does not reside in the mouth: that the sensation of taste is probably imparted to them by the apparatus, which has hitherto been considered as adapted to perceive the emanations of odorate bodies: and lastly, that no real smell can be perceived in water.

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EXPERIMENTS ON THE COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF MEN AND HORSES,  
APPLICABLE TO THE MOVEMENT OF MACHINES.

[By *M. Schulze*. From the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Berlin for 1783.]

“THOSE who have occasion to construct machines intended to be moved by men or animals, are sufficiently aware how important it is to be acquainted with the quantity of power that can be attributed to either of them, in order to estimate with accuracy the effect

which it is proposed to obtain from the machine. It is well known, that the arrangement of the whole depends entirely on the ratio of the velocity of the motive force to the resistance. This was the reason that long ago induced experimentalists to take the trouble of determining

mining the strength as well as the velocity exerted by men and animals, when they are made to move machinery; and the results they obtained, which have been commonly made use of in computing the effect of machines, are, that men exert from twenty-seven to thirty pounds, with a velocity of from one and a half to two feet per second; and that a horse has about seven times more strength than a man, with a velocity of from four to six feet per second.

"These are the data which we have been obliged to use whenever it became necessary to compute the effect of a machine moved by men or horses. It is evident that the force must be diminished when the

velocity is increased, and *vice versa*: but we are not yet certain of finding the ratio of the diminution or augmentation of this force to the velocity. Euler has given us two different formulæ to compute this ratio: but no one has hitherto attempted to verify by experiment which of them is to be preferred, although they differ very considerably from each other. If we put  $P$  for the absolute force which takes place when we simply consider equilibrium,  $C$  the absolute velocity which takes place when the man or animal moves freely, and without being overcome by the resistance,  $p$  the relative force, and  $c$  the corresponding velocity, we have by the first of these formulæ,

$$p = P \left(1 - \frac{c^2}{C^2}\right); \text{ whereas the second gives us } p = P \left(1 - \frac{c}{C}\right)$$

"As I am obliged now more than ever to attend to a number of machines, and to compute their effect, it therefore concerns me very much to know exactly in what manner to estimate, compare, and fix the strength and velocity of men and animals, which are used for moving various machines, proper for different purposes.

"With this view I made, with considerable care, the experiments

I am now about to detail, which of course would have been very expensive, had I not had some facilities which other persons may not possess.

"To make the experiments on human strength, I took promiscuously twenty men of different sizes and constitutions, whom I measured and weighed; the result of which is given in the following table:

Order.	Size.	Weight.	Order.	Size.	Weight.
1	5' 3" 4'''	122	11	5' 9" 7'''	132
2	5 2 3	134	12	5 1 4	157
3	5 7 2	165	13	5 3 2	175
4	5 5 0	131	14	5 4 1	117
5	5 11 2	177	15	5 10 8	191
6	6 0 4	158	16	5 0 3	133
7	5 8 3	180	17	4 11 2	147
8	5 2 1	117	18	5 3 9	124
9	5 4 8	140	19	5 6 0	163
10	5 0 4	126	20	5 10 1	181

*Experiments on the comparative Strength of Men and Horses, &c. [287]*

"To find the strength that each of those men might exert to raise a weight vertically, I made the following experiments:

"I took various weights, increasing by 10lbs. from 150lbs. up to 250lbs. All these weights were of lead, having circular and equal bases. To use them with success in the proposed experiments, I had at the same time a kind of bench made, in the middle of which was a hole of the same size as the base of my weights: this hole was shut by a circular cover, which effected this purpose when pressed against the bench, but at other times was kept at about the distance of a foot and a half above the bench, by means of a spring and some iron bars. To prevent the weight with which this cover was loaded during

the experiment, from forcing down the cover lower than the level of the surface of the bench, I had several grooves made in the four iron bars, which sustained the cover at any height at which it might arrive by the pressure of the springs, as soon as the pressure of the weight ceased.

"After having laid the 150lbs. on the cover, and the other weights in succession, increasing by 10lbs. up to 250lbs. I made the following experiments with the men whose size and weight are given above, by making them lift up the weights as vertically as possible all at once, and by observing the height to which they were able to lift them. The following table gives the heights observed for the different weights marked at the head of the table.

	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250
1	7" 9"	6" 4"	4" 11"	4" 4"	3" 8"	2" 8"	1" 1"				
2	7 10	6 6	5 7	4 7	3 11	2 5	0 5				
3	7 9	7 3	6 5	5 9	4 11	4 0	3 0	1" 7"	0" 3"		
4	8 3	7 6	7 2	5 10	5 3	4 7	4 0	3 8	3 1	1" 4"	
5	12 4	11 1	9 7	8 5	7 10	7 1	5 10	4 7	3 2	1 3	
6	14 5	14 0	13 5	12 8	11 5	10 1	8 6	6 6	4 1	0 1	
7	12 11	11 3	10 5	9 3	8 1	6 9	5 3	3 8	1 11	0 2	
8	11 9	10 2	9 4	8 11	8 1	6 11	5 10	5 1	3 2	1 0	
9	2 5	8 3	7 1	5 6	4 1	2 9	1 3				
10	8 1	6 5	4 7	3 9	2 5	1 7	0 4				

"This table proves to us, that the size of the men employed to raise the weights vertically, has considerable influence on the height to which they severally brought the same weight. We find also by this, that the height diminishes in a much more considerable ratio than the weight increases; and we may therefore conclude, that it is advantageous to employ large men when it becomes necessary to draw vertically from below upwards; and, on the contrary, it is more advantageous to employ men of con-

siderable weight, when it is required to lift up loads by means of a pulley, about which a cord passes, which the workmen draw in a vertical direction, from above downwards. To find the absolute strength of these men in a horizontal direction, I took the following method:

"Having fixed over an open pit a brass pulley, extremely well made, of fifteen inches diameter, whose axis, made of well-polished steel, to diminish the friction, was three-fourths of an inch in diameter; I passed over this pulley a silk cord worked

worked with care, to give it both the necessary strength and flexibility. One of the ends of this cord carried a hook to hang a weight to it, which hung vertically in the pit, whilst the other end was held by one of the twenty men, who, in the first order of the following experiments, made it pass above his shoulders; instead of which, in the second, he simply held it by his hands.

"I had taken the precaution to construct this in such a manner, that the pulley might be raised or lowered at pleasure, in order to keep the end of the cord held by the man always in a horizontal direction, according as the man was tall or short, and exerted his strength in any given direction.

"I had made the necessary ar-

rangements, so as to be able to load successively the basin of a balance which I attached to the hook at the end of the cord which descended into the pit, whilst the man who held the other end of the cord employed all his strength without advancing or retracting a single inch.

"The following table gives the weights placed in the basin when the workmen were obliged to give up, having no longer sufficient strength to sustain the pressure occasioned by the weight. To proceed with certainty, I increased the weight each time by five pounds, beginning from 60, and intervals of time, having always precisely a space of ten seconds between them. The result of these observations, repeated several days in succession, is contained in the following table:

"When the cord passed over the shoulders of the workmen :

Order.	lbs.	Order.	lbs.	Order.	lbs.	Order.	lbs.
1	95	6	100	11	95	16	95
2	105	7	115	12	100	17	100
3	110	8	105	13	110	18	90
4	100	9	95	14	90	19	110
5	105	10	90	15	110	20	105

"When the cord was simply held before the man :

Order.	lbs.	Order.	lbs.	Order.	lbs.	Order.	lbs.
1	90	6	100	11	90	16	90
2	105	7	110	12	90	17	90
3	105	8	100	13	100	18	85
4	90	9	90	14	85	19	100
5	95	10	85	15	105	20	100

"These two tables show, that men have less power in drawing a cord before them than when they make it pass over their shoulders : it shows us also that the largest men have not also the greatest strength to hold, or to draw in a horizontal direction by means of a cord. To obtain the absolute velocity of these twenty men, I proceeded as follows :

"Having measured very exactly a distance of 12,000 Rhinland feet, in a plain nearly level, I caused these twenty men to march with a good pace, but without running, and so as to continue during the space of four or five hours. The following is the time employed in describing this space, with the velocity resulting from each of them.

Ord.

*Experiments on the comparative Strength of Men and Horses, &c. [189]*

Ord.	Time.	Veloc.	Ord.	Time.	Veloc.	Ord.	Time.	Veloc.
1	40' 18	4' 94	8	40' 9	4' 99	15	36' 17	5' 51
2	41 12	4 85	9	40 20	4 96	16	41 28	4 82
3	39 8	5 55	10	40 51	4 90	17	42 25	4 71
4	39 40	5 04	11	36 17	5 51	18	40 19	4 98
5	34 19	5 83	12	38 11	5 24	19	39 57	5 01
6	35 11	5 68	13	38 5	5 25	20	37 51	5 29
7	38 7	5 25	14	37 1	5 40			

"It is necessary to mention, with regard to these experiments, that I took care to place, at certain distances, persons in whom I could place confidence, in order to observe whether these men marched uniformly and sufficiently quick without running.

"Having thus obtained, not only the absolute force, but the absolute velocity also, of several men, I took the following method to determine their relative force.

"I had made use of a machine composed of two large cylinders of very hard marble, which turned round a vertical cylinder of wood, and moved by a horse, which described in its march a circle of ten Rhinland feet. This machine appeared to me the most proper to make the following experiments, which serve to determine the relative strength that the men had employed to move this machine, and which I use hereafter to determine which of Euler's two formulæ ought to be preferred.

"To obtain this relative force, I took here the same pulley which served me in the preceding experiments, by applying a cord to the vertical cylinder of wood, and attaching to the other end of the cord, which entered into an open pit, a sufficient weight to give successively to the machine different velocities.

"Having applied in this manner a weight of 215lbs. the machine acquired a motion which, after being

reduced to an uniform motion, taking into account the acceleration of the weight of the friction, and of the stiffness of the cord, gave 2.41 feet velocity; and having applied in the same manner a weight of 220lbs. the resulting uniform motion gave a velocity of 2.47 feet. I only mention these two limits, because they serve as a comparison with what immediately follows. I began these experiments with a weight of 100lb. and increased it by five every time, from that number up to 400lbs.

"I made this machine move by the seven first of my workmen, placing them in such a way, that their direction remained almost always perpendicular to the arm on which was attached the cord which passed over their shoulders in an almost horizontal direction.

"Thus situated, they made 261 turns with this machine in two hours, which gave for their relative velocity  $c = 2' 45$  feet per second. We have also the absolute force, or P, from these seven men by the above table = 730lbs. and their absolute velocity, or C = 5.30 feet.

"Therefore, by substituting these values in the first formula, we find the relative force  $p = 250$ lbs. which agrees very well with what we have just found above.

"If instead of this first formula, the second be taken, it gives  $p = 152$ lbs. which is far too little.

"By this it is evident, that the first

first of Euler's two formulæ is to be preferred in all respects. I have also made a great number of combinations, and I almost always found the same effect.

"Dividing the 205lbs. which we have just found, by seven, the number of workmen, we get 29lbs. for the relative force, with 2.45 feet relative velocity for each man, which is rather more than the values commonly adopted in the computation of machinery. A number of other observations on different machines, which I intend to relate another time, have given me the same result; that is to say, we must value the mean human strength at 29 or 30lbs. with a velocity of 2½ per second.

"To obtain the ratio of the strength of a horse to that of a man, I had the same machine moved by a horse, without altering any thing; and I found by ten different horses

which I used successively, that a horse makes 603 turns in two hours instead of 281; therefore, by supposing the static motion of a horse seven times greater than that of a man, we find that the former has 5.3 feet per second of velocity.

"By this it is evident, that the effect of a horse is fourteen times greater than that of a man, or, which amounts to the same thing, fourteen men must be used instead of one horse. Hence it appears, that it is much more advantageous to employ horses than men in moving machines, if other reasons did not require us to prefer men.

"I have also made a number of other interesting observations on horses and oxen, which are likewise used in moving machines; but as I am now waiting for observations of this kind, which other persons are making according to my plan, I shall reserve them for another memoir.

## ON TRANSITION FORMATIONS.

[By Professor Jamieson : from Dr. Thomson's *Annals of Philosophy*.]

"ON a general view of the materials and structure of the crust of the earth, we are struck with the simplicity of the whole. Not more than 250 species of simple minerals have hitherto been discovered; and if we abstract the metalliferous, saline, and inflammable species, there remain not more than 134 species of earthy minerals. Still, with this small number of species, nature might have formed many hundred distinct, compound, and simple rocks; but it is otherwise. She employs almost exclusively a few species in the

composition of all the rocks, both simple and compound, of which the crust of the earth is composed. Felspar, quartz, mica, minerals of the hornblende family, and limestone, are the most frequent and abundant: of these nearly the whole crust of the earth is composed: thus granite, gneiss, mica slate, clay slate, gabbro, porphyry, sienite, greenstone, basalt, serpentine, sandstone, are composed of one or more of the four first mentioned substances; and the various primitive, transition, and floetz limestones, that often form extensive ranges of mountain

mountain and tracts of country, are composed of carbonate of lime. Indeed, all the mountain rocks, at present known, do not exceed 50 or 60; and amongst these are several enumerated in the list of simple earthy minerals. Some mineralogists have considered them as more numerous; and have described every variety of composition as a distinct species, and in place of 50 or 60 species have enumerated several hundred. But the greater number of these are mere varieties of the common mountain rocks, of limited extent, often not exceeding a few fathoms in length and breadth. This error is owing to a misconception of what is understood by a mountain rock. A mountain rock is distinguished by its position in regard to other rocks, its magnitude, under which I include its length, breadth, and thickness, in the track where it occurs, and the proportion and kind of minerals of which it is composed. Viewing them in this manner, it is not sufficient that they exhibit varieties in structure or composition, they must also have a determinate position and considerable magnitude, and the certainty of the distinction is augmented if they possess universality of distribution. Most of the mountain rocks are universally distributed; thus the compound rock, known under the name granite, and which is so abundant in Europe, occurs in China and Van Diemen's Land, at the Cape of Good Hope and in Bengal, in Brazil, Mexico, and Canada; and in all these countries it has the same characters. From this fact it follows that we can with confidence draw inferences in regard to the geognostic characters of rocks in one country from what has been observed in

another, and consider these as applicable, on a general view, to the whole crust of the earth. Experience does not contradict this inference; on the contrary, it is confirmed by the investigations of geognosts in the most distant countries. This universality of the distribution of formations, consequently of the laws of the formation of the earth, has procured for geognosy a place amongst the physical sciences; and in it lies that which leads so irresistibly to geognostic investigations, as soon as we begin to occupy ourselves with the study of this branch of knowledge. It would wear out the patience of the most persevering inquirer, and would convey no very satisfactory information of a new set of rocks, or a new arrangement, if those already known were to be studied in every small tract of country. We might as well pretend to arrange and number the grains of sand on the sea shore. In every country of considerable extent we find the outline of the structure of the whole globe.

"Some series of rocks, however, do not possess this universality; they appear in basin-shaped hollows, or in countries that have been formerly in the state of lakes, or in level plains resting on alluvial matters: their extent is, comparatively, inconsiderable; and all the phenomena they present attest the partiality of their deposition. We cannot, from these appearances, infer any thing in regard to the general structure of the earth; and however interesting they may appear to us, it would lead to erroneous views were we to deduce from them general inferences in regard to the structure of the earth; for every general inference of the kind from a local appearance must



be false. These series of rocks, to distinguish them from the more widely distributed or universal, are denominated partial or local formations. This interesting division was first pointed out by Werner. He was led to it by the examination of a series of rocks at Wehrau, in Lusatia. To the common observer these rocks might have passed for members of the universal series; but his judgment and penetration led him to ascertain that their characters were of such a nature as to afford proofs of the existence of a kind of formation of solid rocks hitherto unsuspected. The idea was not lost with him; for he inferred that such formations would be found in other similar situations, and that the bottoms of lakes, the sides of rivers, &c. would frequently present appearances of this kind. These local formations are less striking in low and flat countries than in mountainous regions—where they are contained in valleys, and their boundaries strongly marked. Hence we must be careful in describing the rocks of low and flat countries, not to confound partial or local with universal formations.

“The celebrated Von Buch, in one of the numbers of the magazine published by the Society of the Friends of Natural History in Berlin, describes an uncommonly interesting local formation which he discovered at Locle, in the district of Jura. It is contained in a high enclosed valley, situated 1665 Fr. feet above the level of the lake of Neuchâtel, and 2959 Fr. feet above the level of the sea. The valley, and the strata it contains, are about two miles and a quarter long, and about a mile broad. It is surrounded with high mountains of white compact limestone; and its bottom is of the

same species of rock. It is completely enclosed; and the water that falls in it escapes by subterraneous unknown canals. These canals may have opened for the first time not many centuries ago, before which period the whole valley of Locle must have been a lake. Even still the canals are so narrow that the valley is frequently overflowed: this circumstance induced the inhabitants in the year 1802 to cut long levels into the sides of the bounding mountains in order to permit the water to escape into the lower valleys. This undertaking succeeded completely. The valley contains many small hills, from 200 to 300 feet high. The lowest stratum of these hills, which rests immediately on the limestone, is a very coarse conglomerate of masses of the neighbouring limestone. On it rests a pretty thick bed of marly limestone, which has a white colour, is fine, earthy, and almost friable. Throughout its whole extent it is intermixed with small river shells, which still retain their natural shell. Small reeds also occur every where in this bed. It is the most characteristic and extensive rock of the whole formation. In the middle of it we meet with beds of smoke-grey hornstone, which has a fine splintery, or imperfect conchoidal fracture. These beds are the more remarkable, from the circumstance of siliceous beds occurring very rarely in the limestone of Jura; and when they do appear, are never so pure and distinct as in the partial formation of Locle. The same species of fresh water shells as occur in the marly limestone, also appear in the hornstone: amongst these can be distinguished the *Helix cornua*, a species frequent in the Lower Rhine, but which has not

not hitherto been found in Switzerland. Below the hornstone lies a bed of opal, which is of a brownish black colour, glistening lustre, and perfect conchoidal fracture. This, Von Buch observes, is a remarkable production to be formed in the water of a lake; and is, in his opinion, a hornstone coloured with the coally matter of decayed vegetables. To this opal succeeds a bed of bituminous shale, which contains many impressions of reeds; and next a bed of coal, including numerous bivalve shells. This coal burns badly; yet it is used by blacksmiths, when a strong fire is required. These beds are in general but a few inches thick, but alternate two or three times as we descend; and it is said they sometimes attain the thickness of two feet. The whole of these minerals are the produce of a small enclosed lake; for not a trace of these rocks is to be seen beyond the mountains that surround Locle. We thus see what lakes have produced; hills of 300 feet in height, and compact siliceous beds which are almost crystalized. Indeed, crystals of quartz sometimes occur in the fissure of the hornstone.

"Another very curious local formation occurs at *Ænigen*, on the Rhine. The remarkable limestone rocks of that spot have long engaged the particular attention of mineralogists. The celebrated quarries of *Ænigen* were said to contain organic remains from every quarter of the globe, and in them it was supposed we could read the whole history of the earth. The acute and learned Blumenbach, however, after examining this formation, conjectured that it was of very new date; that it was formed by one of those partial local revolutions which, ac-

cording to him, have taken place since what he calls the last general catastrophe which our earth has experienced. Von Buch is of opinion that it is a local formation, a deposition which had taken place in a previously existing lake from the rivers and rivulets having deposited slime from the adjacent country over fishes, insects, leaves, and other organic bodies, and gradually enveloped them in thin beds of mud: probably long after these places were inhabited; probably even after the erection of the neighbouring churches and cloisters. Similar depositions take place at this day in limestone countries where calcareous tuff is formed; and it is well known that in the Travertine rock of Rome, a formation of the latest period, we find leaves, &c. of the various trees which now grow in the adjacent country. This is very probable opinion of Von Buch's is founded on the excellent description of *Ænigen*, published by Dr. Karg, of Constance, which contains the first accurate view of the country of *Ænigen*.

"The petrifications are contained in a slaty limestone of loose texture. It extends about a mile in length, and fills a hollow in the limestone rocks, and not a trace of it is to be seen in the neighbouring country. The valley appears to have emptied itself at no very remote period, and left exposed at its bottom the limestone slate of *Ænigen*.

"Dr. Karg gives an accurate and interesting systematic catalogue of all the petrifications hitherto found in this limestone, and shows how observers have been deceived, particularly when they imagined that they had before them American and Indian, even entirely unknown organic forms; and declares, after a careful

careful and accurate examination of many hundred petrifications, that he is not inclined to consider any of them as exotic. That is, as not existing in the country *anterior* to the formation of the rock. Indeed, we cannot but consider this opinion as well founded, when we attend to the many remarkable histories given by Dr. Karg of *Ænigen* petrifications. Thus Scheuchzer's *Homo diluvii testis*, which probably lived at a later period than the building of the neighbouring cloisters of Petershausen, even during Scheuchzer's lifetime, was by himself admitted to be but a quadruped. An exotic porpoise, under the hands of Dr. Karg, proved to be the common pole-cat; and the shoots and leaves of the vine, which Walsh describes as occurring in this limestone, prove to be nothing more than branches of the black poplar. Among the great number of bivalve shells that occur in the slate of *Ænigen*, Dr. Karg did not find a single species of marine origin; all were of fresh water growth. He also found that all the roots, woods, and leaves, that are enclosed in this rock, belong to some of the vegetable species that now grow in the vicinity. He found very distinct specimens of the branches, leaves, and nuts of the walnut tree (*Juglans Regia*). But it is said that the walnut tree was imported from Armenia into Italy, and from thence distributed over Germany. This interesting fact, Von Buch remarks, leads us very near to the period when the *Ænigen* petrifications took place, and renders it probable that the formation is of very recent date.

"What then can we deduce from the emptying of a lake, and the operations took place at its

bottom in regard to the structure of the earth and its history? We learn nothing more than what took place where the lake was situated.

"Even supposing the lake to have been of considerable extent, still what took place within it could not afford us general laws, such as we obtain by considering the universal formations, as clay slate, grey wacke, gneiss, mica slate, &c.

"The formation of *Ænigen*, as Von Buch well remarks, affords a most striking example of the necessity and importance of distinguishing general from partial or local formations. Had naturalists known that the limestone slate of *Ænigen* was a local formation, we should not have had so many erroneous views and absurd inferences drawn from the petrifications it contains.

"Another set of formations, which of late has excited much attention, shall next be noticed. It is the series of new floetz rocks around Paris, and which is by some naturalists, although probably incorrectly, conjectured to be a partial or local deposite. When I first turned my attention to the descriptions of this tract of country contained in the continental journals, I was led to conclude that it differed from any of those contained in the arrangement of Werner, and stated it, as my opinion, that it appeared to be of comparatively recent origin. This inference, the truth of which has been demonstrated by the observations of Cuvier and Brongniart, I was enabled to make by applying the principles of the Wernerian geognosy to the accounts that had been published. From these it appeared that this tract of country was composed of alternate beds of sand, clay, marl, earthy soft limestone, sandstone, and gypsum; in which  
were

were contained numerous petrifications of quadrupeds, birds, and other organic remains. Now as Werner has ascertained that the older formations are compact and solid, the newer in general loose and earthy; farther, that remains of quadrupeds and birds occur only in the newer formations; I concluded, from the looseness of the texture of the Parisian strata, and their containing remains of quadrupeds and birds, that very probably they belonged to a new formation, or formations, more ancient than the oldest alluvial deposit, but newer than chalk.

"It would appear from the late observations of Cuvier and Brongniart in their "*Essai sur La Géographie Minéralogique des Environs de Paris*," that the rocks of these formations are deposited in a hollow or basin of chalk, which forms the fundamental rock, or immediate basis of the district. These formations, according to the French naturalists, are eleven in number, viz.:—1. Chalk; 2. Plastic clay; 3. Coarse limestone; 4. Siliceous limestone; 5. Gypsum, of the first fresh water formation; 6. Marine marl; 7. Sand and sandstone, without shells; 8. Sandstone, of marine formation; 9. Millstone, without shells; 10. Second fresh water formation of marl and millstone; 11. Alluvial.

"1. Chalk.—The chalk, which is the oldest and lowest member of the series, contains a considerable number of petrifications: of these the most characteristic is the belemnite: 22 species of petrifications are enumerated, but not one of these has been discovered in the superincumbent formations.

"2. Plastic clay.—This clay varies in purity: the lower bed is the purest, and contains no petrifica-

tions: the upper bed, that next the limestone, is sandy, of a blackish colour, and sometimes contains organic remains. It varies in thickness, from seventeen yards to a few inches. It is distinctly separated from the chalk. There is no transition from the one into the other; on the contrary, the clay contains fragments of the chalk, a proof that the chalk must have been consolidated before the clay.

"3. Coarse limestone, and its marine shell sandstone.—This rock rests on the clay; but it does not every where immediately rest on it, being sometimes separated by a bed of sand, varying in thickness. The lower bed of limestone is mixed with sand; sometimes, indeed, contains more sand than lime. This limestone formation is composed of alternate beds of coarse limestone more or less pure, clay marl, very thin slaty close marl, and calcareous marl, arranged in a regular and determinate order. It is filled with petrifications: of these upwards of 600 have been already described by La Marsk and others. The lowest beds contain petrifications that do not occur in the middle beds: and in the middle beds we meet with petrifications that are wanting in the upper beds. It also appears that the number of petrifications diminish as we approach to the uppermost beds, when they entirely disappear. The middle and upper beds of limestone contain beds of sandstone and hornstone filled with marine shells; and the sandstone sometimes contains both fresh water and marine shells.

"4. Siliceous limestone.—This formation is composed of strata of limestone, penetrated with silica. It is often cavernous, and the cavities are lined in some instances with siliceous

siliceous stalactites and crystals of quartz. It contains no organic remains. In this formation occurs one variety of the mineral called buhrstone, used for millstones. The authors of the essay are of opinion that the buhrstone is the siliceous skeleton of a limestone: the quartz being deprived by some unknown cause of its lime, there remains now a porous mass, very hard, and containing in its cavities a clay marl.

"5 & 6. Gypsum of the first fresh water formation, and marine marl.—The gypsum rests on the siliceous limestone. The formation, however, is not entirely gypseous; but consists of alternate beds of that mineral and of calcareous and argillaceous marls. We have an excellent example of this formation at Mont Martre. There we observe three masses of gypsum. *First Mass.* Rests on the limestone. The lowest part is composed of alternate thin beds of gypsum, including crystals of selenite, and solid calcareous marl, and very thin slaty clay marl. In the gypsum large lenticular crystals of gypsum occur, and in the marl menelite. The gypsum contains sometimes fresh water, sometimes marine shells.—*Second Mass.* In this mass the strata of gypsum are thicker than in the preceding, and the beds of marl less numerous. In clay marl petrified fishes occur, and also masses of sulphate of strontian.—*Third Mass.* This is the thickest of the three masses, being in some places thirty metres thick. It contains but few beds of marl. The lowest strata of this mass contain silex impregnated with the gypseous matter. The intermediate strata are divided into large columns. The upper beds are penetrated with marl, and also alternate with it. It contains in general five beds of marl. It is

in this third mass that the remains of unknown quadrupeds and birds are found. To the north of Paris these petrifications occur in the gypsum; but to the south, often in the beds of marl that alternate with the gypsum. This gypsum also contains bones of the tortoise, and skeletons of fish, and also fresh water shells. This third mass is essentially characterised by the presence of the skeletons of quadrupeds. These remains serve to determine it when it occurs isolated, for no such remains have hitherto been found in the lower masses. Above the gypsum occur thick beds of calcareous and argillaceous marls. It is in the calcareous marl that we meet with trunks of palm-trees penetrated with silica. In the same beds there occur shells of the genera planorbis and limneus, that scarcely differ from those that live in our marshes. These petrifications are alleged to prove that these marls are of fresh water origin, like the gypsum on which they rest; and it is remarked that the gypsum, the beds of marl that occur in it, and those that cover it, constitute the first or oldest fresh water formation of the Parisian series of rocks. Above these marls we observe numerous and often thick beds of argillaceous and calcareous marls. They contain no petrification, and the formation to which they belong has not been determined. Above these we meet with a yellowish slaty marl, which towards its lower part contains balls of sulphate of strontian, and a little above a thin bed of small bivalve shells belonging to the genus cytherea. It is said that it serves as the limit of the fresh water formation, and marks the beginning of a new marine formation. In short, all the shells we find above it are marine. It is about  
a metre

a metre thick, and contains in its upper layers also cerites, spirobes, and bones of fish. Over this rests a thick bed of green marl. It contains no petrifications, but nodula of sulphate of strontia. Four or five beds of marl succeed the green marl, and appear to contain no petrifications; but these beds are covered with a bed of argillaceous marl, which is filled with fragments of sea shells of the genera *cerita*, *trochas*, *mactra*, *venus*, *cardium*, &c.; also fragments of the palate of two species of ray. The beds of marl that succeed these contain principally bivalve marine shells; and in the latter beds, those immediately under the argillaceous sand, contain two beds of oysters. These oysters appear to have lived in the place where we now find them, for they are united together as in the sea; the greater number are quite entire; and if we extract them with care, we find that the greater number have both valves. The gypsum formation is often terminated by a mass, more or less thick, of argillaceous sand without shells.

" 7. Sand and sandstone without shells.—The sandstone without shells is one of the last formations. It constantly covers those already described.

" 8. Upper marine sand and sandstone.—This is termed the last marine formation of the series, and covers the preceding rocks. The sandstone varies in colour, being sometimes grey, sometimes red. It contains marine shells; and these are sometimes different from those of the lower marine formation. It thus appears that there are in the vicinity of Paris three sorts of sandstone, sometimes very similar to each other in mineralogical characters, but differing in their geognos-

tical position. The first, or lowest makes part of the beds in the coarse or marine limestone, and contains marine shells: the second rests on the gypsum formation; and even the marine marl that covers it is the most extensive, but contains no shells: and the third is only covered by what is termed the last fresh water formation, and immediately follows the second. It is the least frequent of the three, and like the first contains many marine shells.

" 9. Mill or buhrstone formation without shells.—This formation consists of ferruginous argillaceous sand, clay marl, and millstone. Thus these substances do not appear to follow any determinate order in their superposition. The millstone is a quartz, containing numerous irregular cavities that do not communicate with one another, and which are traversed by siliceous threads, disposed somewhat like the reticulated structure of a bone, and lined with a crust of red ochre. These cavities are sometimes filled with clay marl, or sand: they are never lined with siliceous incrustations, like calcedony, nor with crystals of quartz. These last characters, independently of its position, are sufficient to distinguish it from the millstone beds of the siliceous limestone formation already mentioned. Another geognostic character of this rock is the want of petrifications.

" 10. Second fresh water formation.—This formation rests on that last described, and is composed of two kinds of rock, the one siliceous, the other calcareous. The siliceous mineral is sometimes like flint, sometimes like jasper, and at times it is vesicular, like buhrstone. The limestone is sometimes compact, sometimes marly; often contains irregular

irregular cylindric cavities, nearly parallel, though crooked. They resemble exactly the cavities that would be formed in a bed of mud by bubbles of gas rising from the bottom to the surface. This limestone, when fresh gathered from the quarry, has often the property of disintegrating by the influence of the air and water, and hence is used as marl. But a principal character of this formation is the presence of fresh water shells: these are different species of *helix*, *planorbis*, *limneus*, *potamides*, *cyclostoma*, *gyrogonites*, and *bulimus*.

" 11. Alluvial.—The alluvial, or uppermost formation, is composed of variously coloured sand, marl, clay, or a mixture of these substances impregnated with carbon, which gives the mixture a brown or black colour. It contains rolled stones of different kinds, but is most particularly characterised by containing the remains of large organic bodies. It is in this formation that we find large trunks of trees, bones of elephants, also of oxen, reindeer, and other large mammalia. This alluvial matter is deposited in hollows that have been scooped out of the solid rocks we have just enumerated. It is a very old deposit, as it appears to have been formed before the commencement of our history, because it contains remains of trees and animals different from any that exist at present in the neighbouring country, or in the globe.

" From the preceding account it would appear that the strata around Paris are of clay, gravel, sand, sandstone, millstone or buhrstone, marl, limestone, chalk, and gypsum; and these are said to constitute eleven different formations. It would probably simplify our view of this tract of country, and be equally

correct, if we diminished the number of formations in the following manner:—

" 1. Chalk formation. 2. Coarse marine limestone formation, under which we would include not only the coarse limestone, but also the siliceous limestone, plastic clay, and sand, because this latter is intermixed with the limestone, and there is an uninterrupted transition from the one into the other. 3. Gypsum formation, or first fresh water formation. 4. Sandstone formation, under which might be included the sand and sandstone without shells, the upper marine sandstone, and the buhrstone without shells. 5. Second fresh water formation, composed of limestone and flint. 6. Alluvial formation.

" From the intermixture of fresh and salt water, organic productions in these formations, we may suppose that both these fluids must have contributed each their part in their formation. Cuvier is of opinion that the first two formations, viz. the chalk and limestone, are of marine origin, because they contain principally sea shells; but the limestone contained also many fresh water shells. The third formation, the gypsum, from its containing remains of land quadrupeds, birds, and fresh water shells, is conjectured to have been deposited from fresh water; but it also contains marine shells. The fourth, or sandstone formation, from its containing principally marine shells, is said to be of marine origin. The fifth formation, from its containing principally fresh water shells, is conjectured to have been deposited from the water of a lake. The sixth, the alluvial formation, has been formed in the same manner as other alluvial deposits. According to Cuvier and Brongniart there appears

appears to have been an alternate appearance and disappearance of fresh and salt water, an opinion which is not borne out by the facts stated in the essay. The opinions of Braard, La Metherie, and others, in regard to the kind of fluid from which these strata have been deposited, like the hypotheses of the authors of the essay, are sufficiently ingenious, but unsatisfactory.

"Having premised this short account of the formations around Paris, we shall next notice some objections that have been started against the Wernerian geognosy, from the appearances presented by these rocks. It has been said, 'The authors of the description of the country around Paris have themselves remarked that the appearances exhibited in that country are not consistent with the doctrines of the Wernerian school. We must add, that to us they appear most adverse to the theory of universal formations, the favourite and distinguishing dogma of that school. Eleven formations are here enumerated, and shown to succeed one another in one uniform order.' They do so, however, only over a certain tract; and have none of them the least pretension to be reckoned universal." The authors of the essay have in no part of it said that the appearances they describe are inconsistent with the doctrines of the Wernerian school: on the contrary, it is evident that they consider their descriptions as adding a new set of rocks to that system, by means of which they have been able to render their investigations so interesting. It is true that a considerable series of formations succeed one another in one uniform order; but they are not confined to a small tract of country; part of the series has already been traced through France

to the confines of Switzerland, and by one of the authors of the essay; and we are informed by Dr. Steffens, that the gypsum of Mont Martre occurs at Kiel in Holstein, on the shores of the Baltic: and now that the attention of mineralogists has been particularly directed to these rocks, we may expect to hear of their being found in other quarters of the globe. Even allowing, for the sake of argument, that this series of rocks had not been traced further than the gates of Versailles, I ask, should we be entitled from thence to conclude, from the mere extent of the mass, that it would not on examination prove to be an universal formation? I apprehend we could not, for this reason, that many of the formations now acknowledged to be universal were at first observed extending over very inconsiderable tracts of country. But the formations might be local ones, and therefore would not extend far; and yet such an appearance, instead of militating against this doctrine of the Wernerian school, would be an illustration of the truth of it.

"It has been remarked 'that this same survey of the country around Paris is equally adverse to another doctrine of the school of Freyberg, closely connected with the former. The mineralogists of that school, it is said, have boldly ventured to assign to every stratum its individual place; and to fix, with more than prophetic skill, the order in which the different formations of the mineral kingdom will be found to succeed one another over the globe. If these pretensions are well founded, nothing in the science of mineralogy can be so valuable as the knowledge they must confer: if they are ill founded, nothing can be more pernicious than the errors into which



which they will betray. Every thing, therefore, is of importance, that brings them to them to the test of experience. Now it is remarked by Brongniart, that the order laid down by Werner is inverted in the case of the chalk. That substance is made the fifth of the floetz formation, and is placed above the highest floetz gypsum. Here, however, it appears far below it, with several formations between. The rule of Werner, therefore, does not hold in this instance; and it has been proved, that though the gypsum of Mont Martre agrees pretty nearly in its mineral characters with the newest gypsum formation of Werner, it differs entirely in its geological position. Again: the chalk described in this essay is not only covered by gypsum, but by limestone, and the gypsum by a second stratum of limestone and of sandstone, besides the siliceous millstone, all which is quite inconsistent with the Wernerian arrangement. All this shows how very imperfect that arrangement is, notwithstanding its pretended infallibility. If the limestone and gypsum of this series of rocks had been precisely the same with the second floetz limestone, and the second floetz gypsum, then there might have been a shadow of plausibility in the remarks just stated; but the preceding descriptions demonstrate that they differ most completely from these formations, not only in their eryetognostic, but also in their geognostic relations. Brongniart, indeed, was so convinced of the truth of this, that far from viewing them as proofs of the fallacy of the geognosy, he describes both the limestone and gypsum as new and distinct formations: the one he names coarse limestone, to distinguish it from the older

floetz limestones: the other he names the third floetz gypsum, to show that he considers it as different from the fibrous, or second floetz gypsum; and he places both above chalk. (Vid. Brong. *Mineralogie*.) If Werner had had the folly and presumption to maintain that his system was complete, and that no other rock was to be discovered, that therefore he had fixed and ascertained the individual place of every stratum around the whole globe, he would have justly merited the severe and bitter censure of the reviewer of the essay of Cuvier and Brongniart.

“ But the author of the remarks is not satisfied with this commentary on the system itself; in his zeal he ventures still further, and maintains that the disciples of the Wernerian school so cloud their descriptions of the mineralogy of countries with a barbarous and uncouth nomenclature, that we must turn from them in disgust. He says, ‘ The clearness with which this essay is written, and the absence of all technical language, except where it is absolutely necessary, we consider as great recommendations. The geologists of the Wernerian school follow a method directly opposite to this; they affect a phraseology peculiar to themselves, and employ a vocabulary, of which the harsh and uncouth terms, when closely examined, have not the precision to which every other consideration appears to be sacrificed. Descriptions drawn up in this way excite little interest, and render a branch of knowledge extremely inaccessible, which in its own nature is calculated to be very generally understood. The darkness which the language of Werner has thrown round all his doctrines seems as if intended

intended to protect them from the eyes of the vulgar and uninitiated; and it may be doubted whether the Eleusinian rites threw a darker veil over the opinions of the Greek mystics, than the vocabulary of Freyberg does over the dogmas of the Saxon school. The consequence is, that of all the mineralogical descriptions which the Wernerian school has produced, we are persuaded none will be found so satisfactory as that which is now before us.

"If this Wernerian nomenclature be so barbarous and unseemly, so totally unfit for the purposes of science, and so repulsive to good taste, how does it happen that Cuvier and Brongniart, so justly panegyricized by the reviewer, use it throughout their whole essay. The technical words that occur in it are but few in number, because the series of rocks consists of but few separate species, and they do not include many simple minerals. The following are the rocks and minerals mentioned in the treatise: chalk, limestone, marl, gypsum, clay, sand, sandstone, millstone, menelite, hornstone, flint, jasper, and silinite. Now this nomenclature is precisely the same as that used by the Wernerian school. Even the reviewer himself, in spite of his antipathy to every thing Wernerian, is forced to use the same nomenclature; for he speaks of transition rocks, greenstone, &c. &c.; terms which he formerly considered as barbarous in the extreme, and worthy the school where they originated. But not only is the nomenclature for rocks and simple minerals used in this essay the same as that employed by Werner, but the authors also invariably employ his geognostic phraseology; thus the word formation is used throughout in the Wernerian

signification, and the fundamental rock or bason of the district is described according to the method of the geognosy. Even the order followed in the description of the formations is that of the Wernerian school, beginning with the oldest, and finishing with the newest; and the difficulties that occur in the investigation are resolved by an appeal to the rules and method of the geognosy. The very map which is attached to the essay is executed according to the plan of Werner; and its title shows that Cuvier and Brongniart do not consider the nomenclature as barbarous, for it is entitled a geognostic, not a geological map.

"If then this essay be so pure in its nomenclature, and perfect in its descriptions; and if it owes this to the language used, and the method of investigation pursued; it follows that the Wernerian nomenclature, and mode of investigation, although contrary to the intention of the author of the remarks, is proved to be the best, and that which must be employed if our mineralogical investigations shall attract any notice from philosophers, or regard from those interested in the mineralogical surveys of countries.

"Lastly, the author of these remarks touches on a subject of high importance in geognostical inquiries; it is the study of the natural history of shells, as an accessory branch of geognosy. I cordially agree with him in opinion that conchology is a branch of natural history which cannot be sufficiently recommended to the attention of all geognosts, as furnishing important means of ascertaining with accuracy many of the leading facts in the history of the globe. It is a branch of natural history which has been long studied

in Germany and France, and has of late years, particularly since its importance in geognosy has been ascertained and pointed out, made great advances. But we naturally inquire, to whom are we indebted for our present highly interesting views of the natural history of fossil organic remains in general? It is to Werner. More than thirty years ago he first embodied all that was known of petrifications into a regular system. He insisted on the necessity of every geognostical cabinet containing also an extensive collection not only of shells, but also of the various productions of the class zoophyta, of plants, particularly of sea and marsh plants, and ferns; and an examination of the remains of quadrupeds in the great limestone caves in Germany, soon pointed out to him the necessity of attaching to the geognostical cabinet also one of comparative osteology. As his views in geognosy enlarged, he saw more and more the value of a close and deep study of petrifications. He first made the highly important observation that different formations can be discriminated by the petrifications they contain. It was during the course of his geognostical investigations that he ascertained the general distribution of organic remains in the crust of the earth. He found that petrifications appear first in transition rocks. These are but few in number, and of animals of the zoophytic or testaceous kinds. In the older floetz rocks they are of more perfect animals; and in the newest floetz and alluvial rocks, of birds and quadrupeds, or animals of the most perfect kinds. He also found that the oldest vegetable petrifications were of marine plants, the newer of large trees. A careful study of the genera and species of

petrifications disclosed to him another important fact, viz. that the petrifications contained in the oldest rocks are very different from any of the genera or species of the present time: that the newer the formation the more do the remains approach in form to the organic beings of the present creation, and that in the very newest formations fossil remains of the present existing species occur. He also ascertained that the petrifications in the oldest rocks were much more mineralized than the petrifications in the newer rocks, and that in the newest rocks they were merely bleached or calcined. He found that some species of petrifications were confined to particular beds, others were distributed throughout whole formations, and others seemed to occur in several different formations; the original species found in these formations appearing to have been so constituted as to live through a variety of changes which had destroyed thousands of other species, which we find confined to particular beds. He ascertained the existence of fresh water shells in solid strata, sometimes alone, sometimes intermixed with marine productions. These highly interesting observations having become generally known by means of his pupils, gave a stimulus to the study of petrifications, which in a few years produced important results. They attracted the particular attention of the mineralogist, and roused the curiosity of the zoologist, and botanist. They saw before them a wide field of the most interesting nature. The mineralogist confidently anticipated from this study important elucidations in regard to the various changes the earth has undergone, during the progress of its formation from the earliest

earliest periods to the present time. The zoologist and botanist, by the discovery of new genera and species, hoped to increase the number of natural families, to fill up gaps in the present systems, and thus to perfect more and more the natural system of animals and plants. But this was not all. The philosophic naturalist soon saw that these investigations would also lead to much curious information in regard to the former physical and geographical distribution of plants and animals,

to the changes which the animated world in general, and particular genera and species, have undergone, and probably are still undergoing; and he would naturally be led to speculate on the changes that must have taken place in the climate of the globe during the various changes and revolutions. The writings of Blumenbach, Von Hoff, Cuvier, Brongniart, Steffens, and other naturalists, are proofs of what has been done by following up the views of Werner."

# P O E T R Y.

## THE ADIEU.

[From Mr. Scott's *ROKERY*.]

“ **A** WEARY lot is thine, fair maid,  
     A weary lot is thine!  
 To pull the thorn thy brow to braid,  
     And press the rue for wine!  
 A lightsome eye, a soldier's mien,  
     A feather of the blue,  
 A doublet of the Lincoln green,—  
 No more of me you knew,  
                     My love!  
 No more of me you knew.

“ This morn is merry June, I trow,  
     The rose is budding fain;  
 But she shall bloom in winter snow,  
     Ere we two meet again.”—  
 He turned his charger as he spake,  
     Upon the river shore,  
 He gave his bridle reins a shake,  
     Said, “ Adieu for evermore,  
                     My love!  
 And adieu for evermore.”—

## THE HARP.

[From the same.]

**I** WAS a wild and wayward boy,  
     My childhood scorned each childish toy;  
 Retired from all, reserved and coy,  
     To musing prone,  
 I wooed my solitary joy,  
     My harp alone.

My

My youth, with bold Ambition's mood,  
 Despised the humble stream and wood  
 Where my poor father's cottage stood,  
     To fame unknown;—  
 What should my soaring views make good?  
     My harp alone,

Love came with all his frantic fire,  
 And wild romance of vain desire;  
 The Baron's daughter heard my lyre,  
     And praised the tone;—  
 What could presumptuous hope inspire?  
     My harp alone.

At Manhood's touch the bubble burst,  
 And Manhood's pride the vision curst,  
 And all that had my folly nursed  
     Love's sway to own;  
 Yet spared the spell that lulled me first,  
     My harp alone.

Woe came with war, and want with woe;  
 And it was mine to undergo  
 Each outrage of the rebel foe:—  
     Can aught atone  
 My fields made waste, my cot laid low?  
     My harp alone!

Ambition's dreams I've seen depart,  
 Have rued of penury the smart,  
 Have felt of love the venom'd dart  
     When hope was flown;  
 Yet rest one solace to my heart,—  
     My harp alone!

Then, over mountain, moor, and hill,  
 My faithful harp, I'll bear thee still;  
 And when this life of want and ill  
     Is well nigh gone,  
 Thy strings mine elegy shall thrill,  
     My harp alone!

## MODERN GREECE.

[From Lord Byron's *GIAOUR*.]

CLIME of the unforgotten brave!—  
 Whose land from plain to mountain-cave  
 Was Freedom's home or Glory's grave—  
 Shrine of the mighty! can it be,  
 That this is all remains of thee?  
 Approach thou craven crouching slave—  
 Say, is not this Thermopylæ?  
 These waters blue that round you lave,  
 Oh servile offspring of the free—  
 Pronounce what sea, what shore is this?  
 The gulph, the rock of Salamis!  
 These scenes—their story not unknown—  
 Arise, and make again your own;  
 Snatch from the ashes of your sires  
 The embers of their former fires,  
 And he who in the strife expires  
 Will add to theirs a name of fear,  
 That Tyranny shall quake to bear,  
 And leave his sons a hope, a fame,  
 They too will rather die than shame;  
 For Freedom's battle once begun,  
 Bequeathed by bleeding Sire to Son,  
 Though baffled oft is ever won.  
 Bear witness, Greece, thy living page,  
 Attest it many a deathless age!  
 While kings in dusty darkness hid,  
 Have left a nameless pyramid,  
 Thy heroes—though the general doom  
 Hath swept the column from their tomb,  
 A mightier monument command,  
 The mountains of their native land;  
 There points thy Muse to stranger's eye,  
 The graves of those that cannot die!  
 'Twere long to tell, and sad to trace,  
 Each step from splendour to disgrace,  
 Enough—no foreign foe could quell  
 Thy soul, till from itself it fell,  
 Yes! Self-abasement pav'd the way  
 To villain-bonds and despot-away.

What can he tell who treads thy shore?  
 No legend of thine olden time,  
 No theme on which the muse might soar,  
 High as thine own in days of yore,  
 When man was worthy of thy clime.

The hearts within thy valleys bred,  
 The fiery souls that might have led  
   Thy sons to deeds sublime;  
 Now crawl from cradle to the grave,  
 Slaves—nay the bondsmen of a slave,  
   And callous, save to crime;  
 Stain'd with each evil that pollutes  
 Mankind, where least above the brutes;  
 Without even savage virtue blest,  
 Without one free or valiant breast.  
 Still to the neighbouring ports they waft  
 Proverbial wiles, and antient craft,  
 In this the subtle Greek is found,  
 For this, and this alone, renown'd.

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## HASSAN'S HALL.

[From the same.]

THE steed is vanished from the stall,  
   No serf is seen in Hassan's hall;  
 The lonely Spider's thin grey pall  
 Waves slowly widening o'er the wall;  
 The Bat builds in his Haram bower;  
 And in the fortress of his power  
 The Owl usurps the beacon-tower;  
 The wild-dog howls o'er the fountain's brim,  
 With baffled thirst, and famine, grim,  
 For the stream has shrunk from its marble bed,  
 Where the weeds and the desolate dust are spread.  
 'Twas sweet of yore to see it play  
 And chase the sultriness of day—  
 As springing high the silver dew  
 In whirls fantastically flew,  
 And flung luxurious coolness round  
 The air, and verdure o'er the ground.—  
 'Twas sweet, when cloudless stars were bright,  
 To view the wave of watery light,  
 And hear its melody by night.—  
 And oft had Hassan's Childhood played  
 Around the verge of that cascade;  
 And oft upon his mother's breast  
 That sound had harmonized his rest;  
 And oft had Hassan's Youth along  
 Its bank been sooth'd by Beauty's song;  
 And softer seem'd each melting tone  
 Of Music mingled with its own.—



But ne'er shall Hassan's Age repose  
 Along the brink at Twilight's close—  
 The stream that filled that front is fled—  
 The blood that warmed his heart is shed!—  
 And here no more shall human voice  
 Be heard to rage—regret—rejoice—  
 The last sad note that swelled the gale  
 Was woman's wildest funeral wail—  
 That quenched in silence—all is still,  
 But the lattice that flaps when the wind is shrill—  
 Though raves the gust, and floods the rain,  
 No hand shall close its clasp again.  
 On desert sands 'twere joy to scan  
 The rudest steps of fellow man,  
 So here the very voice of Grief  
 Might wake an Echo like relief—  
 At least 'twould say, "all are not gone;  
 "There lingers Life, though but in one—  
 For many a gilded chamber's there,  
 Which Solitude might well forbear;  
 Within that dome as yet Decay  
 Hath slowly worked her cankering way—  
 But Gloom is gathered o'er the gate,  
 Nor there the Fakir's self will wait;  
 Nor there will wandering Dervise stay,  
 For Bounty cheers not his delay;  
 Nor there will weary stranger halt  
 To bless the sacred "bread and salt."  
 Alike must Wealth and Poverty  
 Pass heedless and unheeded by,  
 For Courtesy and Pity died  
 With Hassan on the mountain side.—  
 His roof—that refuge unto men—  
 Is Desolation's hungry den.—  
 The guest flies the hall, and the vassal from labour,  
 Since his turban was cleft by the infidel's sabre!

## SEDUCTION.

[From the same.]

A S rising on its purple wing  
 The insect-queen of eastern spring,  
 O'er emerald meadows of Kashmeer  
 Invites the young pursuer near,  
 And leads him on from flower to flower  
 A weary chase and wasted hour,

Then leaves him, as it soars on high  
 With panting heart and tearful eye :  
 So Beauty lures the full-grown child  
 With hue as bright, and wing as wild ;  
 A chase of idle hopes and fears,  
 Begun in folly, closed in tears.  
 If won, to equal ills betrayed,  
 Woe waits the insect and the maid,  
 A life of pain, the loss of peace,  
 From infant's play, or man's caprice :  
 The lovely toy so fiercely sought  
 Has lost its charm by being caught,  
 For every touch that wooed it's stay  
 Has brush'd the brightest hues away  
 Till charm, and hue, and beauty gone,  
 'Tis left to fly or fall alone.  
 With wounded wing, or bleeding breast,  
 Ah ! where shall either victim rest ?  
 Can this with faded pinion soar  
 From rose to tulip as before ?  
 Or Beauty, blighted in an hour,  
 Find joy within her broken bower ?  
 No : gayer insects fluttering by  
 Ne'er droop the wing o'er those that die,  
 And lovelier things have mercy shewn  
 To every failing but their own,  
 And every woe a tear can claim  
 Except an erring sister's shame.

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## SOLITUDE.

[From the same.]

**I**F solitude succeed to grief,  
 Release from pain is slight relief ;  
 The vacant bosom's wilderness  
 Might thank the pang that made it less.  
 We loathe what none are left to share—  
 Even bliss—'twere woe alone to bear ;  
 The heart once left thus desolate,  
 Must fly at last for ease—to hate.  
 It is as if the dead could feel  
 The icy worm around them steal,  
 And shudder, as the reptiles creep  
 To revel o'er their rotting sleep

Without

Without the power to scare away  
The cold consumers of their clay!

It is as if the desert-bird,  
Whose beak unlocks her bosom's stream;  
To still her famish'd nestlings' scream,  
Nor mourns a life to them transferr'd;  
Should rend her rash devoted breast,  
And find them flown her empty nest.  
The keenest pangs the wretched find  
Are rapture to the dreary void—  
The leafless desert of the mind—  
The waste of feelings unemploy'd—  
Who would be doom'd to gaze upon  
A sky without a cloud or sun?  
Less hideous far the tempest's roar,  
Than ne'er to brave the billows more—  
Thrown, when the war of winds is o'er,  
A lonely wreck on Fortune's shore,  
'Mid sullen calm, and silent bay,  
Unseen to drop by dull decay;—  
Better to sink beneath the shock  
Then moulder piecemeal on the rock!

### THE CONFESSION.

[From the same.]

“ FATHER! thy days have pass'd in peace,  
“ 'Mid counted beads, and countless prayer;  
“ To bid the sins of others cease,  
“ Thyself without a crime or care,  
“ Save transient ills that all must bear,  
“ Has been thy lot, from youth to age,  
“ And thou wilt bless thee from the rage  
“ Of passions fierce and uncontroll'd,  
“ Such as thy penitents unfold,  
“ Whose secret sins and sorrows rest  
“ Within thy pure and pitying breast.  
“ My days, though few, have pass'd below  
“ In much of joy, but more of woe;  
“ Yet still in hours of love or strife,  
“ I've escap'd the weariness of life;  
“ Now leagu'd with friends, now girt by foes,  
“ I loath'd the languor of repose;

“ Now

" Now nothing left to love or hate,  
 " No more with hope or pride elate ;  
 " I'd rather be the thing that crawls  
 " Most noxious o'er a dungeon's walls,  
 " Than pass my dull, unvarying days,  
 " Condemn'd to meditate and gaze—  
 " Yet, lurks a wish within my breast  
 " For rest—but not to feel 'tis rest—  
 " Soon shall my fate that wish fulfil ;  
 " And I shall sleep without the dream  
 " Of what I was, and would be still,  
 " Dark as to thee my deeds may seem—  
 " My memory now is but the tomb  
 " Of joys long dead—my hope—their doom—  
 " Though better to have died with those  
 " Than bear a life of lingering woes—  
 " My spirit shrunk not to sustain  
 " The searching throes of ceaseless pain ;  
 " Nor sought the self-accorded grave  
 " Of antient fool, and modern knave :  
 " Yet death I have not fear'd to meet,  
 " And in the field it had been sweet  
 " Had danger wooed me on to move  
 " The slave of glory, not of love.  
 " I've brav'd it—not for honour's boast ;  
 " I smile at laurels won or lost.—  
 " To such let others carve their way,  
 " For high renown, or hireling pay ;  
 " But place again before my eyes  
 " Aught that I deem a worthy prize ;—  
 " The maid I love—the man I hate—  
 " And I will hunt the steps of fate,  
 " (To save or slay—as these require)  
 " Through rending steel, and rolling fire ;  
 " Nor need'st thou doubt this speech from one  
 " Who would but do — what he *hath* done.  
 " Death is but what the haughty brave—  
 " The weak must bear—the wretch must crave—  
 " Then let Life go to him who gave :  
 " I have not quailed to danger's brow—  
 " When high and happy—need I *now* ?  
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" I lov'd her, friar ! nay, adored—  
 " But these are words that all can use—  
 " I prov'd it more in deed than word—  
 " There's blood upon that dipt sword—  
 " A stain it's steel can never lose :

" 'Twas shed for her, who died for me,  
 " It warmed the heart of one abhorred :  
 " Nay, start not—no—nor bend thy knee,  
 " Nor midst my sins such act record,  
 " Thou wilt absolve me from the deed,  
 " For he was hostile to thy creed!  
 " The very name of Nazarene  
 " Was wormwood to his Paynim spleen,  
 " Ungrateful fool! since but for brands,  
 " Well wielded in some hardy hands;  
 " And wounds by Galileans given,  
 " The surest pass to Turkish heav'n;  
 " For him his Houris still might wait  
 " Impatient at the prophet's gate.  
 " I lov'd her—love will find its way  
 " Through paths where wolves would fear to prey,  
 " And if it dares enough, 'twere hard  
 " If passion met not some reward—  
 " No matter how—or where—or why,  
 " I did not vainly seek—nor sigh :  
 " Yet sometimes with remorse in vain  
 " I wish she had not lov'd again.  
 " She died—I dare not tell thee how,  
 " But look—'tis written on my brow!  
 " There read of Cain the curse and crime,  
 " In characters unworn by time :  
 " Still, ere thou dost condemn me—pause—  
 " Not mine the act, though I the cause;  
 " Yet did he but what I had done  
 " Had she been false to more than one;  
 " Faithless to him—he gave the blow,  
 " But true to me—I laid him low;  
 " Howe'er deserv'd her doom might be,  
 " Her treachery was truth to me;  
 " To me she gave her heart, that all  
 " Which tyranny can ne'er enthrall;  
 " And I, alas! too late to save,  
 " Yet all I then could give—I gave—  
 " 'Twas some relief—our foe a grave.  
 " His death sits lightly; but her fate  
 " Has made me—what thou well may'st hate.  
 " His doom was seal'd—he knew it well,  
 " Warn'd by the voice of stern Taheer,  
 " Deep in whose darkly boding ear  
 " The deathshot peal'd of murder near—  
 " As filed the troop to where they fell;  
 " He died too in the battle broil—  
 " A time that heeds nor pain nor toil—

" One cry to Mahomet for aid,  
 " One prayer to Alla—all he made :  
 " He knew and crossed me in the fray—  
 " I gazed upon him where he lay,  
 " And watched his spirit ebb away ;  
 " Though pierced like Pard by hunter's steel,  
 " He felt not half that now I feel.  
 " I search'd, but vainly search'd to find,  
 " The workings of a wounded mind ;  
 " Each feature of that sullen corse  
 " Betrayed his rage, but no remorse.  
 " Oh, what had Vengeance given to trace  
 " Despair upon his dying face!  
 " The late repentance of that hour,  
 " When Penitence hath lost her power  
 " To tear one terror from the grave—  
 " And will not soothe, and can not save!  
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" The cold in clime are cold in blood,  
 " Their love can scarce deserve the name ;  
 " But mine was like the lava flood  
 " That boils in Ætna's breast of flame,  
 " I cannot prate in puling strain  
 " Of ladye-love, and beauty's chain ;  
 " If changing-cheek, and scorching vein—  
 " Lips taught to writhe, but not complain—  
 " If bursting heart, and mad'ning brain—  
 " And daring deed, and vengeful steel—  
 " And all that I have felt—and feel—  
 " Betoken love—that love was mine,  
 " And shewn by many a bitter sign.  
 " 'Tis true, I could not whine nor sigh,  
 " I knew but to obtain or die.  
 " I die—but first I have possest,  
 " And come what may, I *have been* blest ;  
 " Shall I the doom I sought upbraid ?  
 " No—rest of all—yet undismay'd  
 " But for the thought of Leila slain,  
 " Give me the pleasure with the pain,  
 " So would I live and love again.  
 " I grieve, but not, my holy guide!  
 " For him who dies, but her who died;  
 " She sleeps beneath the wandering wave,  
 " Ah ! had she but an earthly grave,  
 " This breaking heart and throbbing head  
 " Should seek and share her narrow bed.  
 " She was a form of life and light —  
 " That seen—became a part of sight,  
 " And

" And rose—where'er I turned mine eye—  
 " The Morning-star of Memory!

" Yes, Love indeed is light from heaven—  
 " A spark of that immortal fire  
 " With angels shar'd—by Alla given,  
 " To lift from earth our low desire.  
 " Devotion wafts the mind above,  
 " But Heaven itself descends in love—  
 " A feeling from the Godhead caught,  
 " To wean from self each sordid thought—  
 " A ray of him who form'd the whole—  
 " A glory circling round the soul!  
 " I grant *my* love imperfect—all—  
 " That mortals by the name miscall—  
 " Then deem it evil—what thou wilt—  
 " But say, oh say, *hers* was not guilt!  
 " She was my life's unerring light—  
 " That quench'd—what beam shall break my night?  
 " Oh! would it shame to lead me still,  
 " Although to death or deadliest ill!—  
 " Why marvel ye? if they who lose  
 " This present joy, this future hope,  
 " No more with sorrow meekly cope—  
 " In phrenzy then their fate accuse—  
 " In madness do those fearful deeds  
 " That seem to add but guilt to woe,  
 " Alas! the breast that inly bleeds  
 " Hath nought to dread from outward blow—  
 " Who falls from all he knows of bliss,  
 " Cares little into what abyss.—  
 " Fierce as the gloomy vulture's now  
 " To thee, old man, my deeds appear—  
 " I read abhorrence on thy brow,  
 " And this too was I born to bear!  
 " 'Tis true, that, like that bird of prey,  
 " With havoc have I mark'd my way—  
 " But this was taught me by the dove—  
 " To die—and know no second love.  
 " This lesson yet hath man to learn,  
 " Taught by the thing he dares to spurn—  
 " The bird that sings within the brake,  
 " The swan that swims upon the lake,  
 " One mate, and one alone, will take.  
 " And let the fool still prone to range,  
 " And sneer on all who cannot change—  
 " Partake his jest with boasting boys,  
 " I envy not his varied joys—

" But

" But deem such feeble, heartless man,  
 " Less than yon solitary swan—  
 " Far—far beneath the shallow maid  
 " He left believing and betray'd.  
 " Such shame at least was never mine—  
 " Leila—each thought was only thine!—  
 " My good, my guilt, my weal, my woe,  
 " My hope on high—my all below.  
 " Earth holds no other like to thee,  
 " Or if it doth, in vain for me—  
 " For worlds I dare not view the dame  
 " Resembling thee, yet not the same.  
 " The Very crimes that mar my youth  
 " This bed of death—attest my truth—  
 " 'Tis all too late—thou wert—thou art  
 " The cherish'd madness of my heart!

" And she was lost—and yet I breathed,  
 " But not the breath of human life—  
 " A serpent round my heart was wreathed,  
 " And stung my every thought to strife.—  
 " Alike all time—abhorred all place,  
 " Shuddering I shrunk from Nature's face,  
 " Where every hue that charmed before  
 " The blackness of my bosom wore:—  
 " The rest—thou do'st already know;  
 " And all my sins and half my woe—  
 " But talk no more of penitence,  
 " Thou see'st I soon shall part from hence—  
 " And if thy holy tale were true—  
 " The deed that's done canst thou undo?  
 " Think me not thankless—but this grief  
 " Looks not to priesthood for relief.  
 " My soul's estate in secret gucas—  
 " But would'st thou pity more—say less—  
 " When thou can'st bid my Leila live,  
 " Then will I sue thee to forgive;  
 " Then plead my cause in that high place  
 " Where purchased masses proffer grace—  
 " Go—when the hunter's hand hath wrung  
 " From forest-cave her shrieking young,  
 " And calm the lonely lioness—  
 " But soothe not—mock not my distress!

" In earlier days, and calmer hours,  
 " When heart with heart delights to blend,  
 " Where bloom my native valley's bowers—  
 " I had—Ah! have I now?—a friend!—



" To him this pledge I charge thee send—  
 " Memorial of a youthful vow ;  
 " I would remind him of my end,—  
 " Though souls absorbed like mine allow  
 " Brief thought to distant friendship's claim,  
 " Yet dear to him my blighted name.  
 " 'Tis strange—he prophesied my doom,  
 " And I have smil'd—(I then could smile—)  
 " When Prudence would his voice assume,  
 " And warn—I reck'd not what—the while—  
 " But now remembrance whispers o'er  
 " Those accents scarcely mark'd before.  
 " Say—that his bodings came to pass,  
 " And he will start to hear their truth,  
 " And wish his words had not been sooth,  
 " Tell him—unheeding as I was—  
 " Through many a busy bitter scene  
 " Of all our golden youth had been—  
 " In pain, my faltering tongue had tried  
 " To bless his memory ere I died;  
 " But heaven in wrath would turn away,  
 " If Guilt should for the guiltless pray,  
 " I do not ask him not to blame—  
 " Too gentle he to wound my name;  
 " And what have I to do with fame?  
 " I do not ask him not to mourn,  
 " Such cold request might sound like scorn;  
 " And what than friendship's manly tear  
 " May better grace a brother's bier?  
 " But bear this ring—his own of old—  
 " And tell him—what thou dost behold  
 " The wither'd frame, the ruined mind,  
 " The wrack by passion left behind—  
 " A shrivell'd scroll, a scatter'd leaf,  
 " Scar'd by the autumn blast of grief!  
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" Tell me no more of fancy's gleam,  
 " No, father, no, 'twas not a dream;  
 " Alas! the dreamer first must sleep,  
 " I only watch'd, and wish'd to weep;  
 " But could not, for my burning brow  
 " Throbb'd to the very brain as now.  
 " I wish'd but for a single tear,  
 " As something welcome, new, and dear;  
 " I wish'd it then—I wish it still,  
 " Despair is stronger than my will.  
 " Waste not thine orison—despair  
 " Is mightier than thy pious prayer;

" I would

" I would not, if I might, be blest,  
 " I want no paradise—but rest.  
 " 'Twas then, I tell thee, father! then  
 " I saw her—yes—she liv'd again;  
 " And shining in her white symar,  
 " As through yon pale grey cloud—the star  
 " Which now I gaze on, as on her  
 " Who look'd and looks far lovelier;  
 " Dimly I view its trembling spark—  
 " To-morrow's night shall be more dark—  
 " And I—before its rays appear,  
 " That lifeless thing the living fear.  
 " I wander, father! for my soul  
 " Is fleeing towards the final goal;  
 " I saw her, friar! and I rose,  
 " Forgetful of our former woes;  
 " And rushing from my couch, I dart,  
 " And clasp her to my desperate heart;  
 " I clasp—what is it that I clasp?  
 " No breathing form within my grasp,  
 " No heart that beats reply to mine,  
 " Yet, Leila! yet the form is thine;  
 " And art thou, dearest, chang'd so much,  
 " As meet my eye, yet mock my touch?  
 " Ah! were thy beauties e'er so cold,  
 " I care not—so my arms enfold  
 " The all they ever wish'd to hold.  
 " Alas! around a shadow prest,  
 " They shrink upon my lonely breast;  
 " Yet still—'tis there—in silence stands,  
 " And beckons with beseeching hands!  
 " With braided hair, and bright-black eye—  
 " I knew 'twas false—she could not die!  
 " But he is dead—within the dell  
 " I saw him buried where he fell;  
 " He comes not—for he cannot break  
 " From earth—why then art thou awake?  
 " They told me, wild waves roll'd above  
 " The face I view, the form I love;  
 " They told me—'twas a hideous tale!  
 " I'd tell it—but my tongue would fail—  
 " If true—and from thine ocean cave  
 " Thou com'st to claim a calmer grave;  
 " Oh! pass thy dewy fingers o'er  
 " This brow that then will burn no more;  
 " Or place them on my hopeless heart—  
 " But shape or shade!—whate'er thou art,  
 " In mercy, ne'er again depart—

" Or farther with thee bear my soul,  
 " Than winds can waft—or waters !!—

\* \* \* \* \*

" Such is my name, and such my tale,  
 " Confessor—to thy secret ear,  
 " I breathe the sorrows I bewail,  
 " And thank thee for the generous tear  
 " This glazing eye could never shed,  
 " Then lay me with the humblest dead  
 " And, save the cross above my head,  
 " Be neither name nor emblem spread—  
 " By prying stranger to be read,  
 " Or stay the passing pilgrim's tread."  
 He pass'd—nor of his name and race  
 Hath left a token or a trace,  
 Save what the father must not say  
 Who shrived him on his dying day;  
 This broken tale was all we knew  
 Of her he lov'd, or him he slew.

#### ADAM.

[From Mr. MONTGOMERY'S *World before the Flood.*]

WITH him his noblest sons might not compare,  
 In godlike feature and majestic air;  
 Not out of weakness rose his gradual frame,  
 Perfect from his Creator's hand he came;  
 And as in form excelling, so in mind  
 The Sire of men transcended all mankind:  
 A soul was in his eye, and in his speech  
 A dialect of heaven no art could reach;  
 For oft of old to him, the evening breeze  
 Had borne the voice of God among the trees;  
 Angels were wont their songs with his to blend,  
 And talk with him as their familiar friend.  
 But deep remorse for that mysterious crime,  
 Whose dire contagion through elapsing time  
 Diffused the curse of death beyond controul,  
 Had wrought such self-abasement in his soul,  
 That he, whose honours were approach'd by none,  
 Was yet the meekest man beneath the sun:  
 From sin, as from the serpent that betray'd  
 Eve's early innocence, he sunk afraid;

Vice he rebuked with so austere a frown,  
 He seem'd to bring an instant judgment down,  
 Yet while he chid, compunctious tears would start,  
 And yearning tenderness dissolve his heart;  
 The guilt of all his race became his own,  
 He suffer'd as if *he* had sinn'd alone.  
 Within our glen to filial love endear'd,  
 Abroad for wisdom, truth and justice fear'd,  
 He walk'd so humbly in the sight of all,  
 The vilest ne'er reproach'd him with his fall.  
 Children were his delight;—they ran to meet  
 His soothing hand, and clasp his honour'd feet;  
 While 'midst their fearless sports supremely blest,  
 He grew in heart a child among the rest:  
 Yet as a parent, nought beneath the sky  
 Touch'd him so quickly as an infant's eye;  
 Joy from its smile of happiness he caught,  
 Its flash of rage sent horror through his thought,  
 His smitten conscience felt as fierce a pain,  
 As if he fell from innocence again.

“ One morn I track'd him on his lonely way,  
 Pale as the gleam of slow-awakening day;  
 With feeble step he climb'd yon craggy height,  
 Thence fix'd on distant Paradise his sight;  
 He gazed awhile in silent thought profound,  
 Then falling prostrate on the dewy ground,  
 He pour'd his spirit in a flood of prayer,  
 Bewail'd his ancient crime with self-despair,  
 And claim'd the pledge of reconciling grace,  
 The promised Seed, the Saviour of his race.  
 Wrestling with God, as Nature's vigour fail'd,  
 His faith grew stronger and his plea prevail'd;  
 The prayer from agony to rapture rose,  
 And sweet as Angel accents fell the close.  
 I stood to greet him; when he raised his head,  
 Divine expression o'er his visage spread,  
 His presence was so saintly to behold,  
 He seem'd in sinless Paradise grown old.

“—‘ This day,’ said he, ‘ in Time's star lighted round,  
 Renews the anguish of that mortal wound  
 On me inflicted, when the Serpent's tongue  
 My Spouse with his beguiling falsehood stung.  
 Though years of grace through centuries have pass'd  
 Since my transgression, this may be my last;  
 Infirmities without, and fears within,  
 Foretell the consummating stroke of sin;

The hour, the place, the form to me unknown,  
 But God, who lent me life, *will* claim his own:  
 Then, lest I sink as suddenly in death,  
 As quicken'd into being by his breath,  
 Once more I climb'd these rocks with weary pace,  
 And but once more, to view my native place,  
 To bid yon garden of delight farewell,  
 The earthly Paradise from which I fell.  
 This mantle, Enoch ! which I yearly wear  
 To mark the day of penitence and prayer,—  
 These skins, the covering, of my first offence  
 When conscious of departed innocence,  
 Naked and trembling from my Judge I fled,  
 A hand of mercy o'er my vilencas spread;—  
 Enoch ! this mantle thus vouchsafed to me,  
 At my dismissal I bequeath to thee;  
 Wear it in sad memorial on this day,  
 And yearly at mine earlier altar slay  
 A lamb immaculate, whose blood be spilt  
 In sign of wrath removed and cancelled guilt;  
 So be the sins of all my race confest,  
 So on their heads may peace and pardon rest.  
 —Thus spake our Sire, and down the steep descent  
 With strengthen'd heart, and fearless footstep went:  
 O Javan ! when we parted at his door,  
 I loved him as I never loved before.

“ Ere noon returning to his bower, I found  
 Our father labouring in his harvest-ground,  
 (For yet he till'd a little plot of soil,  
 Patient and pleased with voluntary toil ;)  
 But O how changed from him, whose morning eye  
 Outshone the star, that told the sun was nigh !  
 Loose in his feeble grasp the sickle shook;  
 I mark'd the ghastly dolour of his look,  
 And ran to help him; but his latest strength  
 Fail'd;—prone upon his sheaves he fell at length:  
 I strove to raise him; sight and sense were fled,  
 Nerveless his limbs, and backward sway'd his head.  
 Seth pass'd, I call'd him, and we bore our Sire  
 To neighbouring shades from noon's afflictive fires.  
 Ere long he 'woke to feeling, with a sigh,  
 And half unclosed his hesitating eye;  
 Strangely and timidly he peer'd around,  
 Like men in dreams whom sudden lights confound;  
 —‘ Is this a new Creation ?—Have I pass'd  
 The bitterness of death ?—He look'd aghast,  
 Then sorrowful;—‘ No;—men and trees appear;  
 ’Tis not a new Creation,—pain is here:

From Sin's dominion is there no release?  
 Lord! let thy Servant *now* depart in peace.  
 —Hurried remembrance crowding o'er his soul,  
 He knew us; tears of consternation stole  
 Down his pale cheeks:—'Seth!—Enoch!—Where is Eve?  
 How could the spouse her dying consort leave?'

"Eve look'd that moment from their cottage-door  
 In quest of Adam, where he toil'd before;  
 He was not there; she call'd him by his name;  
 Sweet to his ear the well-known accents came;  
 —'Here am I,' answer'd he in tone so weak,  
 That we who held him scarcely heard him speak;  
 But, resolutely bent to rise, in vain  
 He struggled till he swoon'd away with pain.  
 Eve call'd again, and turning tow'ards the shade,  
 Helpless as infancy, beheld him laid;  
 She sprang, as smitten with a mortal wound,  
 Forward, and cast herself upon the ground  
 At Adam's feet; half-rising in despair,  
 Him from our arms she wildly strove to tear;  
 Repell'd by gentle violence she press'd  
 His powerless hand to her convulsive breast,  
 And kneeling, bending o'er him, full of fears,  
 Warm on his bosom shower'd her silent tears.  
 Light to his eyes, at that refreshment came,  
 They open'd on her in a transient flame:  
 —'And art thou here, my Life! my Love!' he cried,  
 'Faithful in death to this congenial side?  
 Thus let me bind thee to my breaking heart,  
 One dear, one bitter moment, ere we part.'  
 —'Leave me not, Adam! leave me not below;  
 With thee I tarry, or with thee I go.'  
 She said, and yielding to his faint embrace,  
 Clung round his neck, and wept upon his face.  
 Alarming recollection soon return'd,  
 His fever'd frame with growing anguish burn'd:  
 Ah! then, as Nature's tenderest impulse wrought,  
 With fond solicitude of love she sought  
 To sooth his limbs upon their grassy bed,  
 And make the pillow easy to his head;  
 She wiped his reeking temples with her hair;  
 She shook the leaves to stir the sleeping air;  
 Moist'n'd his lips with kisses; with her breath  
 Vainly essay'd to quell the fire of Death,  
 That ran and revelled through his swollen veins  
 With quicker pulses, and severer pains.

"The sun, in summer majesty on high,  
 Darted his fierce effulgence down the sky,  
 Yet dimm'd and blunted were the dazzling rays,  
 His orb expanded through a dreary haze,  
 And, circled with a red portentous zone,  
 He look'd in sickly horror from his throne;  
 The vital air was still; the torrid heat  
 Oppress'd our hearts, that labour'd hard to beat.  
 When higher noon had shrunk the lessening shade,  
 Thence to his home our father we convey'd,  
 And stretch'd him, pillow'd with his latest sheaves,  
 On a fresh couch of green and fragrant leaves;  
 Here, though his sufferings through the glen were known,  
 We ches to watch his dying bed alone,  
 Eve, Seth and I.—In vain he sigh'd for rest,  
 And oft his meek complainings thus express'd:  
 'Blow on me, Wind! I faint with heat! O bring  
 Delicious water from the deepest spring;  
 Your sunless shadows o'er my limbs diffuse,  
 Ye Cedars! wash me cold with midnight dews.  
 —Cheer me, my friends! with looks of kindness cheer;  
 Whisper a word of comfort in mine ear;  
 Those sorrowing faces fill my soul with gloom;  
 This silence is the silence of the tomb.  
 Thither I hasten; help me on my way;  
 O sing to sooth me, and to strengthen pray!"  
 We sang to sooth him;—hopeless was the song;  
 We pray'd to strengthen him;—he grew not strong.  
 In vain from every herb, and fruit, and flower,  
 Of cordial sweetness, or of healing power,  
 We press'd the virtue; no terrestrial balm  
 Nature's dissolving agony could calm.  
 Thus, as the day declined, the fell disease  
 Eclipsed the light of life by slow degrees:  
 Yet while his pangs grew sharper, more resign'd,  
 More self-collected, grew the sufferer's mind;  
 Patient of heart, though rack'd at every pore,  
 The righteous penalty of sin he bore;  
 Not his the fortitude that mocks at pains,  
 But that which feels them most, and yet sustains.  
 —'Tis just, 'tis merciful, we heard him say;  
 'Yet wherefore hath He turn'd his face away?  
 I see Him not; I hear him not; I call;  
 My God! my God! support me or I fall.'

"The sun went down, amidst an angry glare  
 Of flushing clouds, that crimson'd all the air;

The winds brake loose; the forest boughs were torn,  
 And dark aloof the eddying foliage borne;  
 Cattle to shelter scudded in affright;  
 The florid Evening vanish'd into night:  
 Then burst the hurricane upon the vale,  
 In peals of thunder, and thick-vollied hail;  
 Prone rushing rains with torrents whelm'd the land,  
 Our cot amidst a river seem'd to stand;  
 Around its base, the foamy-crested streams  
 Flash'd through the darkness to the lightning's gleams,  
 With monstrous throes an earthquake heaved the ground,  
 The rocks were rent, the mountains trembled round;  
 Nevet since Nature into being came,  
 Had such mysterious motion shook her frame;  
 We thought, ingulph't in floods, or wrapt in fire,  
 The world itself would perish with our Sire.

“ Amidst this war of elements, within  
 More dreadful grew the sacrifice of sin,  
 Whose victim on his bed of torture lay,  
 Breathing the slow remains of life away.  
 Erewhile, victorious faith sublimer rose  
 Beneath the pressure of collected woes;  
 But now his spirit waver'd, went and came,  
 Like the loose vapour of departing flame,  
 Till at the point, when comfort seem'd to die  
 For ever in his fix'd unclosing eye,  
 Bright through the smouldering ashes of the man,  
 The saint brake forth, and Adam thus began.

“—O ye, that shudder at this awful strife,  
 This wrestling agony of Death and Life,  
 Think not that He, on whom my soul is cast,  
 Will leave me thus forsaken to the last;  
 Nature's infirmity alone you see;  
 My chains are breaking, I shall soon be free;  
 Though firm in God the Spirit holds her trust,  
 The flesh is frail, and trembles into dust.  
 Horror and anguish seize me;—'tis the hour  
 Of darkness, and I mourn beneath its power;  
 The Tempter plies me with his direst art,  
 I feel the Serpent coiling round my heart;  
 He stirs the wound he once inflicted there,  
 Instills the deadening poison of despair,  
 Belies the truth of God's delaying grace,  
 And bids me curse my Maker to his face.  
 —I will not curse Him, though his grace delay;  
 I will not cease to trust Him, though he slay;



Full on his promised mercy I rely,  
 For God hath spoken,—God, who cannot lie.  
 —Thou, of my faith the Author and the End!  
 Mine early, late, and everlasting Friend!  
 The joy, that once thy presence gave, restore  
 Ere I am summon'd hence, and seen no more:  
 Down to the dust returns this earthly frame,  
 Receive my Spirit, Lord! from whom it came;  
 Rebuke the Tempter, shew thy power to save,  
 O let thy glory light me to the grave,  
 That these, who witness my departing breath,  
 May learn to triumph in the grasp of Death.

“ He closed his eye-lids with a tranquil smile,  
 And seem'd to rest in silent prayer awhile:  
 Around his couch with filial awe we kneel'd,  
 When suddenly a light from heaven reveal'd  
 A Spirit that stood within the unopen'd door;—  
 The sword of God in his right hand he bore;  
 His countenance was lightning, and his vest  
 Like snow at sun-rise on the mountain's crest;  
 Yet so benignly beautiful his form,  
 His presence still'd the fury of the storm:  
 At once the winds retire, the waters cease;  
 His look was love, his salutation “Peace!”

“ Our Mother first beheld him, sore amazed,  
 But terror grew to transport, while she gazed:  
 —’Tis He, the Prince of Seraphim, who drove  
 Our banish'd feet from Eden's happy grove;  
 Adam, my Life, my Spouse, awake!” she cried;  
 “Return to Paradise; behold thy Guide;  
 O let me follow in this dear embrace:  
 She sunk, and on his bosom hid her face.  
 Adam look'd up; his visage changed its hue,  
 Transform'd into an Angel's at the view:  
 ‘I come!’ he cried, with faith's full triumph fired,  
 And in a sigh of ecstasy expired.  
 The light was vanish'd, and the vision fled:  
 We stood alone, the living with the dead:  
 The ruddy embers, glimmering round the room,  
 Display'd the corpse amidst the solemn gloom:  
 But o'er the scene a holy calm reposed,  
 The gate of heaven had open'd there, and closed.”

JAVAN'S SONG.

[From the same.]

**A**T eve his harp the fond Enthusiast strung,  
On Adam's mount, and to the Patriarchs sung !  
While youth and age, an eager throng, admire  
The mingling music of the voice and lyre.

" I love thee, Twilight ; as thy shadows roll,  
The calm of evening steals upon my soul,  
Sublimely tender, solemnly serene,  
Still as the hour, enchanting as the scene.  
I love thee, Twilight ! for thy gleams impart  
Their dear, their dying influence to my heart,  
When o'er the harp of thought, thy passing wind  
Awakens all the music of the mind,  
And joy and sorrow, as the spirit burns,  
And hope and memory sweep the chords by turns,  
While Contemplation, on seraphic wings,  
Mounts with the flame of sacrifice, and sings.  
Twilight ! I love thee ; let thy glooms increase  
Till every feeling, every pulse is peace ;  
Slow from the sky the light of day declines.  
Clearer within the dawn of glory shines,  
Revealing, in the hour of Nature's rest,  
A world of wonders in the Poet's breast :  
Deeper, O Twilight ! then thy shadows roll,  
An awful vision opens on my soul.

" On such an evening, so divinely calm,  
The woods all melody, the breezes balm,  
Down in a vale, where lucid waters stray'd,  
And mountain cedars stretch'd their downward shade,  
Jubal, the Prince of Song (in youth unknown,)  
Retired to commune, with his harp alone ;  
For still he nursed it, like a secret thought,  
Long cherish'd and to late perfection wrought,—  
And still with cunning hand, and curious ear,  
Enrich'd, ennobled, and enlarg'd its sphere,  
Till he had compass'd, in that magic round,  
A soul of harmony, a heaven of sound.  
Then sang the Minstrel, in his laurel bower,  
Of Nature's origin, and Music's power.  
—' He spake, and it was done :—Eternal Night,  
At God's command, awaken'd into light ;

He call'd the elements, Earth, Ocean, Air,  
 He call'd them when they were not and they were :  
 He look'd through space, and kindling o'er the sky,  
 Sun, moon and stars came forth to meet his eye :  
 His Spirit moved upon the desert earth,  
 And sudden life through all things swarm'd to birth :  
 Man from the dust he rais'd to rule the whole ;  
 He breathed, and man became a living soul ;  
 Through Eden's groves the Lord of Nature trod,  
 Upright and pure, the image of his God.  
 Thus were the heavens and all their host display'd,  
 In wisdom thus were earth's foundations laid ;  
 The glorious scene a holy sabbath closed,  
 Amidst his works the Omnipotent reposed,  
 And while he view'd, and bless'd them from his seat,  
 All worlds, all beings worshipt at his feet ;  
 The morning stars in choral concert sang,  
 The rolling deep with hallelujahs rang,  
 Adoring Angels from their orbs rejoice,  
 The voice of music was Creation's voice.

" ' Alone along the Lyre of Nature sigh'd  
 The master-chor'd, to which no chord replied ;  
 For Man, while bliss and beauty reign'd around,  
 For man alone, no fellowship was found,  
 No fond companion, in whose dearer breast,  
 His heart, repining in his own, might rest :  
 For, born to love, the heart delights to roam,  
 A kindred bosom is its happiest home.  
 On earth's green lap, the Father of mankind,  
 In mild dejection, thoughtfully reclined ;  
 Soft o'er his eyes a sealing slumber crept,  
 And Fancy soothed him while Reflection slept,  
 Then God,—who thus would make his counsel known,  
 Counsel that will'd not Man to dwell alone,  
 Created Woman with a smile of grace,  
 And left the smile that made her on her face.  
 The Patriarch's eyelids open'd on his bride,  
 —The morn of beauty risen from his side !  
 He gazed with new-born rapture on her charms,  
 And Love's first whispers won her to his arms.  
 Then, tuned through all the chords supremely sweet,  
 Exulting Nature found her lyre complete,  
 And from the key of each harmonious sphere,  
 Struck music worthy of her Maker's ear.'

" Here Jubal paused ; for grim before him lay,  
 Couch'd like a Lion, watching for his prey,

With

With blood-red eye of fascinating fire,  
 Fix'd, like the gazing Serpent's, on the lyre,  
 An awful form, that through the gloom appear'd  
 Half brute, half human; whose terrific beard,  
 And hoary flakes of long dishevell'd hair,  
 Like eagle's plumage, ruffled by the air,  
 Veil'd a sad wreck of grandeur and of grace,  
 Limbs worn and wounded, a majestic face,  
 Deep-plough'd by Time, and ghastly pale with woes,  
 That goaded till remorse to madness rose;  
 Haunted by phantoms, he had fled his home,  
 With savage beasts in solitude to roam;  
 Wild as the waves, and wandering as the wind,  
 No art could tame him, and no chains could bind:  
 Already seven disastrous years had shed  
 Mildew and blast on his unshelter'd head;  
 His brain was smitten by the sun at noon,  
 His heart was wither'd by the cold night-moon.

" 'Twas Cain, the sire of nations:—Jubal knew  
 His kindred looks, and tremblingly withdrew;  
 He, darting like the blaze of sudden fire,  
 Leap'd o'er the space between, and grasp'd the lyre;  
 Sooner with life the struggling Bard would part,  
 And ere the fiend could tear it from his heart,  
 He hurl'd his hand, with one tremendous stroke;  
 O'er all the strings: whence in a whirlwind broke  
 Such tones of terror, dissonance, despair,  
 As till that hour had never jarr'd in air.  
 Astonish'd into marble at the shock,  
 Backward stood Cain, unconscious as a rock,  
 Cold, breathless, motionless through all his frame;  
 But soon his visage quicken'd into flame,  
 When Jubal's hand the crashing jargon changed  
 To melting harmony, and nimbly ranged  
 From chord to chord, ascending sweet and clear,  
 Then rolling down in thunder on the ear;  
 With power the pulse of anguish to restrain,  
 And charm the evil spirit from the brain.

" Slowly recovering from that trance profound,  
 Bewilder'd, touch'd, transported with the sound,  
 Cain view'd himself, the bard, the earth, the sky,  
 While wonder flash'd and faded in his eye,  
 And reason, by alternate frenzy cross'd,  
 Now seem'd restored, and now for ever lost.  
 So shines the moon, by glimpses, through her shrouds,  
 When windy Darkness rides upon the clouds,

Till through the blue, serene, and silent night,  
 She reigns in full tranquillity of light.  
 Jubal, with eager hope, beheld the chace  
 Of strange emotions hurrying o'er his face,  
 And waked his noblest numbers, to controul  
 The tide and Tempest of the Maniac's soul;  
 Through many a maze of melody they flew,  
 They rose like incense, they distill'd like dew,  
 Pour'd through the sufferer's breast delicious balm,  
 And soothed remembrance till remorse grew calm,  
 Till Cain forsook the solitary wild,  
 Led by the Minstrel like a weaned child.  
 O! had you seen him to his home restored,  
 How young and old ran forth to meet their Lord;  
 How friends and kindred on his neck did fall,  
 Weeping aloud, while Cain outwept them all:  
 But hush!—thenceforward when recoiling care  
 Lower'd on his brow, and sadden'd to despair,  
 The Lyre of Jubal, with divinest art,  
 Repell'd the Demon, and reviv'd his heart.  
 Thus Song, the breath of heaven, had power to bind,  
 In chains of harmony the mightiest mind;  
 Thus Music's empire in the soul began,  
 The first-born Poet rul'd the first-born Man."

### THE BRIDE OF ABYDOS.

[From Lord Byron's Poem of this name.]

THE winds are high on Helle's wave,  
 As on that night of stormy water  
 Love— who sent—forgot to save  
 All the beautiful, the brave,  
 The lost hope of Sestos' daughter.  
 Oh! when alone along the sky  
 Her turret-torch was blazing high,  
 Though rising gale, and breaking foam,  
 And shrieking sea-birds warn'd him home;  
 And clouds aloft, and tides below,  
 With signs and sounds forbade to go,  
 He could not see, he would not hear,  
 Or sound or sign foreboding fear;  
 His eye but saw that light of love,  
 The only star it hail'd above;  
 His ear but rang with Hero's song,  
 "Ye waves divide not lovers long!"  
 The tale is old, but love anew  
 May nerve young hearts to prove as true.

The winds are high—and Helle's tide  
 Rolls darkly heaving to the main ;  
 And Night's descending shadows hide  
 That field with blood bedew'd in vain ;  
 The desert of old Priam's pride—  
 The tombs—sole relics of his reign—  
 All, save immortal dreams that could beguile  
 The blind old man of Scio's rocky isle !

Oh ! yet—for there my steps have been,  
 These feet have press'd the sacred shore,  
 These limbs that buoyant wave hath borne—  
 Minstrel ! with thee to muse, to mourn—  
 To trace again those fields of yore—  
 Believing every hillock green  
 Contains no fabled hero's ashes—  
 And that around the undoubted scene  
 Thine own " broad Hellespont " still dashes—  
 Be long my lot—and cold were he  
 Who there could gaze denying thee !

The night hath closed on Helle's stream,  
 Nor yet hath risen on Ida's hill  
 That moon, which shone on his high theme—  
 No warrior chides her peaceful beam,  
 But conscious shepherds bless it still.  
 Their flocks are grazing on the mound  
 Of him who felt the Dardan's arrow ;—  
 That mighty heap of gather'd ground  
 Which Ammon's son ran proudly round,  
 By nations rais'd, by monarchs crown'd,  
 Is now a lone and nameless barrow  
 Within—thy dwelling-place how narrow !  
 Without—can only strangers breathe  
 The name of him that *was* beneath.  
 Dust long outlasts the storied stone—  
 But Thou—thy very dust is gone !

## ZULEIKA'S TOMB.

[From the same.]

**W**ITHIN the place of thousand tombs  
 That shine beneath, while dark above  
 The sad but living cypress glooms  
 And withers not, though branch and leaf  
 Are stamped with an eternal grief ;

Like

Like early unrequited Love !  
 One spot exists—which ever blooms,  
 Ev'n in that deadly grove.—  
 A single rose is shedding there,  
 It's lonely lustre, meek and pale,  
 It looks as planted by Despair—  
 So white—so faint—the slightest gale  
 Might whirl the leaves on high ;  
 And yet, though storms and blight assail,  
 And hands more rude than wintry sky  
 May wring it from the stem—in vain—  
 To-morrow sees it bloom again !  
 The stalk some spirit gently rears,  
 And waters with celestial tears.  
 For well may maids of Helle deem  
 That this can be no earthly flower,  
 Which mocks the tempest's withering hour  
 And buds unsheltered by a bower,  
 Nor droops—though spring refuse her shower  
 Nor woos the summer beam.—  
 To it the livelong night there sings  
 A bird unseen—but not remote—  
 Invisible his airy wings,  
 But soft as harp that Houri strings  
 His long entrancing note !  
 It were the Bulbul—but his throat,  
 Though mournful, pours not such a strain ;  
 For they who listen cannot leave  
 The spot, but linger there and grieve  
 As if they loved in vain !  
 And yet so sweet the tears they shed,  
 'Tis sorrow so unmixed with dread,  
 They scarce can bear the morn to break  
 That melancholy spell,  
 And longer yet would weep and wake,  
 He sings so wild and well !  
 But when the day-blush bursts from high—  
 Expires that magic melody.  
 And some have been who could believe,  
 (So fondly youthful dreams deceive,  
 Yet harsh be they that blame,)  
 That note so piercing and profound  
 Will shape and syllable its sound  
 Into Zuleika's name.  
 'Tis from her cypress-summit heard,  
 That melts in air the liquid word—  
 'Tis from her lowly virgin earth  
 That white rose takes its tender birth,

## MODERATE WISHES.

[From Mr. BLAND's Collections of the Greek Anthology, &amp;c.]

**L**ET Alexander's discontented soul  
 Pine for another world's increased control;  
 Ill-weaved ambition has no charms for me,  
 Nor, sordid avarice, am I slave to thee.

I only ask twelve thousand pounds a year,  
 And Curwen's country seat on Windermere.  
 A mistress, kind, and sensible, and fair,  
 And many a friend, and not a single care.

I am no glutton—no—I never wish  
 A sturgeon floating in a golden dish;  
 At the Piazza satisfied to pay  
 Two guineas for my dinner every day.  
 What though famed Erskine at the bar we view  
 As learn'd as Crassus, and as wealthy too,  
 I only ask the eloquence of Fox,  
 To paint like Reynolds, and like Belcher box,  
 To act as Garrick did,—or any how  
 Unlike the heroes of the buskin now;  
 To range like Garnerin through fields of air,  
 To win, like Villiers, England's richest fair,  
 To vault, like Astley, o'er a horse's back,  
 To fight like Nelson, and to run like Mack,  
 Like Pinto fiddle, and with Newton's eye  
 Pierce through the stars, and count the galaxy;  
 With Jonas conjure, light as Vestris bound,  
 Grin broad as Colman, though as Locke profound.

Let heirs unblushing pray for boundless lands,  
 And streams that ripple clear o'er golden sands.  
 I only ask, that all my heart's desire  
 Come with a wish, and leave me ere it tire,  
 All arts, all excellence, myself to hold,  
 Learn'd without labour, without danger bold,  
 I only ask, these blessings to enjoy,  
 And every various talent well employ;  
 Thy life, Methusalem, or, if not thine,  
 An immortality of love and wine.  
 Fate heard the wish,—and smiling gave me clear,  
 Besides a wooden leg, twelve pounds a year.



## INTEMPERANCE.

[From the same.]

**T**HREE cups of wine a prudent man may take ;  
 The first of these, for constitution's sake ;  
 The second, to the girl he loves the best ;  
 The third and last, to lull him to his rest ;  
 Then home to bed !—but if a fourth he pours,  
 That is the cup of folly, and not ours ;  
 Loud noisy talking on the fifth attends ;  
 The sixth breeds teuds and falling out of friends ;  
 Seven beget blows, and faces stain'd with gore ;  
 Eight—and the watch-patrole breaks ope the door ;  
 Mad with the ninth, another cup goes round ;  
 And the swill'd sot drops senseless to the ground.

INSCRIPTION FOR A MONUMENT INTENDED TO BE  
ERECTED IN THE CHURCH AT HAFOD.

[From the same.]

**W**HEN at the holy altar's foot is given  
 The blushing maiden to the enamour'd youth  
 Whose long tried honour, constancy, and truth,  
 Yield the fair promise of an earthly heaven,  
 Though to far distant friends and country led,  
 Fond parents triumph 'mid the tears they shed.

Shall we then grieve, that a celestial spotise  
 Hath borne this virgin treasure from our sight,  
 To share the glories of the eternal light,  
 The end of all our prayers and all our vows ?  
 We should rejoice—but cannot as we ought—  
 Great God ! Forgive the involuntary fault. M.

## LOVE SONG.

[From the same.]

**I** WOULD not change for cups of gold  
 This little cup that you behold :  
 'Tis from the beech that gave a shade  
 At noon-day to my village maid.

I would

I would not change for Persia's loom  
The humble matting of my room;  
'Tis of those very rushes twined  
Oft pressed by charming Rosalinde.

I would not change my lowly wicket  
That opens on her favourite thicket,  
For portal proud, or towers that frown,  
The monuments of old renown.

I would not change this foolish heart,  
That learns from her to joy or smart,  
For his that burns with love of glory,  
And loses life to live in story.

Yet, in themselves, my heart, my cot,  
My mat, my bowl, I value not;  
But only as they, one and all,  
My lovely Rosalinde recall.      B.

ON A PAIR OF LEAN LOVERS.

[From AGATHIAS, by the same.]

SO shadow-like a form you bear,  
So near allied to shapeless air, -  
That with some reason you may fear,  
When you salute, to draw too near,  
Lest, if your friend be short of breath,  
The dire approach may prove your death,  
And that poor form, so light and thin,  
Be at his nostrils taken in.

Yet, if with philosophic eye  
You look, you need not fear to die;  
For (if poetic tales be true)  
No transformation waits for you;  
You cannot, ev'n at Pluto's bar,  
Be more a phantom than you are.

# DOMESTIC LITERATURE.

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## CHAPTER I.

### BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

*Comprising Biblical Criticism; Theological Criticism; Sacred Morals; Sermons and Discourses; Single Sermons; Controversial Divinity.*

"COLLATION of an Indian copy of the Hebrew Pentateuch; with Preliminary Remarks. Also the Book of Abasuerus, with an English Translation: from MSS. collected by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D. D. By T. Yeates, Cambridge." 4to. pp. 115. pr. 9s. This is a most valuable present to the biblical scholar, and indeed to the Jewish and Christian communities, on various accounts. It displays a new source of research to which we may hereafter apply for biblical authorities: it confirms in a wonderful degree the integrity of the Masoretic or established Hebrew reading, so far as the work extends; and it excites a hope that some parts of the old testament which have been lost in the lapse of time, and more especially amidst the captivities, and other calamities of the Jewish people, may yet be traced out and restored. The date of this *oriental* copy of the Pentateuch is not ascertained; yet it bears intrinsic evidence of having a very just claim to a very considerable antiquity: and *may*, perhaps, be of earlier origin than the Masoretic text as established by the learned Jews of *Tiberias*, concerning which last

point however there is some doubt.

The zeal and activity of Dr. Buchanan in obtaining documents of this kind is too extensively known to require any repetition in the present place; and the ardour and diligence of the collator before us are equally exemplary. In the preliminary remarks which occupy forty-two pages he gives an interesting account of the derivation of the MS. from the black Jews of Cochin, and of the prodigious pains employed both by oriental and occidental scribes to maintain the utmost literal accuracy and fidelity. The following remarks upon the establishment of the chronology of the received Hebrew text, in opposition to those of the Samaritan and Greek pentateuchs, by its conformity to the present authority is well worthy of attention. "The chronology of the patriarchal ages, observes Mr. Yeates, computed from the sums of years recorded in Genesis, is a point of considerable importance in all collations of the Hebrew text; especially since the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Greek copies are found to differ so much in the computation of time; and consequently

consequently has given rise to several discordant systems. The only hopes of discovering the true and original reckoning, have been placed in the *supposed* existence of MSS. differing from those hitherto known; and hence an *oriental copy* of the Hebrew pentateuch, has long been a desideratum. The Indian Roll contains the entire text of Genesis, which is sufficient for the purpose: and its derivation from Jews of very early settlement in India (perhaps the remnant of the ancient dispersions in the time of Nebuchadnezzar) determines this to be an oriental copy in every sense of the word, and its testimony in this respect must be interesting. The question is, does this copy agree with the western Hebrew copies in the sums of years recorded in Genesis? The answer is declared in the affirmative; and is a fact of that importance, that the entire text of those verses has been accurately and faithfully copied from the roll, and inserted in the collation, for the satisfaction of the learned." Subjoined to the collation and sections, is a table of various readings, which exhibits not only those that differ from Van Der Hooght's text, and Athias's of 1661; but also the particulars in which the Indian roll agrees with or differs from the printed copies, and adopts or rejects the Keis and Masoretic notes usually printed in the margin of our Hebrew bibles. The *Megilloth Ahasuerus*, or roll of Ahasuerus, is printed from an Indian manuscript in the Buchanan collection, originally copied from Brazen tablets preserved at Goa. The original text is accompanied with a double translation in two columns, a literal from the Hebrew, and one from the Greek, which merely differs from the text

of Esther in the Apocrypha in the arrangement, and omission of the verses which form the twelfth chapter of our bible lection. It is introduced by the following preface from an uncertain author, somewhat similar to the prologue of the son of Sirach, that introduces the book of this name. "The letter of king Ahasuerus, which impious Haman sent into all the provinces of India and Ethiopia in the name of the king: translated from the Biblia, written in the Greek tongue, by the seventy elders in the days of Ptolemy. And these chapters are contained among the books called Apocrypha, or hidden books, and which are not reckoned in the sacred canon, whereof there is an evidence in the Talmud that the wise men of Israel hid up many books for some reason, even as is found in the Talmud, Sabbath, Chapter, Col-kithbe, that they sought to conceal and lay aside even the book of Coheleth:" i. e. Ecclesiastes. Preceding the roll of Ahasuerus, the present work gives us also, (not noticed in the title-page) a collation of an Indian copy of the book of Esther, with an account of its preservation, obtained in like manner from the black Jews of Cochín, and written in thirteen columns; we have also in the introductory part a notice of the Syriac MSS. brought home by Dr. Buchanan from India, and procured from the Syrian christians of Travancore and Malayala: together with a list of all the Hebrew MSS. of the entire bible or parts of it at present known in the British libraries.

"The *Œdipus Judaicus*. By the Right Honourable Sir William Drummond." We admire the learning of Sir William Drummond, and are no strangers to former exhibitions

tions of it; but we are far from admiring the turn it has taken or the object it aims to accomplish in the work before us, which, as it appears to us, is nothing less than that of subverting, by one of the most artful and insidious attempts (we dare not in conscience or public duty employ less homely terms) the greater part of the literal history of the old testament; and in more than one instance the very part that has a peculiar bearing upon the prophecies which immediately relate to our Saviour, and consequently to the truth and authority of the christian scriptures themselves.

There is a certain class of conscientious and well-meaning expositors of the sacred writings who have a perpetual thirst for allegorising almost every thing that the bible offers to their perusal, as well in its historical, as in its moral and poetical departments. We have often found it necessary to warn both themselves and their readers against this mischievous predilection; for as the imagination of one man has just as much right to wander from the literal sense of a passage as another, and as no two imaginations perhaps ever were or ever will be precisely alike, there can be no end to the interpretations that may hence be presented to us, and which may have an equal claim to our attention. Hitherto, however, our warnings have been delivered to those who have really meant well, who have been thoroughly convinced of the truth of the bible history, and have seriously intended to assist its sacred cause. In the work before us the same plan is pursued by one of the most learned and logical sceptics of the day: who has laid hold of the arms of these rash and fanciful commentators upon the scriptures and

has completely turned them against themselves. It is Sir William Drummond's object to show that those parts of the bible which have been hitherto regarded by all sober critics as strictly historical, are strictly allegorical and mystical; or that at least, if there be any kind of history in them, it is only incidental and subordinate: insomuch so, indeed, that while he undertakes, with the utmost boldness and exertion of fancy to explain them generally in a figurative sense, he nowhere indicates any particular part which he believes to be historical, or attempts to separate such part from the rest. Now allowing him this, we allow him every thing the most refined and artful sceptic can wish for; we allow him that there is no history in the bible, or at least no tangible or determinate history, and consequently that there is no solidity or truth in it; nothing but figure and fancy, mysticism and imagination; nothing, we mean, intelligible or comprehensible besides this. It is true he has, in the volume before us, gone through the whole of the bible history and chronology, but he has gone through those parts of it which are as essentially history, and are as much regarded so as any others by Jews and Christians; which certainly were so regarded by the pagan philosophers of Alexandria, and which have been so regarded by most, we believe we may say by all the sceptical philosophers of modern times till his own day: since the general controversy with this last class of writers has been, not in regard to the *historical character* of the parts now brought into question, but in regard to the *truth* of the history itself: and hence, admitting the soundness of the present argument, nothing would be so easy as

as to apply it to such parts of the Jewish history as are not yet touched upon; nothing, indeed, so easy as to apply it to various portions, perhaps to every portion of the *history* of the New Testament, and particularly to the miraculous conception, and such other sections as the Socinian writers, in a far more bungling and unworkmanlike manner endeavour to get rid of by the unsustained charge of spuriousness. In effect it is a fair logical deduction from the general range of the preface by which this extraordinary production is ushered into the world, that the book before us is only intended as a sample of a system that is to range as widely as we have thus far travelled, provided it could gain so much of the favour of the public as to justify a continuation, for we find in the preface occasional glances at almost every book from Genesis to Ezekiel, and we believe still further, evidently hinting that all the subjects thus glanced at are to be understood in the same manner.

The points, however, immediately brought forward as a trial, are the six following, each of which is discussed in a distinct dissertation, of which the first two have already appeared in different numbers of the *Classical and Biblical Journal*. I. Dissertation on the forty-ninth chapter of Genesis, or the prophecies of Jacob concerning the future fortunes of his sons. II. Dissertation on the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, containing a brief history of the two sets of confederate kings, and the battle between the capture of Lot, and his rescue by Abram, and Melchizedek's benediction of the latter, on returning from his triumph. III. "Concerning the Tabernacle and Temple." IV. "On the book of

1513.

Joshua." V. "Sketch of a commentary or dissertation on the book of Judges." VI. A short dissertation concerning the Paschal Lamb."

With respect to the first dissertation our author's view of it may be understood from the following words with which he introduces it:

"I cannot doubt that the prophecies which it (the chapter) contains, are all couched under astronomical symbols. It seems, indeed, extremely natural that Jacob, who lived in times when mankind were almost universally addicted to astrology, should typify the future fortunes of his family by allusions to the celestial bodies." This dissertation is introduced by observing as follows: "Jehovah appears to have selected Abraham and his posterity from the rest of mankind for the purpose of preserving among them the knowledge of the true religion: but this knowledge it would seem from Exod. vi. was not bestowed on the patriarchs in all its plenitude." We are then told that Jacob certainly did not possess this knowledge; for on the commencement of his journey from his father's house he "thought of making a bargain with Omnipotence," and "fancied he might choose the God whom he should adore. We must not be surprised then, (continues Sir William,) if we find traces of idolatry in the early history of the house of Israel, if Rachel stole the *Teraphim* from her father Laban, and if Jacob hid the strange gods of his household under the oak of Sechem." The patriarchs, we are next informed, "were influenced by minor superstitions, and that, with all their neighbours, they were addicted to divination and astrology." Joseph, it seems, was a *diviner*; Jacob an *astrologer*. "The streaked rods which were set up in the

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the latter, in order to produce the breeding of the cattle, *seem to have been formed* in imitation of the rod which is held by the man, who occupied the sign of the balance in the Egyptian zodiac, and who presided in the kingdom of *Omphtha* over flocks and herds. Even at this day the three great stars in Orion are called *Jacob's staff*, and the milky way is familiarly termed *Jacob's ladder*. The patriarch had twelve sons, and tradition has allotted to each a sign of the zodiac." Our author next endeavours to explain, by means of much verbal erudition, sometimes drawn from one country and language, and sometimes from another, how the signs in the zodiac may be made to apply to the different prophecies of Jacob delivered at the time in question; respecting some of which, however, he obviously feels at a considerable loss, notwithstanding all the freedom with which he gives up the reins to his imagination. Kircher and Dupuis have attempted something of the sort before; but with this essential difference, that while the two last conceived the zodiacal signs may have been called and figured *after* the twelve sons of Jacob and their respective allotments, the author before us supposes all these to have been invented for thousands of years *before* they were born or thought of. Even *Shiloh* comes in for a place in the heavens, and had actually and historically come before the prophecy was given concerning his birth. "It remains," says our author, to be inquired what is meant by *Shiloh*. The answer in a sacred sense is obvious; but there is also an astronomical allusion. The king with the sceptre, (*Cepheus*, or *Lawgiver*, the identity between which however is miserably traced out) sets about the time that Scor-

pius rises, and then ceases to be the paranatellon (stars in the neighbourhood of the zodiacal sign) of the lion. In Scorpius are two stars which the oriental astronomers call شولة (*shūlet*) and the brightest of these is named *shuleh*:" consequently the meaning of the verse in which this verse occurs is as follows, according to our author: "the constellation represented by a king bearing a sceptre, shall not cease to be the paranatellon of the Lion, which is the sign of Judah, until *Shiloh* come." Now we have not time to follow the author through his round of explanation, nor to offer all the more forcible objections that have occurred to us; but the ensuing three ought not we think to be suppressed. First, the author by the explanation now offered, converts prophecy into history, in the same manner as we shall find him afterwards converting history into allegory; for, were the fact as he states it, Jacob would only be reading to his sons a lesson in astronomy, and pointing out to them that their future fortunes were legibly engraven in the heavens, where they might read them at the time by only lifting up their eyes. And, secondly, in order to admit the very foundation of this explanation, and indeed all the author's subsequent references to the zodiac, it is necessary to place implicit confidence in the chronology of the zodiacs at Dendera and Esne as given by the French philosophers who accompanied Buonaparte to Egypt. Sir William seems somewhat cautious of quoting the words of Dupin himself upon this subject, lest they should startle his reader's judgment in respect to the antiquity of the world rather more than might at the outset be convenient.

nient. He modestly therefore exhorts as follows: "if my reader wish to ascertain the *precise date* of the zodiac of Esne, he must consult the French work itself." *Observ. on the Plates*, p. lxx. And he then proceeds to fix the date of the zodiac itself at about 6450 years ago; or, in other words, to calculate that the constructor of it must have lived at *least* upwards of *seven hundred years* earlier than the period usually assigned to the creation of the world. How long he supposes the world itself to have had an existence antecedently to this construction of the zodiac at Esne, as we have already observed, he does not venture openly to declare; but, as he has sent us to the French philosophers for *precise* information upon this subject, we will just state to our readers, that according to their most ingenious and infallible estimate, as drawn up by M. Dupin, the world must have had an existence for at least *fifteen thousand years* before the birth of our Saviour. But till the different writers upon this subject can more fully agree both upon their principles and results, nothing can be more illogical than to place any dependence upon such a datum. Mr. Hamilton assigns as the earliest age for the zodiac at Esne a period of 4500 years ago, and seems alarmed even at this antiquity; while for that of Dendera he does not allow an age much earlier than that of Tiberius, in whose reign the temple of Dendera seems to have been built or repaired: while the abaté Domenico Testa, in a very learned Italian dissertation which we had occasion to notice a few years ago, read at an extraordinary meeting of the academy of the Roman Catholic religion at Rome, July 5, 1802, brings very powerful arguments to prove

that neither of these zodiacs can have had an existence much earlier than the period of Hipparchus, and consequently than about a century and a half before the commencement of the christian era. Sir William Drummond does not appear to have met with this opusculum, but if he should meet with it, and read it upon this recommendation, he will be obliged to us for the suggestion. We will just mention before we quit the subject, as a further proof of the insufficiency of the Egyptian zodiacs to establish any thing like a date of general agreement, that several of the German calculators, have from these same zodiacs calculated the earth as a still higher antiquity than Dupin himself; thus the anonymous author of a pamphlet entitled "*Unumstösslicher Bewis*," offers what he denominates evident proofs that the earth is *three times as old* as it is usually supposed to be.

Our third remark upon reading the hypothesis before us, and comparing it with that introduced into the fourth dissertation, is, that the one, even upon the author's own principles, cannot well be reconciled with the other. In this last essay, he asserts, and takes it for granted that he has *proved*, that the twelve tribes of Israel took, at the command of Moses, for their emblems the twelve signs of the zodiac, even before they left the land of Egypt. Now the utmost stretch of ingenuity cannot reconcile these signs with the pretended signs of the zodiac, as explained in the preceding essay. The author himself finds his own powers unequal to such an assimilation; but as the mountain will not come to him he modestly goes to the mountain; and undertakes to account for this difference, by telling us gravely,



that Moses of his own accord altered the discrepant signs; though he gives us no authority for such an opinion, nor any reason for the fact itself. Now, though we have no foundation for believing Moses to have had a hand in any such change, or, in reality, in any thing that relates to the zodiacal symbols, yet we know from the different figures that different zodiacs present to us, that such changes were not unfrequently made in many of the oriental constructions of this kind, as well those of India as of Egypt, and it is on this account chiefly that we feel a difficulty in placing any dependance upon them.

At the remaining dissertations we can merely take a glance. The second, directed to the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, the author introduces as follows: "This chapter, if taken merely as a piece of history, certainly appears to contain a very extraordinary relation of events. Eight kings, among whom one was king of Admah (that is king of the earth) and another was king of nations, had been subject during twelve years to Chedorlaomer, king of Elam. In the thirteenth year five of these princes rebelled against their chief, and in the fourteenth year were defeated by him in the vale of Siddim, where four kings strove against five. But after the splendid victory of the king of Elam, he had, it seems, the rashness to carry away the shepherd Lot among his captives, and this mighty monarch, this *king of kings*, who had subdued the *king of the earth*, and in whose train was the king of nations, is in his turn pursued, defeated, and slaughtered by the shepherd Abraham and his household servants. I presume not to deny

that this is a true mystery.—I acknowledge that I *believe* the chapter before us to be rather a typical illustration than an historical narrative. It seems to me that Moses intended to typify the *history of the Gods of Egypt*, and to show that they were astronomical symbols. For my own part I cannot help thinking that the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, and the tenth of the book of Joshua, are only different editions of the same astronomical histories of which the Greeks have again given new accounts, and which they told after their own manner." In consequence of which all the *dramatis personæ* we believe without an exception, are transmuted into astronomical signs, and *nothing more*. Abram is a type of the *sun*, Lot of the *moon*, Chedorlaomer "a symbol expressive of the zodiac;" the *salt-sea* "a symbol of the hemisphere;" and as to "Melchizedek, or the kings of justice, who is the king of Salem, that is, the king of peace—who are these kings that are a king? Who is this priest of God most high—this king of peace, that are the kings of justice? In what *calendar* shall we find the answers to these questions? What *mythology* contains a likeness to this mysterious person, who being more than one is one? Is there no allusion here to the *triumph God*, and to the ministry of Christ?" This last part is the most disgusting of the whole. The cant of calendars and mythologies is sufficient to unfold the author's real meaning. If he will honestly avow, in any manner he may chuse, that he is an actual believer in the doctrine of a *triumph God*, as believed by christians in general, we will candidly confess that we have seriously injured him

in our own hearts. But if this he cannot do (and the whole tenour of the volume before us conspires to prove that he cannot) what are our readers to think of the spirit of the passage before us, or of the feeling that could indite it?

But let us proceed to the next dissertation (the third) concerning the tabernacle and the temple. "It would be difficult," says our author, "to imagine a more singular history than that which relates to the construction of the tabernacle and of the temple contained in the Old Testament. The deity is represented as giving the pattern of both, as ordering the whole furniture; and as descending to the most minute details concerning the arrangement. Nothing is left unnoticed by the divine architect, who condescends to speak with *amazing precision and familiarity*, both of the ornaments and of the utensils—of lintels, curtains, fringes, rings, tables, dishes, bowls, spoons, and candlesticks. This, however, is not all. The tabernacle, and the temple were inhabited by the deity. The God of nature and of the universe—the creator and preserver of all things—the ineffable and primeval being who called into existence all those suns and planets which roll through the boundless regions of space—the sole God fixed his residence on a box made of shittim-wood, and overlaid and lined with gold. Upon this box too *the deity was carried about* by a barbarous horde of robbers, until king Solomon built a temple at Jerusalem, where the box was deposited, and where Jehovah dwelt between the cherubim. And what were these cherubim? They were whimsical and monstrous images,

each with four wings and four faces; the face of a man, the face of a lion, the face of an ox, and the face of an eagle." We need not pursue the passage further: its spirit is sufficiently seen: and to the whole of this spirit, and the whole of this passage, and every other passage of a like kind, there is an easy answer: and that is, that the Creator being infinite and without parallel, and all created beings finite, and moveable—all are precisely alike compared with himself—for all compared with himself are nothing. The box of shittim wood, and Solomon's temple, the suns and planets, the universe and universal nature, are one and the same thing: he is the author of all, and all are nothing, and equally nothing, when put in analogy or competition with himself. Sir William thinks it in his power to *magnify* the mighty Maker by representing him as the god of planets, and suns, and nature, and the universe; and to *degrade* him by representing him as giving minute directions concerning the tabernacle, as analysing or organizing the dull clods of the valley, as weighing the substance of the mountains, and measuring the range of the hills: as producing weeds and worms, and reptiles, and ravenous beasts.—But it is not worth while to pursue the subject: the principle upon which it proceeds (and it is the foundation of the whole work) is false from its commencement. Real philosophy, to say nothing of rational piety, would and must have shown the learned Baronet, had he ventured to have dipped into its pages, that, compared with infinity, there can be nothing great, nothing little: all alike is his, and all is equally vanity in comparison with himself:

himself: when locally present he is every where, when every where, locally present. Unfortunately, however, not adverting to this general idea, our author again dreams about astronomical and astrological symbols, and his own view of the subject is contained in the following brief passage: "I conceive the tabernacle and the temple to have been types of the universe, which is the true abode of the godhead.—I understand that the sacred writers intended to say, in their *usual allegorical manner*, that the universe was formed after the exemplar in the divine mind."

The fourth dissertation is to the same effect. The writer who cannot in any way bring himself to approve of the "violence, injustice, and cruelty," stated in the book of Joshua to have been committed "by the robbers of Israel; who, not satisfied with taking possession of the property of others, burned the cities, and massacred the people"—finds himself again involved in a dilemma from which nothing but allegory, and the hieroglyphics of Egypt, and the sun, and the moon, and the stars, and the zodiac, can once more extricate him. "If, says he, there be law, or right, or justice, in the world, it seems difficult to excuse, much more to justify, such atrocities; and when, for our answer, we are told that these horrors were perpetrated by the express command of God himself, we must either *believe and renounce the use of our reason, or disbelieve and abandon the profession of our faith.*" Sir William therefore prefers the latter, and, as we have just hinted, explains, or attempts to explain, the whole by an indistinct (to us indistinct) reference to the doctrines of Sabaism, and the symbols of the heavens; in which, however, he

does not very fully develope his own meaning. We would just submit to him upon this question, whether the dispersion and universal persecution of the Jews, sometimes in a greater and sometimes in a less degree, for nearly two thousand years, depised, and bated, and plundered, and massacred alternately by almost every nation under the sun, yet still existing as a separate people in the midst of all the misery and wretchedness they have endured, can be ascribed to any other cause than that of the special determination of the Almighty, or, to adopt his own words, "the express command of God himself." The Christians ascribe this discipline of vengeance to the wickedness of their *forefathers* in crucifying the Saviour of the world; yet while the guilt was that of the forefathers, the punishment is that of the posterity. Here, then, if we mistake not, is a fact palpably historical, of the very same nature, quite as difficult to reconcile with the benevolence of the deity, and which can neither be *solved or saved* by any reference to allegory or figurative allusion; to the mythology or astronomy of Egypt, India, Greece, or Scandinavia, China, Japan, Australasia, or to whatever other portion of the world our author may be disposed to travel.

The fifth dissertation is of the same general train as the two preceding. In it the sceptical Baronet tells us that he "shall only notice some parts of the book of Judges, which seem to him to bear an immediate and distinct reference to astronomy." In the course of which he tells us, that he takes the "prophetess Deborah to have belonged to those stars in Taurus which we call the *Hyades.*" While in the very same breath he shews the looseness of all this

this kind of remanaging, by adding as follows: "But Rumelin makes Deborah signify a *bee*, and the meaning is really so uncertain, that I shall not pretend to fix it. If however we abide by the lexicographers, I would rather translate, *order, march, series*:

THE MARCH OF THE CELESTIAL BODIES BEING TYPIFIED!"

Most of our author's speculations are built upon just as solid a foundation:—yet he has the modesty, whenever he afterwards refers to them, to speak of them as facts demonstrated. Thus, p. 167, "the tabernacle, as I have already *proved*, was *indubitably* a type of the universe:" and the same phrase is frequently occurring to us.—In the prosecution of the subject before us. *Barak*, we are told, means *lightning*. "*Jael* signifies a *kind of goat*. I know not whether the allusion be to *Capricorn*. It seems to me that the *whole of this story* relates to a *reform in the Calendar*, concerning the moon's revolutions."—"The story of Samson and Delilah may remind us of Hercules and Omphale." But we have not room to extract a larger specimen, or we could add considerably more to the entertainment, if not to the edification of the public.

To let the reader into a full view of the general scope of the last of these chimerical dissertations, which is devoted to the subject of the paschal lamb, it is only necessary to quote the following paragraph. "The word which we translate *passover*, (Hebr. פסח) properly signifies *transit*, and is sometimes taken for that which makes a *transit*. Hence the Paschal lamb was frequently called פסח (*pesach*), as making the transit. I pretend that the feast of the *transit* was instituted as a memorial of the transit of the equinoctial sun from

the sign of the *Bull* to that of the *Ram* or *Lamb*." We are too serious to treat this explanation with levity; and cannot in our hearts think it worthy of being treated in any other way.

When a man's head is once set on *star-gazing*, we do not expect his imagination to run on all-fours with that of other people; but we see no reason why the levity of the brain should be communicated to the heart: nor can we too severely reprobate this union of philosophical whims with a malignant ridicule of what the wisest and best of mankind have regarded as sacred and inspired truths, and what the legislature of our own country has adopted as a part of the British constitution. We could have forgiven the writer all his conceits and absurdities, if he had shown a liberal spirit in the composition of his book, but the passages we are now about to quote altogether prevent us, as we are confident it will do our readers, from the hearty desire we should otherwise feel of paying him this compliment, "It may be hoped that Reason and Liberty will soon again be progressive in their march; and that men will cease to think that Religion can be really at war with Philosophy. When we hear the *timid sons of superstition* calling to each other to rally round the altar, we may well blush for human weakness. The altar of which the basis is established by *Reason*, and which is supported by *Truth* and *Nature*, can never be overthrown. It is before that altar that I kneel, and that I adore the God whom *Philosophy* has taught me to consider as the infinite and eternal mind, that formed and that sustains the fair order of nature, and that created and preserves the universal system. To a small circle I think myself at liberty

liberty to observe that the manner in which the christian readers of the Old Testament (and why not Jewish readers?) chuse to understand it, appears to me to be a little singular. While the deity is represented with human passions, and those *none of the best*: while he is described as a quarrelsome, jealous, and vindictive being; while he is shown to be continually changing his plans for the moral government of the world; and while he is depicted as a material and local God, who dwelt on a box made of Shittim wood in the temple of Jerusalem; they abide by the literal interpretation. They see no allegory in the first chapters of Genesis; nor doubt that far the greater portion of the human race is doomed to suffer eternal torments because our first parents ate an apple after having been tempted by a talking serpent. They find it quite simple that *the triumphant Jehovah should dine on veal cutlets at Abraham's table*; nor are they at all surprised that the God of the universe should pay a visit to Ezekiel in order to settle with the prophet whether he should bake his bread with human dung or with cow's dung.—From this view of the subject then I am not afraid to state, that, if the writers of the Old Testament were really inspired, they must be supposed to have spoken figuratively on all these occasions when they have ascribed human passions to the Supreme Being. It may be objected to me, that as *the Scriptures contain little else than the histories of squabbles and tickerings between Jehovah and his people*, we might come in this way to allegorize the greater part, if not the whole of the Old Testament. I confess, for my own part, I would rather believe the whole to be an allegory, than think for a moment that infi-

nite wisdom could ever waver in its judgments, could ever be disturbed by anger, or could at any time repent of what it had ordained."

Sir William may believe how he pleases, but these remarks upon the language and descriptions of the Old Testament are equally prophane and malignant, whether he believe in the one way or whether he believe in the other; and we may add could not have been written by any one who seriously believed in any way. As to his scheme for symbolizing, it is of so general a plan, that it will just as well apply to any kind of history whatever; and we would undertake by means of it, to transmute with just as much ease, the names and histories of all the celebrated generals at this moment engaged in warfare on the continent, into zodiacal signs and constellations, and to make the present important revolution in the political world a mere type or transcript of the revolution of the universe, and of the completion of the *annus magnus*, or *Platonicus*; as the learned Barnet makes Abraham a symbol of the sun, Lot of the moon, the paschal Lamb of the sun's transit from the Bull to the Ram, and the tabernacle of the universe. The very foundation of this spirit of allegorizing, and in reality of all the objections of any degree of weight in the work before us, depends upon the author's not having reflected, as real philosophy ought to have taught him to reflect, to repeat what we have already hinted at, that every thing which he calls little and great, is and must be alike in comparison with the universal Creator; and that in describing his views and motives in human language, it is neither possible nor necessary to divest him of human passions. When scripture tells us that "God loveth them

them that love him," and that he is *angry* with the wicked every day, it uses a language that offends, it seems, the votary of the god of philosophy and nature, but it uses a language that speaks most significantly to the human heart, and that would puzzle this said votary to put it into any other form so as to express approbation and disapprobation separate from human passions or feelings. All this therefore we object to, and object to strenuously; but what we most object to, and what has been a source of real grief to us, and, to adopt the learned Baronet's own language, has made us really "blush for human nature," is to find that an understanding so rarely endowed, and so skillfully cultivated as his own is, can waste its valuable powers upon such mischievous extravagancies; and that a man of refined and classical taste should condescend to rake in all the malignity and low abuse of Thomas Paine.

Let us turn to a pleasanter subject. Mr. Baber, of the British Museum, has published, in a folio form, a Greek Psalter from a manuscript copy of the Alexandrine codex, preserved in this national library; (Psalterium Græcum, a codice M. S. Alexandrino.) The work is dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury: and the indefatigable editor has preserved, with the utmost accuracy, the manuscript type, size of the folio, paging, lines, and shape of the characters, stops, abbreviations, punctuations, and other marks, even the very defects and errors: having taken for his exemplar Woide's republication of the New Testament, from the Alexandrine codex. The MS. copy, from some unknown and lamentable accident, has sustained an in-

jury that renders it illegible from Ps. xlix. 10. to Ps. lxxix. 12. We wish this hiatus had been supplied, though from another Alexandrine copy; the interstitial verses being pointed out by some peculiar mark. But Mr. Baber has so strictly adhered to the Museum codex, that we have this deficiency as well as every other. From the frequent use of this book of the canonical scriptures, its intrinsic excellence, and its prominence in our established church service, we cannot but hail the appearance of the present work, and are happy to find it supported by an extensive list of respectable subscribers.

"Hebrew Etymology: consisting of select passages of Scripture. In which the original meanings of many names of persons and places are interpreted by Scripture. To which is prefixed a critical examination of Exodus iii. 14." 12mo. This excellent little work is the production of the classical pen of the truly pious and learned Bishop of St. David's; to whom the biblical student is under great obligation for a variety of other useful elementary books upon the same subject, designed, expressly to facilitate a knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures in their original tongue. The immediate object of the work before us is to give specimens of various proper names in the Old Testament, the exact meaning of which is absolutely necessary to a clear understanding of the passages in which they occur. "The unlearned reader, observes the right reverend author, will perceive from this small collection of etymologies, that Hebrew proper names, like all other proper names, are significant terms; and that names, which are become *appropriate by use*, are *general terms*"

in their original meaning. He will perceive, too, that the names of things are sometimes derived from external adjuncts, sometimes from attendant circumstances; and that in many, perhaps most cases, names become appropriate by arbitrary imposition and use, more than by peculiar or specific qualities." Before the text, in Exod. iii. 14, "I am that I am," the following remark will be sufficient to give the reader a glance at its general scope. "This compound term *אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה* being the name which God gives himself in his first answer to Moses, should either not be translated, but be retained in its original form, for the same reason which requires *Ehje* as a proper name, instead of *I am* and *Jehovah*, instead of *He is*, or *he will be*: (the Bible abounds in compound proper names, such as *Ishmael*, "God hath heard;" *Jehovah-jireh*, "God will see," &c.) or should be translated in its full signification. *I am he*, that was, and is, and will be." We cannot exactly admit of this last rendering; since although in the simplicity and looseness of the Hebrew grammar *אֶהְיֶה* may be understood in either of the three tenses here given, we can no more admit that it should be understood in all of them at the same time, than we can that our own vernacular term *cast* should be understood at one and the same time in the past and present tense; because, abstractedly considered, it may be construed in either. Upon this point therefore we cannot but think our common lection more correct, which confines the identic term in the beginning and close of the sentence to the same tense *I am* that *I AM*. Were we indeed to allow ourselves the full signification of the term here contended for, the same

extent ought to be allowed to the first *אֶהְיֶה* as to the last, and the reading would then be, "I was, and am, and will be he that was, and is and will be," which we think the very excellent prelate before us would hardly allow. How far the literal rendering of the expression might be endured, *Ehje-asur-Ehje*, is another question; yet upon the whole we cannot but prefer the reading as it at present stands.

"The Constancy of Israel: an unprejudiced illustration of some of the most important texts of the Bible; or a polemical, critical, and theological reply to a public letter by Lord Crawford, addressed to the Hebrew nation. Written, *without prejudice*, by Solomon Bennett, native of Poland," 8vo. 7s. This work is divided into two parts: in the former the writer examines many of the more prominent texts of the Old Testament brought forward by Christian, or as our *unprejudiced* expositor denominates them *Nazarene* interpreters, as prophetic of the advent, life, character, and sufferings of our Saviour, and endeavours to refute the application. In the latter, he enters into a general history of the progress and dispersion of Israel, and the progress of the Christian religion to the present day; and gives a brief sketch of Hebrew literature, and of the political state of the Jews, in various countries of Europe, drawn up from personal observation and travel. This last part is useful. In the preceding, Mr. Bennett has been as little successful as his predecessors. He appears to have well studied the Massorah, but it is a study that stands him in no stead; and there is, in our opinion, an inelegance, as well as a besetting error in his new renderings that run through almost his

his specimens. He appears however to be honest, though mistaken, in his cause; he writes without virulence, and it is creditable to the liberty of an English press that such a book is permitted to make its appearance.

"Remarks on the sixty-eighth Psalm, addressed more particularly to the consideration of the House of Israel. By Granville Sharp," 8vo. We lament that we have here to notice a critical pamphlet of a most liberal and excellent scholar, who is now no more. Mr. Sharp is well known to have been one of the foremost of those who believe that the present period is peculiarly favourable for the conversion of the Jews; and that the long predicted time of such conversion is at hand. He conjectures that the "hill of Bashan," which he thinks would more correctly be rendered "Mount Bashan," in the psalm before us, is the point from which some extraordinary signal will be given for the return of the Jews to their aboriginal country, whenever such return is about to ensue; and having learned from a letter, said to have been sent from Damascus, (in the vicinity of Mount Bashan) to the Portuguese Rabbi, Dr. Meldola, and by him communicated to Dr. Strassbourg, another learned Rabbi, and by Dr. Strassbourg to Dr. Hirschal, the chief Rabbi of the Dutch Synagogue in Duke's Place, that not long ago a fiery cloud was seen to descend from heaven, and to rest upon a tree on the top of one of the neighbouring mountains of Damascus, where it continued for three days and three nights without injuring the tree, he has a confident belief that this is the signal that is to anticipate the Jewish restoration; and consequently that this great era is

on the point of commencing. It happens unfortunately, however, that there is no satisfactory evidence of the existence of the sign referred to: the letter said to have been sent immediately from Damascus to the Rabbi Meldoli, only having been received by him from a merchant at Gibraltar, who merely alluded to the circumstance as a prevalent rumour. It is hence totally unnecessary to follow up the expositor's imagination any further.

Before we quit the subject of biblical literature, we will just notice, that a very elegant edition of the whole Bible, according to the standard version, is now printing at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, illustrated by engravings, chiefly from Mr. Charles Heath, from drawings by Mr. Westall. The text, unaccompanied by note or comment, will be completed in seven parts, of which three are already finished, and the rest are to follow at the distance of four months from each other. The price two guineas a part for large copy impressions, and one for small. Mr. Hewlet has also completed his valuable edition of the Bible, with critical, philological, and explanatory notes, illustrated with maps and engravings, in three large volumes, quarto, price 11*l.* 4*s.* in boards, and on royal paper 14*l.* 8*s.* without the plates, 8*l.* in demy. The notes, as indeed the title itself indicates, are rather analytical than doctrinal or explanatory: they are uniformly made to quadrate with the opinions of our established church; though, on other occasions, the author takes leave to differ from the more direct and general understanding: of which we have an instance in his explanation of the difficult and much contested passage in Joshua x. 12. "Sun, stand thou still," &c. Our commentator



commentator gives a brief survey of the different interpretations of this memorable address; and, while he by no means objects to that which holds the text in a literal sense, clearly shows that he regards it in a figurative and poetical, illustrating his view of it by various parallel passages from profane poets, both ancient and modern. In consequence of which, he recommends that the version should be thus, "Then spake Joshua to the Lord—O sun, remain (or keep thy station) in the heavens over Gibeon; and thou, O moon, over the valley of Ajalon. And the sun remained, and the moon continued, after the sun was set, till the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. So the sun remained in the heavens (that is, not on the meridian, or on any particular point, but above the horizon) and lasted not to go down, *when the day was ended*; for such (says Mr. H.) is the meaning of כִּי־סָמַךְ: the participle כִּי, which our translators have rendered *about*, signifies also, *when, as, or after that*."

"Commentaries on the affairs of the Christians before the time of Constantine the Great: or an enlarged view of the Ecclesiastical History of the first three centuries: accompanied with copious illustrative notes and references. Translated from the Latin of John Laurence Mosheim, D.D. &c. by Robert Studley Vidal, Esq. F.S.A." 2 vols. 8vo. The same temperate zeal, indefatigable exertion, and extensive reading, which characterise M. Mosheim's "Elements of Christian History," distinguish the volumes before us; the materials of which were at first intended for a new and enlarged edition of the *History*, though they at length swelled to a magni-

tude too considerable to be thus embodied;—and hence they now appear as a distinct accompaniment or sequel. We have to lament that they are given to the world posthumously, and in an unfinished form; the commentator having designed, had his life been spared, to have continued the work to a much later period than specified in the title-page. The facts adduced are highly valuable, and the remarks upon them liberal, and for the most part perspicuous and logical. We chiefly object to the frequent interruption and length of the notes, which are perpetually distracting the reader's attention, and betray a most miserable poverty of invention. On this account we wish the translator, who has ably performed his undertaking, had given himself the additional trouble of recasting the whole into one concordant and uniform text.

"A practical Treatise on the ordinary operations of the Holy Spirit, by the Rev. G. S. Faber, B. D. &c." 8vo. 7s. Mr. Faber is chiefly known to our readers as an expounder of the prophecies: he now solicits the attention of the public in another and more practical character. The work before us consists of eight chapters on the following consecutive subjects: I. The necessity of the ordinary operation of the Holy Spirit shewn from a view of the state of man by nature: his understanding, his will, and his affections, being all depraved, in consequence of original sin. II. The illumination of the understanding through the influence of the Holy Spirit, the first work of grace on the human soul. III. A description of two different classes of men, whose understandings are enlightened, while their hearts remain unaffected. IV. The influence of the Holy Spirit upon

upon the will. V. The influence of the Holy Spirit upon the affections. VI. The Holy Spirit a comforter and an intercessor. VII. The fruits of the Spirit contrasted with the works of the flesh. VIII. The constant influence of the Holy Spirit necessary to conduct us in safety to the end of our pilgrimage. We have not room for quotation, and shall therefore observe in few words, that Mr. Faber's style is rather plain than ornamented; and his argument rather perspicuous than elaborate. He addresses himself to persons of ordinary understandings, and none can read without benefit.

"A Father's Reasons for being a Christian. Dedicated with permission to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. By the Rev. Charles Powell, chaplain in ordinary to his Royal Highness." 8vo. 10s. 6d. The author in his preface thus plainly and feelingly states the origin of the work before us. "In the autumn of the year 1807, I was for some weeks in daily apprehension of being deprived of the chief comfort which this life has to bestow. In those hours of anxious sorrow, dead to the world, and to every thing in it, but to my children, and to their interest, I frequently meditated on the arduous task which would devolve on me, of supplying the place of both parents. Among other less important considerations, I reflected on the increased difficulty (without that best aid, which a well-informed and a well-disposed mother always affords) of instilling indelibly into the minds of my children the evidences of the Christian religion. It pleased God, however, to listen to my prayers, and to spare me from so heavy an affliction, and her children from so irreparable a loss.—Some time afterwards it occurred to

to me, that it would be a proper act of gratitude for the blessing which I had received, and a useful assistance to the office of their mother, if I prepared an easy and familiar address to my children on the subject of Christianity. I considered that, however inferior it might be, as a literary composition, to many works which I could put into their hands, it would probably command greater attention, and make a stronger impression on their minds, as being dictated by the anxiety and affection of a father." The work hence originating, was gradually increased, till it assumed the present shape and extent. The subjects discussed are the following: "General and familiar address to the author's children on the subject of religion: Dissertation on miracles and prophecy: Dissertation on sectaries, but more especially an appeal to unitarians, and to those who style themselves evangelical ministers. An appendix, containing the heads of the late Bishop Horne's sermons." There is perhaps no very strong thread of connexion by which several of these subjects are held together; but they are discussed in a sensible, temperate, and, for the most part, judicious manner.

"The Church of Ephesus: in two parts. Part I. a lecture on Revelation ii. 1—7, in which the epistle is critically explained, and practically improved. Part II. an improvement and application of the characteristic feature of this church, Rev. ii. 4, 5. By Samuel Kittle." 8vo. This series of lectures is publishing in numbers, of which nine will complete the work. The following is the author's scope, as given in his own words. "The general plan on which I design to treat the whole of the seven epistles to the Asiatic

Asiatic churches, is to divide each epistle into two lectures. The first lecture takes the following heads of division. 1. The emblematical representation of the Lord Christ, as he stands related to the church under review. 2. The good, bad, or mixed character of the church members. 3. The exhortation given them to repent, &c. 4. The threatenings and promises used as inducements to stir them up to attend to these exhortations. The second lecture consists of the grand use, as I conceive, of the epistle, which is to caution against, or recover from, a destructive vice on the one hand, or to induce to, and build up in the practice of a commendable virtue on the other." The author, moreover, conceives that each of the churches affords an instance of a peculiar character, and may be made the subject of a distinct practical improvement. Thus the church of Ephesus is characterised by declension in religious fervour; that of Smyrna by persecuted piety; that of Pergamus by instability; that of Thyatira, laxity of church discipline; that of Sardis, formality; that of Philadelphia, christian diffidence; that of Laodicea, spiritual pride. Mr. Kittle seems to be a well-meaning man, who has drawn his views from writers of acknowledged abilities, and states them with fairness and perspicuity.

"Prayers: composed by two clergymen for the use, chiefly, of their respective parishes: in which purity of doctrine, and scriptural simplicity of language, have been principally consulted." 8vo. 3s. The advertisement informs us as follows: "For the parishioners of Uffington and Shillingford the following prayers were prepared with brotherly love and anxiety for their temporal

and eternal happiness: they are presented to them by their ministers: that they may be found acceptable and useful, is the humble, yet devout wish of N. P. W. and T. M. Y." It is enough for us to add that we have been equally pleased with the intention and execution of this useful little manual, which consists of various forms of morning and evening prayers, and of prayers for particular occasions.

"Sermons, designed chiefly for the use of villages and families. By Thornhill Kidd." 8vo. 8s. We are modestly told by the writer that this volume of discourses, twenty-six in number, and chiefly devoted to practical subjects, was prepared for the press, at the request of various friends, during many months of illness and suspension from the public duties of the ministry. There is a mixture of simplicity and animation in them which has much pleased us, and, in our opinion, is calculated to answer, in no small degree, the author's serious and useful intention.

"Nine sermons, preached in the years 1718-19 by the late Isaac Watts D. D. now first published from MSS. in the family of a cotemporary friend. With a preface, by John Pye Smith D. D." 8vo. 6s. There seems little doubt of the genuineness of these discourses: the manuscript, indeed, is not an autograph of Dr. Watts, but of an intimate friend of his, the Rev. John Goodhall, who seems to have copied them with great care and accuracy. Dr. Smith conjectures from the colloquial forms of expression which frequently occur in them that they were delivered extemporaneously and taken in short hand: he observes, however, that Dr. Watt's usual manner of thought and style, of sentiment and expression, together

gether with various other characteristic features, are numerous and remarkable. We subjoin the subjects: I. The prayer of Christ for his church. II. The Believer crucified with Christ. III. Christ the author of spiritual life. IV. The Believer living by faith. V. God the author of an effectual ministry. VI. Evidences of the efficacy of divine influence. VII. The carnal mind at enmity with Christ. VIII. The nature and duty of thanksgiving. IX. The same subject continued.

Foremost among the controversial subjects of the current year, as connected with religion, we may mention that of catholic emancipation as it is usually called. The principal publications in *favour* of this subject are Lord Somers's "Reply to the Protestant Letter of the right reverend the Bishop of Gloucester," which letter it may be remembered by many of our readers this excellent prelate drew up in answer to his lordship's speech in favour of the Irish catholics in the course of the discussion of the question in the upper house: and "an historical account of the laws enacted against the catholics, both in England and Ireland, &c. By James Baldwin Brown, Esq. of the Inner Temple." 8vo. 14s. which is an extended view of the question as already given by Mr. Charles Butler in his celebrated pamphlet, many of the documents slightly glanced at in the latter being here given in detail.—On the opposite side we have to notice, in the first place, the learned, patriotic, and admirable bishop of St. David's pamphlet, entitled "Christ and not St. Peter, the rock of the Christian church; and St. Paul the founder of the church in Britain:" being a second letter from the right

reverend prelate to the clergy of his diocese on "the independence of the ancient British church on any foreign jurisdiction, with a postscript on the testimony of Clemens Romanus." In this elaborate and liberal pamphlet the bishop not only warmly states his objections to the concessions demanded by the Irish catholics, but boldly attacks the foundation of the pope's claim to supremacy, by contending that "the Christian church was not founded on St. Peter, but on the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone;—that the first christian church was the church of Jerusalem, and St. James the first christian bishop;—that St. James and not St. Peter, presided at the first christian council;—that St. Paul was the first founder of the church of Rome;—that the church of Rome was first founded as a christian society, during St. Paul's first residence at Rome;—and that the first bishop of Rome was appointed by the joint authority of St. Peter and St. Paul, after St. Paul's return to Rome." After which he attempts to show "that St. Paul preached the gospel in Britain, and to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the time of the apostle's journey to Britain, on the authority of Clemens Romanus, Eusebius, Jerom, Theodoret, and two British records:—"the joint testimony and inferences of which render the assumed fact, in our opinion, *probable*, though we cannot, with this highly esteemed prelate, bring ourselves to believe that they completely establish it. Dr. Haggitt's "Conduct and pretensions of the Roman Catholics, considered in a letter to the freeholders of Oxfordshire," is also entitled to attention on the same side of the question. It contains the substance

stance of a speech prepared against the Oxford county meeting upon the subject, but which from some cause or other was not then delivered. Without entering into an analysis for which we have not room, we have no hesitation in declaring it to be an able and energetic address, challenging, from its perspicuity and force of argument, the attention of both parties. We have also received an anonymous pamphlet that is worthy of notice, entitled "A Full View of the Catholic Question—by a Country Gentleman;" who takes a pretty large field, and endeavours to show, both from principle and experience, that the claims of the Roman Catholics rest on no foundation of right or justice; and offers a reply to the Edinburgh Reviewers, Mr. Canning, Mr. Pitt's pledge, the prince's pledge, Mr. Burke's authority, and most of the popular arguments: in many parts of which, however, notwithstanding we admit that he has well studied the subject, we can by no means concur with him in opinion.

The institution of the *Bible Society* has been prolific in tracts produced by its provincial ramifications, containing lists of speeches delivered on their respective anniversaries. Many of these display considerable eloquence; but we are afraid that the greater number are the laboured productions of persons anxious for an opportunity of acting the orator, and of dissembling in public, the contents they have privately and with much exertion committed to their memories. The chief point of controversy has been as to the expediency of more openly unfolding the doctrines of the bible to the Indian peninsula: and it is now well known

that upon this point they have succeeded by a clause specially introduced into the projected act for a renewal of the East India Company's charter. One of the objections started against the Institution in its home department has, in our opinion, been completely surmounted by the establishment of a "Common Prayer Book and Homily Society," by an association of many of its supporters who are members of our national church; upon the plan and principles of which a sermon was preached by Mr. Cunningham at Christchurch, Newgate Street, May 6, 1813, and has since been published. We are sorry to perceive that something like a dispute has taken a place between a few, though we apprehend only a few, of the more active members of the Bible Society and the catholics, on the subject of distributing the bible among the poorer of the latter community. The catholic clergy, it seems, are ready to allow it, and have been preparing for the purpose, out of their own funds, the Douay text, containing occasional comments explanatory of their own doctrines. This we well know cannot be done by the Bible Society, as being totally contrary to their first principle: but we see no good reason why any members of the institution should oppose its being done by the catholics themselves: it would be best indeed that the poorer catholics should have the bible without note or comment of any kind; but it is better that they should have it with the proposed notes than not at all: for when the practice has once become established it will be far more easy to introduce the former; while the comments, by assuming a tangible shape, may be easily replied to, wherever erroneous.

CHAP.

## CHAPTER II.

## PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

*Comprising Medicine, Surgery, Anatomy, Physiology, Optics, Astronomy, Meteorology, Geography, Paleology.*

IN commencing this chapter, as usual, with the department of medicine, we shall first notice the "Medical Transactions, published by the College of Physicians in London, Volume IV." 8vo. pp. 415. It is now within four years of half a century since the royal college commenced their literary career, their first volume of transactions having been submitted to the public in 1767; so that the present is only the *third* production of this kind to which the half century before us has given birth; the grave and learned court having, within a fraction, doubled the Horatian rule, and allowed themselves, upon an average, not *nine years*, but nearly *twice nine years* for each volume of their transactions. In truth, it might have been much longer, if we may credit public report, before this fourth proof of their talents had been exhibited, provided they had not been goaded on by an accidental stimulus. Our readers are by this time well acquainted with the existence of a literary institution within the precincts of this metropolis, which has embodied itself under the name of, the "Medical and Chirurgical Society of London;" an offset, indeed, from the old Medical Society of London; but which, since its separation and independent existence, has exhibited a much greater degree of activity than either the College of Physi-

cians, or the parent society from which it immediately emanated; and which, unquestionably, ranks amidst its members, many of the most distinguished physicians and surgeons of the metropolis. This infant establishment, although only in its seventh or eighth year, has already published three volumes of valuable materials, and with a laudable thirst after increasing honour and reputation, applied not long since to the crown for a charter of incorporation. The report is that his majesty's law officers, with the greatest propriety, consulted upon this occasion, the Royal College of Physicians as to the expediency of advising his majesty to accede to the request, and particularly as to any chance of its trenching upon the long established honour and dignity of the college: it is added that antecedently to this consultation the new society had great reason to expect a favourable reply; but that his majesty has since been advised to withhold his gracious assent. The members of the Medical and Chirurgical Society have dropped occasional hints at the severity of this exclusive system, and especially on the part of a body, which *at that time*, had for nearly half a century, been only known to the great republic of letters, as the parent of two volumes of transactions, independently of two or three editions of their Pharmacopeia: and we are given to under-

stand that it is in some degree, with a view of rebutting this contumely that the college has harnessed itself for another circle of labour, and has produced the work before us.

In the articles of which the work is composed it evinces a various and multiform character: the chief contributors are Dr. Bailey, who has given three papers, two on hydrocephalus, and one on a peculiar increase in the pulsation of the aorta in the epigastric region, which has occasionally been mistaken for an aneurism; Dr. Latham, the president, who has furnished not less than five papers, the subjects of which are tetanus, abdominal tumours of a particular cast, and spurious angina pectoris; Dr. Heberden, who has presented three papers, one on nyctolopia, one on a supposed variety of scurvy, and one "on the mortality of London," which the learned writer calculates, from Dr. Price's principles, at *one and a small fraction or thirty* for the year; Dr. Powell, who has given an article on the beneficial internal use of nitrat of silver in certain convulsive cases, especially of chorea, and another on the prevalence of insanity at different periods, in which he apprehends that this dreadful disease has of late gained ground, though not in any very great degree; Dr. P. Warren, who has contributed a description of two cases of diabetes mellitus successfully treated by opium, the dose in the one instance being twelve and in the other twenty grains in four and twenty hours; and who has also contributed an equally valuable paper on headaches which arise from a defective action of the digestive organs. The whole number of articles is twenty-five; the last being the well known report of the college upon the subject of vaccination;

and which could scarcely, we think, have been thus reprinted after so late and general a circulation, if there had not been a palpable want of matter to render the volume of a respectable thickness. Many of the papers are valuable, some of them of considerable merit; but, as a whole, the volume has not answered our expectation; nor, as we are given to understand, that of the public.

"Medico-Chirurgical Transactions: published by the Medical and Chirurgical Society of London." Vol. IV. The activity of this rising society continues undiminished. It now appears able to contribute a volume of useful matter annually; and the present falls in no respect short of those which have preceded it. The number of articles are twenty-five, besides a short supplement. The names of the contributors are as follows: W. Ferguson, Esq. Edward Percival, M. D. Dublin. John Mitchell, Esq. Kingston. Colin Clisholme, M. D. John Eostock, M. D. Liverpool. Thomas Martin, Esq. Reigate. Alexander Denmark, M. D. Haslar Hospital. Sir Gilbert Blane, Bart. M. D. James Woodrop, Esq. communicated by Dr. Roget. A. C. Hutchinson, M. D. Deal. B. C. Brodie, Esq. Benjamin Travers, Esq. Mr. Hodgson. Lewes. S. Barnes, Esq. Exeter. Thomas Chevalier, Esq. Mr. Freyer. Stamford. Charles Bell, Esq. Mr. Stewart. John Yellowly, M. D. Astley Cooper, Esq. Of these, several writers have furnished two or more papers; but we perceive, with some surprise, that the society is much more indebted for productions to friends or strangers than to its own members; for, of the twenty five numbers before us, only nine appear to have been actually written by

by the latter, while not less than sixteen are communications from foreign hands through the medium of members.

"An Introduction to Medical Literature, including a system of practical Nosology—together with detached essays—by Thomas Young, M.D. F.R. and L.S. &c." Our general remarks upon a pretty close attention to this volume, are that the learned author writes rather from his reading and reasoning than from his practice. Yet his reading has been comprehensive, and his reasoning is for the most part sound, acute, and well worthy of attention: we have been much pleased with the work, and warmly recommend it to general perusal. It contains a preliminary essay on the study of physic; aphorisms relating to classification; introduction to medical literature; chemical tables; sketch of animal chemistry; remarks on the measurement of minute particles; essay on the medical effects of climates. There is certainly more science, but we think less simplicity in the nosology here proposed than in Dr. Cullen's, if we except his class of *Locales*, which Cullen has employed as a sort of rubbish-drawer, to receive whatever would not enter into his first three classes. We like moreover the uniformity of employing Greek terms as the designations of the primary divisions. But Dr. Young has made them unnecessarily formidable in length by his frequent use of the Greek *παρά* (*para*) as a prefix, and might, in our opinion, in a few instances, have been more definite in his radicals. *Παρά* is not always used by the Greek writers in the same sense; sometimes importing vicinity, as the *parotid* glands, or "those near the organ of the ear;" *paronychia*, "an abscess near the

finger-nail:" at other times morbid affection, as *paracensis*, 'defective hearing;' *paraglossa*, 'enlargement of the tongue:' our author, however, shows a disposition to confine it to the latter sense, and to employ it in this sense constantly: and hence he has exchanged Cullen's term *Neuroses*, for *Paraneurismi*; his *Pyrexie*, for *Parthemasie*; his *Cachexie*, for *Pareccrises*; most of his *Locales*, for *Paramorphie*. For ourselves, we see no reason for retaining the preposition in any of these; for, allowing its confinement to the sense of morbid action, it is not necessary to be perpetually employing it, or even to employ it at all as a classic prefix in a work expressly devoted to nosology, or the doctrine of diseases; for the radicals of themselves must as essentially import diseased action, as though united to a preposition directly significative of it; and hence we cannot but prefer Dr. Cullen's simple *Neuroses* to Dr. Young's *Paraneurismi*. And in truth were the *para* necessary for the class, it must be equally necessary for the order, the genus, the species, the variety; and hence every nosological term throughout the entire arrangement should commence with it. We have upon the whole been much pleased with Dr. Young's table of medical books for the use of the student, and his ingenious method of appreciating their relative value by a variation in the typographical characters in which they are printed; the more important being given in capitals; the library books distinguished by an asterisk; and those of less or only local value by italics. We have also glanced with much approbation at his detached essays; particularly that "on the Medical Effects of Climates;" and, in closing, cannot



once more avoid recommending the volume to all the practitioners of the healing art, as admirably entitled to an attentive perusal.

"A Treatise on Febrile Diseases; including the various species of fever, and all diseases attended with fever. By A. P. Wilson Phillip, M.D." &c. 2 vols. 8vo. This work has sufficient merit to have called for a new edition, in which the author has made a few useful alterations. The basis of his arrangement is derived from Cullen; though he admits of a few variations; his general division is into *idiopathic* and *sympathetic* fevers. The descriptions are clear, and the treatment rather practical than theoretical or novel.

"Cases of Hydrophobia; including Dr. Schoolbred's and Mr. Tymon's successful Cases; with some Observations on the nature and seat of the Disease. By J. O'Donnell, M.D. 8vo. 2s." The Indian cases and practice are now known to every one: they are well worthy of being borne in mind, and of being tried in our northern latitudes: but the question is by no means settled; and the pamphlet before us, though full of these cases, and enlarged by the introduction of two others that fell under the care of the writer, and proved fatal, contains no new fact, or even opinion of importance.

"An Appendix to an Inquiry into the present state of Surgery; by the late Thomas Kirkland, M.D. in which the removal of Obstruction and Inflammation in particular instances, with the causes, nature, distinctions, and cure of ulcers, is considered. Taken from his MS.S. with a Preface, Introduction, Notes, &c. By James Kirkland, Surgeon," 8vo. The author is well known

for his "Medical Surgery:" to which the volume before us is offered as an accompaniment. The disease of ulcer is here rendered unnecessarily complex by a too great variety of divisions and subdivisions, but it lays a basis for many occasional remarks of much practical value.

"A Treatise on the Diseases and organic Lesions of the Heart and Great Vessels: by J. N. Corvisart, M.D. &c. Translated from the French, by C. H. Hebb." 8vo. 10s. 6d. This volume develops a fearful list of local maladies, some of which, however, we hope are rather imaginary or speculative, than real or practical. The whole range of diseases belonging to the human system are comprised in Cullen's method under *four* classes: those of the heart alone are here made to occupy *five*; of which the following is the arrangement. I. Class. Diseases of the membranous coverings of the heart. II. Those of its muscular substance. III. Those of its tendinous and fibrous parts. IV. Those "which affect at the same time several *tissues* of the heart." V. Aneurisms of the aorta. Some of the remarks are solid and judicious; but there is throughout the whole too much scholastic ramification and partition.

"Outlines of Comparative Anatomy, intended principally for the use of Students. By Andrew Fyfe." 8vo. 8s. This is intended as a continuation of a former work by the same writer. He has abandoned the system of Linnæus for those of Cuvier and Blumenbach, between whom he seems to be in a kind of equipoise; and hence his zoological divisions assume the following order: *mammalia*—*birds*—*reptiles*—*fishes*—*mollusca*—*crustacea*—*insects*—*worms*—*zoophytes*. We cannot but strongly object

object to this linsey-woolsey language, which is neither wholly Greek, Latin, nor English, but composed partly of the one and partly of the other. There is also an occasional inaccuracy of style, which we still less expected in a book of science designed for the use of students. Thus the author, in his description of the brain, tells us first of all that belonging to it "there are certain peculiarities which distinguish the brain of *all* other animals from that of man: these consist chiefly in its being *much smaller* in proportion to the body, and also to the cerebellum and spinal marrow, but particularly to the nerves arising from it." And having laid down these distinctions as applicable to *all* mammals compared with man, he immediately proceeds to tell us "that there are various animals to which several of them will not apply; that some of the ape and mouse kind (*kind*) *equal* man in the proportion of the size of the brain, and certain birds *surpass* him." Mr. Fyfe very properly recommends the student to consult the works from which he has derived the information contained in the present sketch; these are now well and widely known through our own country, both in their original tongues, and from the able translations which have been given of them. To these Mr. Fyfe has added observations from Munro, and a few other zootomists; but we do not find much which is not contained in Cuvier and Blumenbach.

"Theory of Apparitions; by John Ferriar, M D. 8vo." This is an interesting subject: Dr. Ferriar is a disbeliever in the fact; conceiving every story to which it has given rise to be the work of imagination, and every instance appealed to, to be a

non-entity. He resolves the phenomena into secondary impressions, produced from some accidental cause, after the external object, and the primary impression itself have withdrawn; he consequently denominates apparitions *spectral impressions*. We can neither admit the term or the hypothesis. Impressions in every instance, and upon every system of metaphysics, so far as we are acquainted with the science, are *objective* or *subjective*, using this latter word in the sense in which it has of late been generally, and with much convenience, employed on the continent; or in the language of Mr. Locke, they are primary ideas of sensation or of reflection; but *spectral impressions*, as here explained, are no primary ideas at all; they are neither directly objective nor directly subjective; they are mere accidents dependant upon a morbid action of the visual organ or function. We as much object to the theory: because it by no means applies to eleven cases out of twelve, even admitting it to apply to the twelfth. It is possible that various instances have been mere phantasms or deceptions produced, as all of them are here supposed to be produced, by a diseased action of the optic sense; but this is to suppose that the apparition is only cognizable by this sense, and by this sense as belonging to an individual: and consequently must be relinquished, whenever the ears, touch, or other senses have offered a concurrent testimony, or the spectre has been equally surveyed by different persons at the same time: for it is somewhat too much to contend gratuitously that *all* the senses of a single individual, and still more so that *all* those of a collective body of individuals, should have been equally the

the subjects of disease and delusion. Either therefore all the histories of these extraordinary phenomena must be flatly denied, upon adequate and counter-evidence, or a different and more general explanation must be given of them; unless we admit not only the possible, but the actual, existence of them on particular occasions.

"An Examination of the Imposition of Ann Moore, called the fasting Woman of Tutbury; illustrated by remarks on other cases of real and pretended abstinence. By Alexander Henderson, M. D."—"A full Exposure of Ann Moore, the pretended fasting Woman of Tutbury." We unite these in their present order, because they relate to the same subject, and exemplify each other. It is now well known to almost every one that the person here referred to, pretended a few years since, to have a power of living without taking any sustenance whatever, whether solid or liquid; that about seven years ago she felt or expressed a great difficulty of deglutition, in consequence of which she first diminished her usual quantity of solid food, then of liquid food, and afterwards asserted that she took no food of any kind, and pretended to continue in this total privation of nutriment for a period of two years, her strength a little, though only a little decaying, while the faculties of her mind continued as strong as ever. To determine whether there was any imposition in the case, several gentlemen formed themselves into a party in September, 1808, for the purpose of minutely watching her by night and by day for a fortnight. They continued this system of vigilance for sixteen days; and with all their attention could not, or at least did

not, perceive any thing conveyed to her, whilst, nevertheless, her usual vigour of body and mind exhibited no reduction. The fasting woman of Tutbury was hence regarded as a new wonder of the world; nobody travelled through Staffordshire or near it without paying his respects to her, and seldom without leaving some pecuniary mark of attention. Among other persons she was visited by Dr. Henderson, who ventured to deviate from the common opinion, to regard the woman as an impostor, and to suspect that the party by whom she had been watched had been deceived. He chiefly judged from the general appearance of her person; from her sustaining the usual eliminations of perspiration, alvine discharges, and other excretions and secretions; from former attempts at imposition by the same person, and from similar attempts by others. His pamphlet, which is well drawn up, gives us his reasons for discrediting the reality of Ann Moore's story. "I have thus," says he, "collected a sufficient body of evidence to show that that there are no solid grounds for believing that the order of nature is subverted in the person of Ann Moore; but, on the contrary, that there is every reason to consider her abstinence as feigned, and to denounce her as an artful impostor. That she may be partially diseased, and that she may subsist on small quantities of food I will not venture to deny; but that she does eat, and drink, and sleep, will, I imagine, be allowed by all who peruse the foregoing statement; and indeed must be apparent to every person of common discernment who witnesses her present condition."

The remarks contained in Dr. Henderson's pamphlet induced many gentlemen

gentlemen in the neighbourhood to institute a second, and if possible more scrupulous watch; and accordingly in the month of the ensuing April the fasting woman was exposed to another course of trial, under circumstances in which it was impossible for the minutest article to be conveyed to her without the knowledge of her attendants, who performed their office by rotation. The second of the two pamphlets before us gives us the result of this ulterior experiment, and completely confirms Dr. Henderson's suspicions. The fasting woman sustained no great inconvenience, from the total abstinence to which she was hereby reduced during nearly the whole of the first week. Towards the close of it, however, this rigid forbearance from all nutriment produced a fever which kept continually increasing. "Parched with thirst, she requested the watch to give her cloths dipped in vinegar and water, which they did, and with these she kept wetting her mouth and tongue. The watch, in general, wrung out the cloths before they were given to her; but Mr. Wright, surgeon, of Derby, being desirous of obtaining ocular proof of her ability to swallow, gave her a cloth without wringing out. This she greedily put into her mouth, and he plainly saw the act of deglutition." On the eighth day she was exceedingly distressed. Her pulse had increased till it had amounted to a hundred and forty-five in a minute. So far was she reduced on the ninth day that she became in danger of expiring. Yet though her pulse at one wrist had entirely ceased, and at the other seemed drawn to a thread, it was with the greatest difficulty that she could be brought to confess the imposture which she had practised. "She is

now," says the narrator, "sixty-four years of age; and must, when young, have been considered as possessing some share of personal charms. Her eyes have a particular penetrating keenness indicative of her mind. Her neighbours now declare that she has been seen by them walking in the street by moonlight; that they have charged her with it, but she persuaded them that it was her apparition. Amongst all the impostors that have ever offered themselves to the public, perhaps none were ever more capable of acting their part than this woman. During the first watch, (of sixteen days) she contrived so well as to deceive every one, and it is said that she was better in health at the end of the time than when the examination was first established. On the whole, though this woman is a base impostor with respect to her pretence of *total* abstinence from all food whatever, liquid or solid, yet *she can, perhaps, endure the privation of solid food longer than any other person.* It is thought by those best acquainted with her that she existed on a mere trifle, and that from hence arose the temptation to say that she did not take any thing. *If therefore any of her friends could have conveyed a bottle of water to her, unseen by the watch, and she could have occasionally drunk out of it, little doubt is entertained but that she would have gone through the month's trial with credit. The daughter says that her mother's principal food is tea, and there is reason to believe this to be true.*" This last paragraph is loosely written: taking it, however, as it is intended, the case remains almost as extraordinary since the discovery of the imposture as before; for the result of the observations amounts to this, that

Ann Moore is not capable indeed of living *without any kind* of nourishment, liquid or solid, as she asserted of herself; but that, in the opinion of those who detected this untruth, she is actually capable of subsisting on less nutriment than any other person, and requires nothing more for her support than an occasional draught of pure water.

"History of James Mitchel, a boy born blind and deaf, with an account of the operation performed for the recovery of his sight. By James Wardrop, F. R. S. Ed." 4to. p. 52. Most of our readers are, perhaps, already acquainted, in some degree, with this most interesting case of physiology and metaphysics from Mr. Dugald's Stuart's previous account, as published in the Edinburgh Philosophical Transactions. The boy was born totally deaf, and almost totally blind; and consequently had no other senses with which to acquire a knowledge of external objects or an external world than the three senses of smell, taste, and touch. Yet with these, and especially with the first and last, he appears to have acquired a very considerable degree of accuracy with respect to the nature and qualities of objects in general: while, at the same time, notwithstanding every attention was paid to his moral education by his father, a worthy clergyman, and an elder sister, who seems to have devoted a considerable portion of her time to him, he does not appear, at the age of eighteen, to have had any idea of a being superior to himself, and consequently of any religious feeling; nor does he appear, upon the death of this most excellent father, to have evinced any kind of moral feeling. Which equally determines by an *experimentum erucis* the absurdity of the old Cartesian

doctrine of *innate ideas* and *practical principles*; and of the new Scottish doctrine (we refer to the theory of Common Sense) of a moral instinct undervived from, and totally independent of mental reason and corporeal sensation.—We have just observed that the sense of smell was an organ on which he mainly depended for information. By this power he chiefly ascertained and distinguished persons. "He appeared," says Mr. Wardrop, "to know his relations and intimate friends by smelling them very slightly, and he, at once, detected strangers. It was difficult, however, to ascertain at what distance he could distinguish people by this sense; but, from what I was able to observe, he appeared to be able to do so at a considerable distance from the object. This was particularly striking when a person entered the room, as he seemed to be aware of this before he could derive information from any other sense than that of smell.—When a stranger approached him, he eagerly began to touch some part of the body, commonly taking hold of his arm, which he held near his nose, and after two or three strong inspirations through the nostrils he appeared to form a decided opinion concerning him. If it was favourable, he shewed a disposition to become more intimate, examined more minutely his dress, and expressed, by his countenance, more or less satisfaction; but if it happened to be unfavourable, he suddenly went off to a distance, with expressions of carelessness or of disgust."—His sense of touch was resorted to in nearly an equal degree, and appears to have been carried to a very high pitch of perfection. "With respect to the other means which were employed to communicate to him information,

formation, and which he employed to communicate his desires and feelings to others, these were ingenious and simple. His sister, under whose management he chiefly was, had contrived signs addressing his organs of touch, by which she could control him, and regulate his conduct. On the other hand he, by his gestures, could express his wishes and desires. His sister employed various modes of holding his arm, and patting him on the head and shoulders, to express consent and different degrees of approbation. She signified time by shutting his eye-lids and putting down his head; which, done once, meant one night. He expressed his wish to go to bed by reclining his head; he distinguished *me* (Mr. Wardrop is celebrated as an oculist) by touching his eyes, and many workmen by imitating their different employments. When he wished for food he pointed to his mouth, or to the place where the provisions were usually kept." It must, at first sight, seem singular that he should have expressed a peculiar love for finery: but his eyes appear to have had a slight glimmering of colours, and hence gaudy hues may be reasonably supposed to have produced the greatest degree of pleasure. It was proposed by Mr. Wardrop to extract the cataract of the right eye, and the operation was attempted, but from his great resistance it did not perfectly succeed, and was, in effect, exchanged for that of couching or depression: a certain proportion of vision was hereby obtained for a short time, but unfortunately it has not proved permanent, the opaque lens, instead of being absorbed, having again risen and covered the pupil. It is proposed to attempt improving his sight by a second operation of a dif-

ferent kind. He is now under the patronage of Mr. Dugald Stuart, who will unquestionably pay every possible attention to his education and further acquisition of knowledge.

"An Essay on the Philosophy, Study, and Use of Natural History. By Charles Fothergill." 8vo. 8s. In the title, and still more so in the body of this work, the writer might have been more intelligible if he had been more sparing of his words; for we have too often to hunt through a wood of terms for a few concealed ideas, and not always with a sufficient remuneration for the trouble of the chase. What Mr. Fothergill means by the *philosophy* of Natural History as distinct from its *study* and *use* we confess ourselves at a loss to determine, for it strikes us pretty forcibly that the two last terms are included in the first, for the *philosophy* of Natural History necessarily embraces its *study* and points out its *use*. The author has employed the words *Natural History* in the most extensive sense of the term *Physiology*, and hence comprises under it the science of *mind*, or an extensive part of metaphysics, as well as that of *body*. The term *physics*, we know, has been thus employed, both among the best Greek and modern philosophers, though it is not generally thus employed in the present day; but we are not aware of any authority for giving the same extended range to the term *Natural History*. Such, however, being Mr. Fothergill's interpretation of the term, we have the following account of *volition* and *necessity*. "The *will*, or the power of *volition*, can scarcely be deemed a distinct faculty; if its existence, which is denied by the necessarians, is to be allowed at all; since it cannot act independently of

some other quality of the mind. Though volition, under different limitations, seems to be possessed by all animals, yet perhaps in none, not even in man, does it amount to *absolute free-will*; nor has it ever been clearly defined. It is quite plain that an impression must already be received on the mind, or an idea be presented to it, before any thing can be willed concerning it. This truth is sufficient to convince us that the *faculty of volition*, if it be one, is extremely limited. I should rather define it as the presiding, directing, regulating power of the mind, which, though not able to prevent the *admission of impressions or ideas*, could determine and regulate the attention towards them who received, suppressing it towards those that were (*are*) painful, and continuing it towards those that were (*are*) agreeable. I should prefer such a definition to one that could rank the power of volition equal with what we imagine to constitute *free-will* in its fullest extent."

We are afraid there is no small portion of the *palpable obscure* in this illustrative explanation. First the author doubts whether the will can be, properly speaking, a distinct faculty or quality of the mind; next he asserts positively, that it is not a distinct faculty or quality, because he coincides with the necessarians that it *cannot act independently of some other quality of the mind*. It is then said to be possessed by all animals, yet in none of them does this *will* amount to *free-will*. But *will* that is not *free* is no will at all; for we can have no idea of willing separate from that of freedom:—the two ideas being ideas of necessary connexion. The author then begins to allow once more that the will may be a faculty of the mind,

though he still positively asserts it to be *extremely limited*; and having satisfactorily settled this point, he instantly proceeds to declare that this *extremely limited faculty* extends its control over all the functions of the mind; and this secondary quality, which *cannot act independently of some other quality*, is the lord paramount of every other quality, the *presiding, directing, and regulating power* of the sensory. What Mr. Fothergill means by the *admission of ideas or impressions*, we do not exactly know; but the expression evidently hints that he has imbibed a belief that *ideas or impressions*, or both (if he mean them to be regarded as distinct from each other) exist *without* the mind, and form a part of the external world; but whether with Aristotle he considers them as phantasms, with Epicurus as *idola* or *species*, or with Des Cartes as *notional resemblances*, he has given us no information whatever. The consecutive passage is to the same effect, only that it appears to be given in loose, we had almost said *dissolute* poetry, a sort of *versiscoli*, as the Italians call it, or *nummis lege solutis*, as it might, perhaps, be classed by Horace. "If there were no presiding or regulating power over the mind, to what a state of confusion and *chaos* would it be reduced! being able neither to resist the *admission of ideas*, nor to arrange and govern them *when received*, it would be in a state of natural and terrible insanity:" (q. is not *natural insanity* a newly discovered species of mania not yet described, or even arranged by nosologists?) "myriads of *ideal forms* would instantly rise before the troubled soul, and whirl in maddening groups, in ten thousand strange and frightful combinations, till all was,  
(*would*)

(*would be*) dark and horrible, and the sleep of death fall (*would fall*) upon the *benighted* sufferer!" We suppose Mr. Fothergill had just been reading Milton's account of Satan's journey from Hell-gate, through the dreary realms of Chaos to the confines of creation—a

hoary deep, a dark  
Illimitable ocean, without bound,  
Without dimension, where length, breadth  
and height,  
And time and place are lost; where eldest  
night  
And Chaos, ancestors of natures, hold  
Eternal anarchy amidst the noise  
Of endless wars, and by confusion stand.

Mr. Fothergill, however, is more intelligible and agreeable in the specimens of the curious and diversified powers possessed by different animals, which he has selected from preceding physiologists: a few of which we could, nevertheless, have spared, as being disproved by later observations. Nor can we avoid remarking that we have the same confusion of ideas running through the separate faculties of sensation, instinct, and intelligence, which we have had so often to notice in the labours of other physiologists. We do not so much blame the author, however, upon this subject, because the error is common:—the distinction has, indeed, been pointed out, and the respective seats and powers of these separate faculties clearly distinguished in two series of lectures given, during the two last winters, at one of the public Institutions of this metropolis, but we are not aware of any *printed* book to which we can, at present, refer our readers for satisfactory information upon the subject.

"The seat of vision determined; and by the discovery of a new func-

tion in the organ a foundation laid for explaining its mechanism, and the various phenomena, on principles hitherto unattempted. By Andrew Horn." 8vo. price 8s. 6d. Mr. Horn is a modest writer, who appears to have pursued a very difficult subject in retirement, and considerably from the resources of his own mind, with little aid from books. He however writes with no small degree of originality, and gives us ideas that are often worth possessing, though in some instances, a more extended knowledge of optical science as it has been elaborated of late years, would have corrected a few trivial mistakes, and rendered the whole more explicit.

The eye is a natural acromatic instrument, or *camera obscura*, in which the pictures of external objects are painted upon the retina, by rays introduced through the aperture of the pupil. The pictures thus introduced, however, appear upon the retina in an inverted form, agreeably to the laws of optics, in consequence of their refraction in the different humours of the eye through which they pass before they reach the retina; and it is now therefore the common belief of optical philosophers, that all external objects are actually perceived by the mind in an order directly the reverse of that in which they exist in nature, and that it is habit alone which enables the mind to correct the deceit or erroneous representation, and to apply the idea of the upper part to that which in the picture constitutes the lower, and the idea of right to that which, in like manner, constitutes the left. There has nevertheless been much reluctance in acceding to this doctrine, and the little volume before us, which is only intended as a sketch of a larger performance



performance upon the same subject, attempts to remove the difficulty by a new, and certainly an ingenious hypothesis, which is built upon the idea that the retina itself, or interior tunic of the eye, produces an additional reflection like the polished surface of a mirror or a looking glass, and thus naturally restores the object presented to the perception of the mind to its natural arrangement and order. The author also supposes that the retina answers, at the same time, the purpose of a sheath to the base of the optic nerve, which it covers, in the same manner as the cuticle answers the purpose of a sheath to the true skin; and that the nervous base in the former instance, like the true skin in the latter, would without such protecting or softening involucre, be rendered acutely painful from the approach of its natural stimuli. His opinion upon both these subjects, however, we must give in his own words. "Anatomists," says he, "have shewn us that the optic nerve possesses two principal tunics that envelope its medullary substance; the exterior, derived from the dura mater, which forms, by its expansion, the sclerotic coat of the eye; and the interior, which is a continuation of the pia mater, and is expanded on entering the globe, by which it forms the choroides. The retina, or innermost coat of the eye, is supposed to be a propagation of the nervous substance. Thus the entire trunk of the optic nerve seems naturally expanded into the principal coats that compose the globe of the eye. I was induced, from a general survey of the organ, to conclude that the sole use of this transparent membrane (the retina) in the mechanism of vision, is to produce reflection, in a manner similar to the

polished surface of a metallic reflector, or perhaps it might, with more propriety, be compared to glass, (the glass of a mirror) the choroides behind answering the purpose of the metallic coating upon the convex surface of a mirror.—The reader will now readily comprehend the manner in which I conceive vision to be accomplished. Rays from all points of such objects as are opposed to the organ pass through the pupil, and after refraction in the different humours, delineate perfect, but inverted pictures upon the retina at the bottom of the eye: these pictures are instantly reflected in their various colours and shades upon the anterior portion of the concavity; another reflection from hence raises images of the external objects near the middle of the vitreous humour, in their natural order and position; these images make due impressions upon the opposite base of the nerve, which are transmitted by it to the brain: thus the sensation is produced and vision perfected." Mr. Horn, in the above passage, intimates that this, in his opinion, is the sole use of the retina. This however appears to be a slip of the pen: for we have already glanced at another use he finds for it, and which he thus shortly afterwards explains in his own words. "But not only so, we see that while the retina by its transparency, answers throughout its whole extent, the purpose of glass in the production of reflection, this membrane, by covering the base of the nerve, performs the same service for the organ of vision which the scarf-skin does for the immediate organ of feeling. It is well known that when the papillæ pyramidales are deprived of this covering, the least pressure or friction produces exquisite pain. Hence we infer,

infer, from analogy, the necessity for the retina covering the base of the nerve or immediate organ of vision, in order to moderate the impression of the rays; for, if the nerve were left naked, the least impression made by light upon it would render the sensation intolerable." We heartily wish the ingenious author success. The volume of more extensive detail to which the present pamphlet may be regarded as a sort of prospectus, he calculates, as stated in the prefixed advertisement, will comprise about 400 pages in octavo: the subjects he purposes to embrace in it are the difference between the visible and tangible object; distance and magnitude; a further development of the hypothesis before us; single and double vision; and miscellaneous phenomena.

"Times' Telescope for 1814; or, a complete Guide to the Almanac; containing an explanation of the Saints' Days and Holidays; with illustrations of British History and Antiquities, and Notes of obsolete Rites and Customs. Astronomical occurrences in every month, comprising remarks on the phenomena of the heavenly bodies, and a popular view of the solar system. The Naturalist's diary, explaining the various appearances in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and meteorological remarks. Accompanied by twelve descriptive wood-cuts of the different months, engraved by Mr. Clennell." 12mo. 7s. 6d. We have copied this voluminous title, because we think the work deserves it, and it forms a compendious index to its contents. From the title alone it will be seen that a vast mass of miscellaneous matter is compacted into a small compass; yet it is collected with taste; and, though miscellaneous,

the subjects have in most instances a bearing upon each other. This volume has rendered itself notorious from an injunction which was lately obtained against it, in consequence of its having copied somewhat too largely, in one of its divisions, from a work of a similar kind. That part we understand has since been omitted, or so far modified, as to become unexceptionable; in consequence of which the work has appeared under a new form in a new edition, and bids fair to acquire considerable popularity. In truth it deserves to be popular; for the compiler, who is generally known to be the ingenious sub-librarian of the Surrey Institution, has shown an equal degree of acquaintance with the general principles of the subject he has undertaken to elucidate, and of taste and judgment in his illustrative and decorative extracts from various descriptive poets, and other writers.

"Researches about atmospheric Phenomena. By Thomas Forster, F. L. S." 8vo. 7s. There is some fancy in this volume, and perhaps more than ought to have been admitted upon a subject strictly physical; but the author shows himself to have been a long and attentive observer of meteorological phenomena, and for the most part his remarks appear to be solid and worthy of attention. The volume is divided into eight chapters, after the following order. Chapter I. contains a description of the different modifications of clouds, according to Mr. Luke Howard's well known and classical Latin arrangement; his method and language being adopted through the body of the work. Chapter II. offers a similar arrangement of that extensive cluster of atmospherical phenomena which

are usually described under the names of halos, coronas, burs, glories, parhelions, paraselenes, and irises, or rainbows: many of which have often been confounded with each other; and few of which have been exactly described or accounted for. Chapter III. describes the principal igneous meteors observed at night, of which the most common perhaps, though the minutest, are falling stars: these are here divided into three kinds, the common stellar meteors, those of a more brilliant kind, and the candate, or those possessing tails or trains. In the course of the present and ensuing chapter, Mr. Forster proceeds to explain them as for the most part varieties depending upon the peculiar state of the atmosphere in which they occur; and examines M. De Luc's hypothesis of their origin. Chapter V. discusses the connexion between atmospheric peculiarities, and those diseases which are usually supposed to depend upon the state or nature of the atmosphere. It contains many remarks that are worthy the attention of the medical world. Chapter VI. is devoted to the subject of winds: in the course of which he gives it as his own opinion, derived from a course of experiments made with small air-balloons, that the changes in the wind often commence in the higher strata of the atmosphere, and are propagated downwards. Electricity forms the subject of the seventh chapter; in the course of which he observes that the ancients had a confused notion of this active and general principle, though they called it by a different name; and seems to conceive that many of them designated or alluded to it by the terms *visifying principle*, *source of motion*, *spirit of fire*, *primum mobile*,

and *soul of the universe*: but this, in our opinion, is to jumble into one chaos hypotheses that are altogether discrepant, and have little connexion with each other: it constitutes one of those fancies to which we referred in the opening of the present article. In his subsequent physical observations, the author is much better entitled to our attention, and especially in the pages in which he notices our general ignorance at present of the connexion between the peculiar modification and arrangement of electrical clouds with the electrical state of the atmosphere. The last chapter is also a fanciful one in various respects, yet it is also in various respects pleasing: it relates to the superstitious notions entertained by the vulgar respecting the influence of certain peculiarities of the atmosphere on various animals; and intimates an intention of pursuing this subject hereafter by an inquiry into the origin of superstitions in general. "Any capable person, observes he, who would write a moral history of superstitions, and endeavour to trace each to its particular source as nearly as possible, arranging them according to the age or country in which they prevailed, and including all degrees of superstitious opinions and customs from those which have gained importance from their extensive, prevalence, and the influence they have had on the manners and destiny of different people, down to the meanest subject of terror to the village peasant, would render considerable service to the cause of truth."

"A Geographical Memoir of the Persian empire, accompanied by a map. By John Macdonald Kinneir: political assistant to Brigadier General Sir John Malcolm, in his mission

mission to the coast of Persia." 4to. This work is dedicated by the author to his enlightened patron and superior: and is accompanied with a large and excellent map of the Persian empire, laid down with great care, and which will no doubt supersede, as having been in a considerable degree constructed from personal observation, the best maps hitherto in use, both in our own country and in Germany, among which, perhaps those of professor Wahl in his *Altes und Neues Vorder und Mittel Asien*, may be allowed to take the lead. M. Kinneir appears to have well prepared himself for the study of his subject by having previously consulted the most esteemed works of both native and foreign writers; particularly among the former, of Nejf Ali Khan, Hajy Mahomed Ali Khan-Genjeev. Mahomed Sadick Meer Yusoph a Deen, and Meerza Ali Nachee; and among the latter, of Mr. Webb, Dr. Vincent, Major Rennel, Captain Christie, Lieut. Pottinger, Capt. Grant, Lieut. Snodgrass, Major Campbell, and Lieut. Col. Scott. The view of the Persian empire here offered is upon a scale larger than that to which it extends in the present day, for it includes the provinces or territories of Bagdad and Orfa, which have long become Turkish pashalicks; the greater part of Khorasan, possessed by a variety of wandering tribes, whose mutual hostilities have reduced it to desolation, and who do not acknowledge the sovereignty of the Iram; as also Cabul, Samarcand, Balkt, and other neighbouring districts, throughout which the Persian monarch is without influence or authority. The provinces chiefly described, however, are Fars, Laristan, Khuzistan, Irak, Ardelan, Azerbijan, Ghilan, Mazanderaun,

and Asterabad. Of these again, the author's principal attention is paid to Fars, the ancient Persia, which still abounds in vestiges of its former magnificence; and we have the testimony of Mr. Kenneir to the accuracy with which they are described by Chardin, Le Bruynè, and Niebuhr. He dwells somewhat at large upon the ruins of Firoscabad, a city of great fame in former times, but whose superb remains have nearly escaped the attention of modern travellers. It occupied "a plain of about seventeen miles in length, and half that distance in breadth. They (the ruins) consist of a ditch which encloses an area of at least seven miles in circumference, and in some places sixty-eight in breadth; a stone pillar, one hundred and fifty feet in height, and twenty in diameter at the base; and the remnant of a square edifice, differing in form and style from any around it. It is built of hewn stone and linked together with clamps of iron. The remains of the *Atlash Radda*, or fire-temple of Firoze Shah, are on the opposite side of the plain. This appears to have been a building with three immense domes, and three small apartments before and behind, arched with small rough stones, and cemented with lime." Other ruins and antiquities, in the different provinces of the empire, are glanced at or minutely described. Mr. Kenneir examined the remains of the mighty Babylon, in company with Captain Frederick, in 1808. These extend for many miles around the modern town of Hilleh, and the temple of Belus is still supposed to retain a vestige in an immense pyramidal structure formed of bricks and cemented with bitumen and layers of reeds. The building is  
quadrangular,

quadrangular, nine hundred paces in circumference, and about two hundred and twenty feet at the utmost height. In it are many long and narrow cavities or passages, which now afford shelter for jackalls, hyænas, and other noxious animals. From another and a loftier, though less extensive eminence, ascribed by the Arabs to Nimrod, the river Euphrates may be seen in several of its windings through the plain of Shinar. Here also are found bricks inscribed with arrow headed characters like those of Persepolitan sculpture. Khusistan is the modern name for Susiana. The ancient Susa is supposed by Dr. Vincent to have occupied the site of the Shuster of the present day; and by Major

Rennell to have formed the ruins which are still shown as the vestiges of the city of Shus. Our author inclines to the latter opinion.

"A General Synopsis of Geography; with a projection of Maps and Charts; to which is prefixed an historical introduction to the sciences of Geometry, Astronomy, and Geography, &c. with an easy and regular method of drawing maps. By John Cooke, Geographer, and late Engraver to the Admiralty." 4to. 11. We notice this as an elementary work of great merit, on account of its neatness and accuracy. The Engravings, which are executed by Miss Cooke, are peculiarly delicate and beautiful.

## CHAPTER III.

## MORAL AND POLITICAL.

*Containing History, Voyages, Travels, Commerce, Military Systems, Political Economy, English Jurisprudence, and Law.*

WE cannot commence this division of the general literature of the year with a work of more important matter than that contained in "A succinct History of the Geographical and Political Revolutions of the Empire of Germany, or the principal states which compose the empire of Charlemagne, from his coronation in 814 to its dissolution in 1806: with some account of the genealogies of the imperial house of Hapsburgh, and of the six secular electors of Germany, and of Roman, German, French, and English nobility. By Charles Butler, Esq." 8vo. If Mr. Butler have let himself run somewhat loose in his title-page, and has given us in it a table of contents rather than a specific name, he is sufficiently terse and abbreviated in the work itself. In reality we are unacquainted with any writer who displays the same power of saying much in a small space, and we may add, of saying much to the purpose: for with him there is no trifling either in words or ideas. "Order is heaven's first law;" and the vast mass of matter usually condensed into this gentleman's publications could not be thus condensed without a minute attention to this law, the necessary result of which is, great weight and importance in the subject, and great distinctness and perspicuity in the arrangement. We are sorry that

1813.

we can do little more than run over a sketch of the general object of the work, and the points to which it is directed.

It consists of eight parts; the first comprises the period extending from the general division of the Roman Empire between Arcadius and Honorius, the sons of Theodosius the first, to the revival of the empire of the west, in the person of Charlemagne. It consequently extends from the year 395 to 800, and includes, among other important facts, the successive conquest of Italy by the Herulians, Ostrogoths, and Justinian. The early history of the Germans; the rise of the temporal power of the Popes, and the imperial coronation of Charlemagne. Part II. extends from the year 814 to 911, and includes the history of Charlemagne's empire from its commencement to its decline, and the origin of the feudal polity. Part III. comprises the period of the German empire, during the Saxon, Franconian, and Suabian dynasties, extending from 911 to 1024, the leading feature in which is the growing and arrogant claims to temporal power on the part of the popes, and their ultimate success even against the empire itself. Upon this important subject we must be allowed to quote the following passage. "The popes soon advanced a still higher claim *In virtue of an authority which they pretended*

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*pretended to derive from heaven, some of them asserted that the pope was the supreme temporal lord of the universe, and that all princes, and civil governors, were, even in temporal concerns, subject to them."* In conformity to this doctrine, the popes took upon them to try, condemn, and depose the sovereign princes; to absolve their subjects from allegiance to them, and to grant their kingdoms to others. That a claim so unfounded and impious, so detrimental to religion, so hostile to the peace of the world, and apparently so extravagant and visionary should have been made, is strange:—stranger still is the success it met with. There scarcely is a kingdom in christian Europe, the sovereign of which did not, on some occasion or other, acquiesce in it, so far, at least, as to invoke it against his own antagonist; and having once urged it against an antagonist, it was not always easy to deny the justice of it, when it was urged against himself. The contests respecting it were chiefly carried on with the German emperors. All Italy and Germany were divided between the adherents of the popes, and the adherents of the emperors." The passage we have quoted in Italics is scored in the same manner in the work itself.

Part IV. extends from the extinction of the Suabian dynasty, through the success of the pontifical power to the election of Charles V. including the period between 1254 and 1519: in the course of which it narrates the auspicious fact of the decline of the pope's temporal power, which appears however to have been at least as much, if not more, the effect of internal and ecclesiastical feuds, than of political and foreign resistance. Part V. gives us an ac-

count of the origin and progress of the House of Hapsburgh till its ultimate accession to the empire of Germany; and extends from 700 to 1428. It is this illustrious house that gave rise to the German and Spanish line by which the empire was governed for two centuries, and that laid a foundation for the division of the empire into those circles, and its administration under that general constitution which it possessed till the late conquest of Buonaparte. Part VI. describes the division of the house of Hapsburgh into its Spanish and German line till the final extinction of the latter in the house of Lorraine, extending from 1558 to 1730. Part VII. gives us the period between the marriage of Maria-Theresia, and the commencement of the French revolution, reaching down from 1736 to 1787. Part VIII. extends from the commencement of the French revolution, to the extinction of the German empire by Buonaparte, or from 1787 to 1806. To the body of the work is appended a valuable collection of confirmatory and illustrative notes; and the whole is enriched with a variety of curious genealogical tables: among the most interesting of which we may mention two that contain the line of the Guelphic house, or that of our own royal family, tracing them from a period as early as the middle of the fifth century of the christian æra, the first named ancestor being Ethico, a general of Attila's army, and father of Guelph from whom the family name has originated. Through the whole of this long term of time to the present day this house has produced many of the highest heroic and political characters that have appeared in the great family of the European republic, has  
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always been in possession of high princely or royal dignities in Germany or Italy, has on one or two occasions assumed the imperial diadem, and in the long and bloody contest between the empire and the Pope, gave the watch-word to the papal party, which was that of Guelphs, as the watch-word of the imperial party was that of Ghibelines, which last however is only the Italian mode of softening it from the proper term, Weiblingenites, from Weiblingen, the birthplace of Frederick duke of Suabia, father of the emperor Courad the third.

"Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the house of Bourbon, from the accession of Philip the fifth to the death of Charles the third. Drawn from original and unpublished documents. By William Coxe, M. A. F. R. S. &c." 3 vols. 4to. Mr. Coxe is an old navigator over the sea of history, and is hence well acquainted with courses and soundings, to which more untravelled writers are strangers. Upon most of his friends who furnished him with documents for his history of Austria, he has again drawn in aid of the voluminous work before us, and from the connexion that during one dynasty so closely subsisted between Spain and Austria, he has not drawn even from this quarter without success; while to the records thus furnished him, he has from other channels been able to add other manuscript authorities and papers of considerable weight. Yet he has exceeded the line and tenor of his general clue, in intimating to us in his title-page, that the three bulky volumes before us are drawn up *altogether* "from original and unpublished documents," since by far the most extensive part of his history is taken from the printed writ-

ings of previous labourers in the same vineyard, to which indeed he has pretty fully adverted in the general catalogue of his authorities. In reality he does not in his title-page use the word *altogether*, but by confining the description of his resources in that place to "original and unpublished documents," he necessarily imports and leads his readers to expect as much.—Upon a tolerably extensive study of the volumes before us, we have no hesitation in saying, that they do credit to the compiler's industry, and accuracy of arrangement: but we cannot compliment him so much as we could have wished on the plan he has pursued. It is deficient in the most essential features of history, individuality of style and manner. The manuscript authorities are quoted verbatim, whenever quoted at all, in the body of the work, instead of being placed in an appendix; while the spirit and marrow of their contents are alone given by the historian in his own terms, accompanied with his own remarks, and confined to such remarks. As it is, the work will have its use as a book of research for future historians, but it is not a history in itself. The memoirs are preceded by a valuable "historical introduction," containing a sketch of the political history of Spain, from the expulsion of the Saracens upon the union of Castile and Arragon, to the extinction of the Austrian line; or, in other words, from the close of the fifteenth century to the commencement of the eighteenth. The authorities are good, and much care has been exercised in collecting and condensing them.

"The Pedigree of King George the Third, lineally deduced from King Egbert, first sole monarch of  
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England.



England. Compiled by R. Wewitzer: illustrated with heads," 8vo. 5s. In Mr. Butler's History of the Revolutions of the German Empire, we have already observed that various historical documents and genealogical tables are introduced, which trace the reigning family of England, through the illustrious stem of the Guelphs, to a period as early as the middle of the fifth century, and consequently through a term of little less than a thousand years. The lineage, in the instance before us, is derived from an intermixed chain of males and females, for the most part of English birth, and shews by what means the Guelphic race became at length grafted on those of York, Lancaster, and the older dynasties of the English throne. The order traced up is as follows, and constitutes the contents of the volume: "King Egbert; King Ethelwulf; King Alfred; King Edward; King Edmund; King Edgar; King Ethelred; King Edmund; Prince Edward; Queen Margaret; Queen Matilda; Empress Maude; King Henry II; King John; King Henry III; King Edward I; King Edward II; King Edward III; Lionel, Duke of Clarence; Lady Philippa; Mortimer Earl of March; Lady Ann Mortimer; Richard Duke of York; King Edward IV; Queen Elizabeth; Queen Margaret; King James; Queen Mary; King James; Queen Elizabeth; Princess Sophia; King George I; King George II; Prince Frederick." The Princess Maude is well known to have been the eldest daughter of Henry II, and consequently sister of King John; she married Henry Duke of Bavaria, surnamed the Lion, and hence became possessed of the imperial purple: the pedigree from this union is as follows: William,

Duke of Bavaria; Otho, son of William, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg; Albert; Albert II; Magnus; Bernard; Frederick; Otho II; Henry; Ernestus; Ernestus; William; George; Ernestus; all in a direct line. Ernestus married Sophia, daughter of the Princess Elizabeth, and grand daughter of James I. of England; whose progeny was George, afterwards George I. of England. It is not meant in this brief account, as the author indeed acknowledges, to enter into historical or political investigations of any kind; but to recognize that "in this memorable age, when a great portion of the powers and dynasties on the continent of Europe have been revolutionized, *concussed*, or subverted, Great Britain, blessed by her insular situation, has, by her free constitution and government, with the bravery and loyalty of her subjects (*sons*), ever repelled her invaders, and been happy enough *ultimately* to preserve a lineal (though often interrupted) succession of royalty." The heraldry appears to be pretty correct; but it must be obvious, from the specimen now offered, that the style is often inaccurate.

"Voyages and Travels in various parts of the World, during the years 1803—1807. By G. M. Von Langsdorff, Aulic Counsellor to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia; Consul General at the Brazils, &c." 4to. There is a great deal of information in this volume, which in the extent of its scope covers a considerable range of the earth's surface. But to us, who do not profess to be acquainted with any thing more than the book itself communicates, it is very singularly introduced into the world. From a brief introduction we learn that the author is a German.

German by birth, studied medicine and surgery at Gottingen, graduated there in this double line in 1797, accompanied, in his 'chirurgical profession, Prince Christian of Waldeck to Lisbon, who went thither as general of the Portuguese army: formed many English connexions at Lisbon; had shortly afterwards a medical commission to England, as accompanying the English auxiliary troops on their return: entered into various literary connexions with natural philosophers and historians of different countries, and was elected a member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St Petersburg; which gave him an opportunity of requesting leave to accompany Capt. Von Krusenstern, who was appointed by the imperial court to superintend an expedition that was to circumnavigate a considerable portion of the globe, and in its course to convey an ambassador for the first time to the court of Japan. The voyage being completed, our German navigator writes its history in *English*, dates it from *St. Petersburg*, prints it in London, and dedicates it "to his Imperial Majesty Alexander the First." The work *may* be a translation, but it is ushered before us as an original production, or at least without the smallest notice of its being translated from the Russian, German, or any other language; and there are various passages and turns of expression which strongly indicate that the writer is not quite at home in the language he has made choice of; of which the following may perhaps serve as a sufficient example:—"There is no *creature* upon the earth, in *every* climate and in *every* zone, who bears such an enmity to *its* own species, as man," p. 139. A genuine English reader would

have written, "in *any* climate, or in *any* zone," instead of the passage as it stands at present; and would have made *that*, and not *who*, the relative to *creature* and *its*. And we have met with various other passages equally indicating an exotic hand.—The most interesting parts of the work are those which relate to the South Sea Islands, or rather that cluster of them which is now known by the name of Washington Islands. A stay of ten days at Nukahiva, and especially the curious and extraordinary fact of meeting with an English and a Frenchman, who had consented to barbarize themselves, by relinquishing their respective countries and friends for a residence among these savages, and who appear to have pretty fully accomplished the object of their intentions, gave Mr. Von Langsdorff an opportunity of gleanings a considerable portion of information concerning the language, customs, and manners of the different tribes that inhabit this singular island, the inhabitants of which appear to be chiefly remarkable for their dexterity in swimming, their costliness and pomp of tattooing, and their anthropophagism, or cannibal appetite. They seem to live with as much ease in the water as out of it; continue in it for pleasure six, eight, or ten hours at a time, have a peculiar mode of paddling or swimming with their feet alone, and in an erect position, so that they can carry any thing in their hands out of the water, and usually keep their head and shoulders equally above it; playing at the same time with one another in extensive groups, as though this were their proper element. The author's account of the mode of tattooing is curious. There appear to be infinitely more pains taken

taken to obtain a fine elegantly-figured dress of this kind, than we meet with to obtain any sort of dress in our own quarter of the world, even among our beaux of the first fashion and delicacy. The ornaments are inlaid with the greatest nicety, and for the most part well varied to meet the shape of the different limbs and muscles. A mere outline is first pricked into the skin by the wing-bone of the *phaeton æthereus*, a bird indigenous to the tropics, the edges of which are jagged and pointed like a comb. The punctures being made, so that the blood and lymph ooze through the orifices, a thick dye is rubbed in, composed of ashes from the kernel of the burning nut, *aleurites triloba*, mixt up with water. This occasions at first a slight degree of smarting and inflammation; the punctures then heal, and when the crust comes off, the bluish, or blackish blue, figure gradually makes its appearance. The artist is held in high credit, and is paid very handsomely in hogs, which seem to be the usual currency of the country, and which constitute almost the only animal food, except that of their own species. Concerning their addiction to this last kind of diet, the author is more full and particular than the occasion seems to call for; for he has entered into a sort of general history of anthropophagism in all ages and countries, and speaks of the different flavours afforded by young and old subjects, by male and female, and by different nations, with as much minuteness as though he himself had been a cannibal alderman. The great object, however, of this voyage seems completely to have failed; for the Japanese court, it seems, expressed no desire to open an intercourse with the Emper-

or of all the Russias: so that, after having experienced every kind of delay, mortification, and indignity, on the Japanese coast, and having been compelled to continue on board their ships for six months (for they were seldom allowed to land, except on a small strip of the shore scarcely longer or wider than their own vessels, and purposely palisadoed off) during the greater part of the time, at the extreme limit of the coast, promised month after month, and week after week, that some great man or other should visit the ambassador from the imperial court of Jeddo, the embassy was obliged to repack the costly presents it had taken out, and were politely invited to leave the country with all speed, and make the best of its way home. Two audiences appear to have been the whole to which the Russian ambassador and his suite were admitted; and even these were not audiences of the emperor, but of a *great man*, who was his representative, but whose name was not communicated to them, in conjunction with the governor of Ochatto. It was in the last audience that the proposed national intercourse was politely declined; and it was recommended that the ship should immediately leave the harbour.

"Travels in Sweden, during the autumn of 1812. By Thomas Thomson, M. D. F. R. S. L. and E. &c. Illustrated by maps and other plates. 4to. To this writer we are indebted for one of the clearest and most comprehensive histories of chemistry that the age is in possession of: and among other things we are also indebted to him for a most entertaining and well studied epitome of the Transactions of the Royal Society, published not long since in one volume quarto; in which he has brought

brought down almost every subject treated of to the date of the present day.—In the opening of the work before us, he ingenuously informs us of the cause and object of his excursion: “Having finished (says he) my history of the Royal Society, and being accidentally detained in Edinburgh without any specific employment, it occurred to me that I might occupy *the summer* with considerable profit to myself, and obtain a great deal of amusement, if I were to take advantage of the peace lately concluded between Great Britain and Sweden, and traverse part of that vast and interesting country. My objects were not only to observe the manners and dispositions of the people, and the progress which they had made in the arts and civilization; but likewise to take a mineralogical survey of the country, as far as could be done by hastily traversing it; to view as nearly as possible the state of chemistry in Sweden, and to make myself acquainted with the discoveries made in that science by the Swedes during the last ten years, with the greatest part of which I was unacquainted.”—What induced Dr. Thomson to shorten his intended residence in Sweden we are not informed; but instead of *occupying the summer* in these pleasant and valuable pursuits, he tells us in his preface that his “whole stay in the kingdom did not exceed six or seven weeks; and as during that time (continues he) I traversed an extent of more than twelve hundred miles, it is obvious that my journey must have been made with too much rapidity to enable me to lay in any great stock of accurate information.” Now in all this confession there is a simplicity that pleases us, though there is a truth that does not give us

quite so much pleasure. The greater part of the journey before us has been unquestionably made at home; but had the writer made it all at home, provided he had well made it, and not deceived us, as too many travellers of the present day have done, and whose trade consists in so doing, we should still have been obliged to him. The actual character of the present work is, as far as we are able to judge from a careful and steady perusal, that it contains much valuable matter, judiciously collected from preceding writers, and industriously compared with the various facts and inquiries which occurred to the writer, on which he had an opportunity of making, in the course of his tour: and so far possessing an authority superior to what they must have borne, had he chosen to have drawn up a similar account of the country, and put it forth as the work of his closet, without stirring from his native country. The volume, however, is enlivened with numerous anecdotes, occasional memoirs of persons of high character and reputation, more especially in the scientific and literary world, and with customs and manners of the country, which possess the merit, not only of elegant amusement, but of strict originality. The sixth and seventh chapters, upon the character of Gustavus IV. and the causes and results of the late revolution, we have no hesitation in saying, are drawn from primary sources, and at the moment of writing this article, contain matter of great interest and popular curiosity. We cannot quite so well approve of the discussion on the Swedish language, considering the author's acknowledged inacquaintance with it: nor of his swelling out the volume by four intermediate chapters,

chapters, containing an agricultural, geognostic, zoological, and philological account of Lapland, upon which it does not appear that he ever set his foot.

"Travels through Norway and Lapland during the years 1806, 1807, and 1808: by Leopold Von Buch, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin. Translated from the original German: by John Black. With notes and illustrations, chiefly mineralogical, and some account of the Author, by Robert Jameson, F.R.S.E. F.L.S. &c. Illustrated with Maps and Physical Sections," 4to. This volume contains a large collection of valuable matter, and of the higher importance, as it relates, in a very considerable degree, and especially in its former and more important part, to a country of which we have very little information of essential moment or established authority. The style, though not of that *picturesque* character, which is chiefly sought after in the present day, is lively and animated; the original traveller has described incidents as well as facts, customs and manners, as well as soil and surfaces, and delineated national features, as well as the features of the respective countries they inhabit, and the animals, vegetables, and minerals that are indigenous to them. And the translator appears, upon the whole, to have executed his task, not only with fidelity, but with simplicity and ease, though we must except a few turns of expression, in which he has not exactly hit upon the corresponding idioms of the two languages.

M. Von Buch has been known for many years to the literary world, as an industrious and correct mineralogist. He is a pupil of the Wernerian school, and steadily at-

tached to its doctrines; a fact which has specially recommended him to the notice of Professor Jameson, who has given a brief sketch of his life in the translator's preface, with a warmth and cordiality inspired by a similarity of pursuits and opinions. And we readily agree with Mr. Jameson, that "of all M. Von Buch's writings, the present work, his Travels in Norway and Lapland, is to be considered as the most generally interesting. It abounds in curious and important observations in regard to the climate of these remote regions; and he has shewn how the geographical and physical distributions of several of the most important vegetables that grow in the Scandinavian peninsula, are connected with situation and climate. He has, in this department, added several already known by the admirable researches of the enterprising Wahlenberg."

But there are other, and much more powerful reasons why the Travels of M. Von Buch should command an extensive perusal, at least among Englishmen. He describes a country which is likely to become a scene of severe contest, and which possesses a peculiar, and almost enthusiastic attachment to Great Britain. It is from the friendship of the latter, indeed, that Norway derives her chief advantages, as it would be from British enmity that she would experience her most afflictive sufferings. Our traveller tells us, that at Christiana every appearance which had, upon a late occasion, the least tendency to justify the English was anxiously laid hold of. Every measure of a hostile or unjustifiable nature, was imputed to the ministry, and every act of kindness to the nation at large. Possibly the inhabitants may be correct in this distinction

junction: but we believe that whatever adverse connection the English cabinet itself may have formed in regard to Norway, has been rather forced upon them by the peculiar and eventful diplomatic relations of the day than from any political desire to infringe upon the high spirit and independence of the Norwegians, and its honest attachment to the Danish crown. And we yet hope to see the government of our own country rather appear in the high and benevolent character of mediator, than in that of an auxiliary, in the harsh and tyrannical measure of breaking down a fealty which does honour to the human character, and of opposing the first principles of that mighty and magnanimous confederacy which is at length so effectually working the general deliverance of Europe. We thus hope moreover on another account; and that is, because we are thoroughly satisfied that so long as the Norwegians continue true to themselves, the conquest of Norway by Sweden, although assisted by the conjoint efforts of Great Britain and Russia, would be attended with almost if not with altogether insuperable difficulties. It is, undoubtedly, in the power of England to interrupt the very extensive Norwegian fisheries; and hence to deprive the country of some of its most essential supplies, and to drive many of its brave and hardy inhabitants to the use of bark-bread, and other miserable substitutes for adequate food: and we may thus add to their privations and sufferings, but we cannot conquer them: for such is the face of the country, so strongly marked, so mountainous, and precipitous, that by the pre-occupation of a few difficult passes, the destruction of an invading army is frequently almost inevitable. Bodies of regular troops

have been more than once destroyed in several of these mountain-straits, by bands of peasantry. And we have a curious account in the work before us of the destruction, by a few countrymen in Guldbrandsdalen, of Colonel Sinclair, and nine hundred Scotch, who were marching through the country to join the army of Gustavus Adolphus. Even so late as 1788, the Swedes were overthrown by the Norwegians at the pass of Quistrum, who would afterwards have taken the rich town of Gottenberg, but for the interference of the English Ambassador, whose voice has always been allowed, from the national attachment of the Norwegians to the English, to exercise a powerful control. "Are we then," inquires Mr Black, and we enter fully into his feelings, "to reward this unoffending people, the only nation in the world, perhaps, who are sincerely attached to us, by joining in a fruitless attempt to subject them to their hated neighbours?"

"Journal of a Residence in India: by Maria Graham. Illustrated by engravings," 4to. Mrs. Graham writes with considerable spirit, and much general information. She was absent from her own country for somewhat less than three years, having embarked early in 1809, and re-landed at Portsmouth in June, 1811, and had an opportunity of spending about a year and a half in the different presidencies of British India: her chief residence having been at Bombay. She has an enterprising activity, great quickness of comprehension, good classical taste, and an easy and elegant style. She suffers nothing to escape her attention that comes within her view; and seems to have left England with a fixed determination to have her eyes and her ears always open, and her pen

or her pencil always in her hand, whether at sea or land, to fulfil her promise made to a friend before her departure, that she "would make notes and journals of whatever appeared worthy of remark, either as curious in itself, or as differing from the customs, manners, and habits of Europe meaning to paint from the life and to adhere to the sober colouring of nature." This task, upon the whole, she has executed with great fidelity and credit to herself. Yet we must not conceal that many of her remarks are hazarded too rapidly and from too cursory and superficial an acquaintance with the subject, and that still more of them have been collected from other books, and added, as we suspect, since her return home, as a body to her own cursory outline. It is not necessary for us to enter very deeply into the first of these observations, since we have an admitted specimen in her description of the Cape of Good Hope: the author herself having subjoined to this description a long note from "a person of high credit who has been long resident at the Cape," and containing corrective strictures upon her general sketch. With respect to the last observation, we allude particularly to her delineations of the general character, history, ritual, and opinions of the different tribes she progressively mentions, whether Gentoos, Bhuddists, Jines, or Guebres: most of which have been taken from the Chevalier D'Ohsson, Sir William Ouseley, or the Asiatic Researches. On one occasion we confess ourselves to have been a little disappointed upon this subject. The fair author tells in p. 36, as follows; "a few days ago I was fortunate enough to make one of a party, assembled for the purpose of hearing from the Dustoor

Moola Firoze an account of the actual state of the Guebres or Parsees in India. The Dustoor is the chief priest of his sect in Bombay, and a man of great learning. He passed six years in Persia, or as he more *classically* calls it (*chorographically* would have been a better word) Iraun, two of which were spent at Yezd, the only place where the Mussulman government tolerates a Guebre college. His manners are distinguished, and his person and address pleasing. He is a tall handsome man, of the middle age, with a lively and intelligent countenance. His dress is a long, white muslin jamma, with a cumberbund or sash of beautiful shawl: another shawl was rolled round his high black cap, and a band of crimson velvet appeared between it and his brow." Now we confess we felt deeply interested in the lecture which the Dustoor's fair pupil was about to derive from his *great learning* and personal knowledge upon the subject to be discussed. But instead of being put into possession of the opinions of Moola Firoze, we are immediately referred to the opinions of our old friends M. Anquetil du Perron (here, however, called M. *Anquetil* alone), the Chevalier D'Ohsson, to whose authority we must venture in various points to demur, and Sir William Ouseley's Epitome: and hear no more of the Dustoor, his great learning, his pleasing address, muslin jamma, and beautiful shawl, than if he had never been introduced to us: who appears indeed to slip away from us, like an Indian juggler, without our perceiving either when he goes off, or by what entrance he escapes. The work is nevertheless highly entertaining upon the whole, and we are by no means surprised

surprised at seeing it has reached a second edition.

"Letters from the Mediterranean: containing a civil and political account of Sicily, Tripoly, Tunis, and Malta; with biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, and Observations; illustrative of the present state of those Countries, and their respective situation with respect to the British Empire. By E. Blaquiere, Esq." 2 vols. 8vo. This work, like the preceding, is founded partly upon local observation, but far more largely on the observations of preceding writers: and, like the preceding, it gives us not a single glance into the private history of the author or the object of his journey. Mrs. Graham, indeed, is kind enough to inform us, in a note to her second edition, that shortly after her residence at Bombay, though she arrived there in a state of singleness, she acquired the honour of a married woman, at the same time warning us against a belief that this was the *object* of her voyage, though, as we have already stated, she mentions no other. Mr. Blaquiere, however, does not confide to us even so much information as this. He speaks, in one place, (*p. xvi. Introd.*) of his inexperience of any more regular composition than that of letters, and offers this as an apology for assuming such a form on the present occasion, "particularly as the greatest part was written at those places from whence the letters are dated." That the author has actually visited some or all the places he describes, we have no doubt, and that some part of his present remarks was occasionally communicated to his friends under an epistolary form, is highly probable; but as to his dates he might almost as well have said

nothing upon the subject, and even have dispensed with them altogether; for what are we to learn from letters commencing with "my dear friend, Sicily, 1812," which is the introduction of Letter I.; or, "Sicily, 1811," which is that of Letter III. as though, like a snail, his mode of travelling had been backward. In Letter XVII. however, he once more advances to 1812, and even ventures to put the month of *March* to the date of the year, though still carefully concealing the particular day or period of the month in which he addressed his friend. With this letter his first volume closes: and in his second he steps back again to the year 1811, and continues this use of the *old style* till towards the close of the volume, when he dates from "Malta, 1812." The author may plead his *inexperience* as an apology as long as he pleases, but to us this generality of date has all the appearance in the world of an *experienced* and *artful* scheme for evading all possibility of detecting whether he were or were not at the places specified during the times so loosely referred to. He gives us also as little information as to the route of his tour or succession of his residences, and the authority of his connections, as he does of his times and seasons: though we should not omit to notice that he observes, in one place, with somewhat more of confidence than so much inexperience can well justify, "I should have most readily published their names, and acknowledged the obligations I am under to many persons in Sicily, and other places, who were so good as to contribute largely to my inquiries; but considering their respective situations, and the governments they live under, *bringing them thus into notice*, would, I am certain,



tain, have been highly imprudent : they will therefore, I hope, be satisfied with this expression of my warmest thanks, and an assurance that I have endeavoured to profit by their communications for the public good."

Of these two volumes the first, which is by far the thickest, refers exclusively to Sicily, its chorography, population, customs, manners, and political relations: expressing it pretty warmly to be his opinion that England, though she has done much, and far more than was her due, in favour of the reigning family, has done nothing in favour of the people; and that instead of giving to the island a mere show of the British constitution, without any actual code or courts of law, by which its principles can be carried into effect, (for it seems that neither of these are yet established, though the new constitution has been voted in the lump,) it would have been far wiser and intrinsically more generous, to have incorporated the island into the general range of the British territories, and thus have quashed all controversies about its future fate for ever: and he brings arguments from Grotius and Puffendorf to prove that, in consequence of the treaty between the two countries having been so often violated by his Sicilian Majesty, we should have been justified in such a conduct upon the law of nations. Mr. Blaquiere, however, does not appear to us to be a very learned casuist upon the various points which he represents himself to have studied: thus in drawing a comparison between Mahomedanism and Christianity, he observes that "the moral precepts of the former, adopted, indeed, in a great measure from Christian revelation, would not dis-

grace the most enlightened philosopher of ancient or modern times. *God is great and Mahomet only his prophet* are emphatical words, and convey a sublime notion of the Divinity. On the other hand, with all due deference for the Christian system, with what shadow of reason can we harshly condemn a religion which asserts the unity of God, abolishes the use of images, and makes, charity, fasting, and prayer the only means of expiating crimes?" This passage is just sufficient to prove that Mr. Blaquiere is just about as grossly ignorant of the general nature and principles of the one religion as of the other. 'In justification, however, as we suppose, of his ascription of *morality* to the Eslam scriptures, he proceeds in the next page to tell his friend, "you are of course *aware* that the women are not; by the tenets of Mahomet, supposed to possess souls, and consequently excluded from his promised immortality;" though if his friend *had been aware* of this, it ought to have been his duty, as a *resident* in a Mahomedan country, instead of giving additional currency to such a belief, to have told him that this, at least, is a vulgar prejudice, and that Mahommed is, in no part of the Alcoran, or elsewhere, chargeable with such a want of gallantry. The passage, however, as it runs, though evidently intended to support the common error, if grammatically construed, should signify, that women instead of being excluded, are *not* excluded from immortality. And we make the remark because the same loose and irregular phraseology has frequently struck us as we have proceeded. We have said that the first volume contains the chief part of the work: the second comprises a description of

of, what we can scarcely call a tour through Tripoly, Tunis, Malta, and the adjoining islands. The author has read and availed himself of the aid of some ancient, and many of the best modern writers, especially that of Mr. Leckie, and the Abaté Balsamo: and as a general history it may be consulted with advantage, notwithstanding its doubtful origin and occasional errors.

"Oriental Memoirs selected, and abridged from a series of origin Letters, written during seventeen years residence in India: including observations on parts of Africa and South America; and a narrative of occurrences in four India voyages. Illustrated by engravings from original drawings; by James Forbes, F.R.S."

4to. 4 vols. 16l. 16s. This is a voluminous work, and contains a large portion of very miscellaneous matter, financial, political, philosophical, philological, zoological, literary, and critical; put together, like the equally voluminous work of Dr. Francis Buchanan, with little attention to order; and we are afraid, in several instances, with less exact information, and too ready a credulity. The work is superbly printed, and enriched with a variety of very excellent engravings. The author's description of the scenery of the different provinces and countries he visited, and of the customs and manners of the various tribes belonging to them is animated and pleasing; yet in many instances of the marvellous we cannot avoid thinking that he has good-naturedly suffered himself to be imposed on; and we are sure that he has too eagerly, in various cases, adopted the questionable anecdotes of occasional companions, and the exploded tales of ancient historians. We particularly

allude to his belief in the existence of mermen and mermaids; modern sorcery and magic; fascination on human beings; and the knowledge and practice of vaccination at Benares for a very long period, perhaps immemorially, before its discovery and establishment in our own country; of all which he gives us some very curious accounts, for the most part, however, drawn up rather from the reports of others than from his own actual knowledge. We turn to a pleasanter subject: the author chiefly excels in describing picturesque scenery and incidents that make a direct appeal to taste and feeling. The following is his account of an entertainment given by the Nabob of Cambay; and, as we received a copy of these volumes too late for an introduction, of any extract from them into the department of our Literary Selection, we shall copy it at some length. "After a recreation in the garden, the Nabob accompanied us to the roof of the pavilion, where music and dancing girls awaited us. Fire-works on the canal illuminated its fragrant borders, and exhibited a curious scene of alternate fountains, playing fire and water, falling among shrubs and flowers. The supper, similar to that of the Visier's, consisted of various rich dishes; the different sherbets were improved by spices and rose-water. The Nabob was affable and polite, helped us himself from the best dishes, and kept up a sprightly conversation. On our taking leave, he sprinkled us with ottar of roses; and, agreeably to the custom of Asiatic princes, presented to each betels, shawls, and kincobs. It is not easy to give a literal translation of the dancing-girls' songs; but, as they were superior to any I had heard before, I attempted an imitation

tion from the communication of a friend, who understood the language, and had been accustomed to these entertainments: were I favoured by the muse of Hafiz I would not introduce them in humble prose.

**A SONG OF ROSHAN OR ROXANA, a female appellation signifying splendour.**

"When, O my beloved, wilt thou return? delight of my heart, and treasure of my soul, O! when wilt thou appear to bless thy Roxana? In vain do I wait thy approach; thou comest not to thy love; mine eye-lids are weary in watching thy footsteps. The sofa of my beloved is decked with garlands of mogrees, overshadowed by a canopy of jasmine. I have strewed it with the sweet dust of Kenrah, and perfumed it with otto of roses. I am scented with the oils of Lahore, and tinged with the blossoms of hinna; haste, then, my beloved, to thine handmaid, gladden her heart by thy presence!"

**A SONG OF SELIMA.**

"Abdallah! lamp of my life, and possessor of my heart, my first, my only love! In vain do I call upon thee—thou art afar off; thou hearest not the voice of thy Selima, once the most favoured of thy slaves. Abdallah! my king, my love! thou hast decked me with diamonds of Golconda, and covered me with pearls of Ormuz: what are diamonds and pearls to her that is forsaken? the jewel most prized by thy Selima is no longer her own:—give me thy heart, my beloved, restore it to its first possessor!"

"The shawls of Cashmere, and the silks of Iran, presented by my lord, have no longer any charms for Selima; the palace, thy baths, thy

gardens delight me no more; take them again, what are they all, compared with the heart of my Abdallah? O give me thy heart, my beloved, restore it to its first possessor!"

"The gardens and groves, once the fond retreat of thy Selima, afford me no pleasure; the mango and pomegranate tempt me in vain! the fragrance of champaks, and odour of spices I no longer enjoy; my damsels delight me no more, and music ceases to charm. Return, O my lord, to thine handmaid, restore her thy heart, and every pleasure will accompany it. O, give thy heart to thy Selima, restore it to its first possessor!"

"The Persians and Moguls whom we met at these parties, seemed fond of poetry, and one of them was favoured by a plaintive muse. The orientals allow the Europeans to excel in history, philosophy, and ethics; but suppose we have very little taste for poetry, especially odes, in the style of Sappho, Anacreon, and Hafiz, of whom they are extremely fond. On a person of rank making this remark to Sir Charles Malet, who accompanied us on this visit, he assured him to the contrary. Being master of the Persian language he made the following stanzas extempore, and immediately translated them into Persian poetry, to the admiration of our oriental friends. They were addressed to the *myrtle*, a tree equally esteemed by Europeans and Asiatics.

Fav'rite tree of beauty's queen,  
Ever fragrant, ever green,  
With thy foliage form a grove,  
Sacred to the maid I love.

Then encircled in her arms,  
Free from all but love's alarms,  
Let me revel, toy, and play,  
And fondly love my life away.

Fruit,

"Fruit, (*fruits*) flowers, spices, and perfumes introduced at these entertainments *exercised the talents* of the Mogul and Persian youth. We had several pleasant specimens of their genius during the evening in little odes, distichs, and other effusions of poetry. The splendour of the morn, the fragrance from the garden, the elegance of the dancers, and the beauty of their songs, afforded the subject. I have preserved several which were written at the moment by a young Shah-zadab, who committed them to paper as they were composed, in a most elegant style of penmanship; which, on fine Indian paper flowered in silver and spotted with gold, contrasted with the strong Persian letters, produces a beautiful effect.

"Distichs and poetical effusions are sometimes written upon the leaves of plants and flowers; this was not practised on the present occasion. D'Herbelot mentions it, but leaves us at a loss to guess what kind of myrtle afforded a leaf sufficiently large; in his curious anecdote of Kessai and Al Mamou, the son of the famous Khalif Haroun al Rascheed, a conspicuous character in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. "Kessai one day presented himself at the door of the apartment of Al Mamou to read one of his lectures; the prince, who was then at table with his companions, wrote him a distich upon a *leaf of myrtle*, the sense of which was, 'there is a time for study and a time for diversion; this is an hour I have destined for the enjoyment of friends, wine, roses, and myrtle!' Kessai having read this distich, answered it upon the back of the same myrtle leaf in four lines, the meaning of them as follows: 'If you had understood the

excellence of knowledge, you would have preferred the pleasure that gives wisdom to what you at present enjoy in company; and if you knew who it is that is at your door, you would immediately rise and come and prostrate yourself on the ground, praising and thanking God for the favour he had bestowed upon you.' Al Mamou had no sooner heard these verses than he quitted his company and came to his preceptor.

"How happily does this anecdote illustrate that passage in the *wisdom of Solomon*, where the folly of inconsiderate youth is thus represented: 'Come on, therefore, let us enjoy the good things that are present; let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments; and let no flower of the spring pass by us; let us crown ourselves with rosebuds before they are withered.'

"Similar sentiments prevail in most oriental writings, ancient and modern; the Greek poets were equally fond of them. I shall not introduce the productions of this evening, composed from present objects, not so generally interesting as the following lines, which I have selected from two celebrated Persian poets, as a more complete specimen of the elegant recreation I allude to.

*Stanzas of a Sonnet by Zadi.\**

Strike, strike the lyre, let music tell  
The blessings spring shall scatter round;  
Fragrance shall float on every gale,  
And opening flowrets paint the ground.

O! I have passed whole nights in sighs  
Condemn'd the absent fair to mourn;  
But she appears—and sorrow flies,  
And pleasure smiles on her return.

We are far better pleased, however, with the following, which is upon a more serious, as well as a sublimer subject: in order to understand the last distich, it is neces-

sary

\* We cannot approve of this orthography. It should be, as indeed it is commonly written, *Sadi*. The original is *سعدی*. EDIT.

sary to know that there is a common belief among the Asiatics that the pearls found in the pearl-muscle and other shell-fishes, are produced from drops of rain which they imbibe. It bears a striking analogy to a well-known passage in the book of Job, and a passage, probably borrowed from it, in that of Proverbs: we mean, ch. viii. 22-35.

"Who made manifest the vital and intellectual powers?"

Who confirmed the foundation of understanding?

Who, into the form of the human frame, breathed his animating spirit?

Who bestowed reason and inspired the soul?

Who painted with lively colours the cheek of the tulip;

And made, of the dew-drop, an ornament for the rose bud?

Who crowned the summit of the heavens with a diadem of constellations;

And tinged the hard bosom of the ruby with a vivid glow?

Who enkindled the fire of the moon as a nocturnal lamp;

And perfumed the flower-garden with the fragrance of burning incense?

Who spread out the earth, on the face of the water;

And formed precious pearls from the tears of the clouds?"

"Travels in the Morea, Albania, and other parts of the Ottoman Empire; comprehending a general description of those countries; their productions; the manners, customs, and commerce of the inhabitants; a comparison between the ancient and present state of Greece; and an historical and geographical description of the ancient Epirus. By P. C. Pouqueville, M. D. Member of the Commission of Arts and Sciences, &c. Translated from the French by Ann Plumtree. Illustrated with engravings." 4to. 2l. 2s. There is an activity belonging to the character of Frenchmen which nothing can subdue; we have often seen their

restlessness, and not unfrequently their ingenuity in the prisons of our own country, and the work before us affords another specimen of the same kind. Dr. Pouqueville was one of the *litterates* who accompanied Buonaparte on his well-known Egyptian expedition. Ill health soon obtained leave for his return home; in the course of his voyage, however, he was captured by a Tripoline Corsair, and detained for three years in a state of imprisonment. The work before us is the result of his leisure hours, during this tedious captivity. It dwells with an unnecessary detail upon Constantinople, its seven towers, and other public buildings, and appears, without sufficient reason, to reprobate the established account of the Seraglio as given by Lady Mary Wortley Montague. The most interesting part of the work is that which relates to the present literature of modern Greece. Buonaparte, who is well known to have had his eye directed to the future conquest of the Archipelago, has taken considerable pains to render it acquainted with French customs, learning, and philosophy, and has hence given a public education to a variety of young Greeks, whom he has for this purpose seduced to Paris. At present, however, according to the account before us, literature is at a very low ebb in this quarter of the world; and if it ever rise, as we trust it will, and that speedily, we now hope it will be rather under the laurels of England than of the Corsican dynasty. The work is written in an animated style; and the translator has faithfully and ably discharged her duty.

"An *original* Journal from London to St. Petersburg, by way of Sweden; and proceeding from thence to Moscow, Riga, Milan, and Berlin;

lin; with a description of the post-towns, and *every thing* interesting in the Russian and Prussian capitals, &c. to which are added the names, distances, and price of each post, and a vocabulary of the most useful terms, in English and Russian. By George Green, Esq. many years resident in Russia." 12mo. 7s. 6d. Without staying to comment on the style of the title, or of the work itself, for which, in truth, we have no room, we have great pleasure in remarking that this little volume may be found of essential service as a *vade-mecum*. Mr. Green appears to have written from a personal knowledge of the countries and manners he describes, particularly of Russia; and though we dare not say with him that he gives an account of *every thing interesting* in the states in question, we can fairly say that he narrates much in a little space.

"A Narrative of the Campaigns of the Loyal Lusitanian Legion under brigadier-general Sir Robert Wilson, aid-de-camp to his majesty, &c. With some account of the military operations in Spain and Portugal during the years 1809, 1810, 1811." 8vo. The gallant legion here referred to, though from circumstances not worth adverting to, no longer in existence as a distinct corps, acquired great reputation on the peninsula shortly before the appointment of the Marquis of Wellington: and, when all Spain was over-run by the French under Buonaparte himself, and the English army under Sir John Moore obliged to embark at Corrunna, was the chief prop of the Portuguese cause, and by its bravery and skilful disposition, under the orders of its distinguished leader, gave such a turn to the hostile attack upon Portugal, as to induce the  
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commander in chief, Sir John Cradock, to hesitate in re-embarking his troops at Lisbon; and laid a foundation for the successful resistance and brilliant exploits of the noble commander by whom he was succeeded. The account before us reaches from the period we have thus adverted to, to the celebrated battle of Albuera. It is written with perspicuity and spirit; and with a feeling for the good of the service, which does honour to the author, who avows himself to be Lieutenant-Colonel Mayne, as a soldier and as a man.

"Shipwrecks and Disasters at Sea: or historical narratives of the most noted calamities, and providential deliverances which have resulted from maritime enterprise; with a sketch of various expedients for preserving the lives of mariners." 3 vols. 8vo. This is an interesting and valuable work. It comprises a long catalogue of human misery and misfortune arranged chronologically, and for the most part drawn up in the words of the original historians. Vol. I. commences with the shipwreck of Pietro Quinni near the coast of Norway in 1431; and terminates with the preservation of nine men in a small boat, surrounded by islands of ice, on a voyage to Newfoundland in 1706. The second volume opens with the loss of the Nottingham galley on a rock called Boon Island in 1710; and closes with the wreck of the Brigantine St. Lawrence on the island of Cape Breton in 1780. Vol. III. begins with the loss of the Grosvenor East Indiaman on the coast of Caffraria in 1782, and closes its narrative with that of the Nautilus sloop of war on a rock in the Archipelago in 1807. This volume terminates with a brief sketch of some of the expedients which  
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have been recommended or adopted for the preservation of mariners. Among which are particularly noticed the Chinese frame, the cork-jacket; the marine collar, belt, and spencer; the canvas girdle; the seaman's friend; inflated skins and bladders; the air-jacket; metal tubes; and mattresses filled with cork-shavings. Next follow some peculiar methods of constructing vessels so as either to render them capable of resisting the effects of a stormy sea, or adapted to bring the crew of a stranded vessel to a level shore. To this succeed various descriptions of life boats, as those of Bernieres, Lukin, Greathead, Clarges, Gotberry, Bremner, and others. The author then proceeds to enumerate various expedients for forming a communication between a vessel in danger and the neighbouring shore; such as conveying a rope from the shore to the ship, or *vice versa* by means of a balloon, a cask, or a kind of umbrella fixed on a large buoy; or by discharging a bullet, an arrow, or a sky-rocket with the rope attached to it. Among other useful expedients to diminish the dangers of the sea the author particularly mentions the effects of oil, when diffused even in small quantities, in calming the most outrageous storms; upon this point we suspect him to be somewhat too credulous, nor could even the attempt take place but in a pretty good anchorage, or when the wind though violent is steady, and the vessel sails right before it.

The two chief political objects of a *foreign* nature that have engaged the attention of the public are the grand military drama which is now performing with so much success, and, as we trust, with so near an approximation to its catastrophe, in the heart of France; and the minor

warfare with the Americans. The career of the first has so completely outstripped the pen, not merely of the grave historian, but of the lighter memoirist, that we have nothing but detached accounts of battles or sieges that have yet been offered to the public, and we must probably wait for the close of the whole before we obtain a finished picture of its separate parts. A similar remark may be made with respect to the dispute with America; for since the repeal of the orders in council we have not seen a single pamphlet issuing from our own press of an anti-ministerial character, excepting so far as relates to the war not having been conducted on our part on a scale sufficiently large to have inflicted summary justice on the only state in the civilized world that has at this time of day the hardihood to avow itself an ally of the downcast ruler of the French, and a supporter of his tyranny and crooked politics.

Perhaps the chief political object of a *domestic* nature has been the question relative to the expediency of renewing the charter of the East India Company, and the restrictions under which it should be allowed. We rejoice that this important question is now settled, and, as we trust, most amicably to the parties interested, and beneficially as to the nation at large. We shall only observe further, therefore, that the chief pamphlets to which it has given rise, during the period before us, are Mr. Malthus's "Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Greaville," in opposition to various observations that fell from his lordship during its discussion in parliament; Mr. Grant's "Expediency maintained of continuing the system by which the trade and government of India are now regulated;" and a "Short Convention  
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on the present crisis of the important trade with the East Indies," written on the same side of the question.

"Observations on the Military Systems of the British Empire, &c. by John Phillipart, Esq. &c." 8vo. The great effective military strength of the country, in the opinion of the writer before us, is to be derived in the first instance from the different volunteer, and militia corps, especially the latter; the regular army, under the present state of things, being chiefly supplied from these. It is his aim therefore to point out, as a principal object of attention, a variety of circumstances, which may tend to make these services, and especially that of the local militia, more popular and attractive. Many of his remarks are entitled to attention: he has justly dwelt upon the inconveniences to all the branches of the service which result from changes of ministry, and the consequent introduction of new systems and regulations: he also strenuously contends for the expediency of introducing, as far as possible, one uniform modification of plan. "The superior advantages, he observes, which one description of troops may command over another, is a matter of debate, of discontent, and cannot fail to produce a want of unanimity when quartered together. At present we have them raised for the following services, militia, local militia, garrison battalions, guards, dragoons, regulars, fencibles, &c. &c. and men entitled volunteers. In some, engagements are made for limited service, others unlimited, others not disposable, and others totally unserviceable. Until the whole are converted into a regular and consistent establishment, the military system of Great Britain cannot be

otherwise than imperfect." This however is pushing the plan of uniformity to a useless and perhaps impossible extent.

"A Plan for the Improvement of the British Army; containing hints to all military and naval officers; and suggestions to *Bible* and *other* Institutions; also a scheme for increasing the funds of the British and Foreign Bible Society, By a military man of nearly eighteen years standing." The author thinks if he can make the army better men he will be sure to make them better soldiers; he proposes therefore to improve the army by a stricter *evangelical* rather than *military* discipline; and having thus improved the armed force of the nation, he proposes *vice versa*, to increase the funds of the Bible Society by inducing in this manner every soldier to be a supporter of it and a contributor to its income.

"An Enquiry into the various Systems of Political Economy, their advantages and disadvantages; and the theory most favourable to the increase of National Wealth. By Charles Ganilh, advocate, translated from the French, by D. Boileau." 8vo. 12s. 6d. This is a useful work, and shews that the writer has abundantly studied the subject on which he has written, and formed opinions on an extensive survey, though we cannot always accede to his sentiments. It consists of six books; and the theories chiefly examined are those of our own countrymen, Adam Smith, Lord Lauderdale, and Mr. Henry Thornton. He thinks manufactures and commerce more productive sources of national wealth than agriculture. He opposes the fixing a rate of interest by law; defends public loans against Dr. Smith, and a sinking fund against Lord Lauderdale;



Lauderdale; and prefers public loans, even when they abstract capital from productive labour, and serve towards an unproductive consumption, to excessive taxes, which impair every capital, and exhaust the powers of labour. He condemns, in strong terms, the monopoly of colonial trade, as hostile to the general interest of both public and private wealth.

The chief works, besides the above, which have occurred to us on the subject of political economy are, "An Enquiry concerning the Rise and Progress, the Redemption and present State, and the Management of the national Debt of Great Britain. By Robert Hamilton, L.L.D. Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen." 8vo. p. 212. "Temporary Taxation, productive of future advantage. Containing, with other particulars, remarks on the conduct of republican parties; a review of the lawless usurpations of the ruler of France; on the North American war; the Catholic Question, &c." 8vo. price 4s. 6d. "The impending Ruin of the British Empire; its cause and remedy considered. By Hector Campbell." 8vo. This *impending ruin* is supposed to result from the increase of our parochial poor; the axiom laid down and combated through the whole of Mr. Campbell's book is, that pauperism has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished: and the means by which all the evils attendant upon this augmentation of public poverty, are to be subverted, are *the making corn, instead of money, the standard of value of land and labour; and the providing agricultural employment for all those to whom trade, mechanism, commerce, or war, can*

*no longer furnish the means of subsistence."*

The author of the second of these three publications somewhat loses himself in the extent of his complicated subject; but he writes with great loyalty, and proves himself a staunch abominator of Buonaparte, the Americans, and the Irish Catholics. Dr. Hamilton's *Inquiry*, had we now space for the purpose, would much more largely engage our attention. The work is divided into three parts, and the following are the topics treated upon. Part I. General principle of finance. Part II. History of the public debt of Great Britain. Part III. Examination of the plans for the redemption of the national debt, and other financial operations. The professor is a violent enemy to the system of a sinking fund; chiefly, so far as we are able to perceive, not from the expense attending the managingsuch a system, which he admits to be sufficiently moderate, but from the extra loans to which it gives facility, each of which is accompanied with a premium at a bonus of such an extent as to render it, in his opinion, a most expensive mode of raising money. He is, in truth, no great friend to any scheme of acquiring money by compound interest that is to be called into action at some very distant period: believing them to be constantly visionary in their result, though highly productive in a speculative point of view; and upon this subject he brings before us the following curious calculations and historic facts. "Paradoxical effects are ascribed to the increase of money by compound interest. One penny put out at the Christian era at five per cent compound interest, would, before this time, have increased to a greater sum than could be contained in five hundred

*hundred millions of earths*, all of solid gold. Mr. Ricard appointed by his will that the sum of 500 livres should be divided into five portions. The first at the end of a hundred years, amounting to 13,100 livres, to be laid out in prizes for dissertations proving the lawfulness of putting out money to interest. The second, at the end of two centuries, amounting to 1,700,000 livres, to be employed in establishing a perpetual fund for prizes in literature and arts, and for virtuous actions. The third, at the end of three centuries, amounting to more than 226 millions of livres, to be employed for establishing patriotic banks, and founding museums with ample establishments. The fourth, at the end of four centuries, amounting to thirty thousand millions, to be employed in building a hundred towns in France, containing each 150,000 inhabitants. The fifth, at the end of five centuries, amounting to four millions of millions of livres, to be appropriated for the payment of the national debt of Britain and France—for producing an annual revenue to be divided among all the powers of Europe—for buying up useless offices, purchasing a royal domain, increasing the income of the clergy, and abolishing fees for masses—for maintaining all children born in France, till they be three years of age—for improving waste lands, and bestowing them on married peasants—for purchasing manors, and exempting the vassals from all servitude—for founding houses of education, workhouses, houses of health, and asylums for females—for portioning young women—for conferring honorary rewards on merit; besides a large surplus to be appropriated at the discretion of *his executors*." Dr. Franklin planned a simi-

lar will. It is theoretically true that compound interest may accomplish all these things; but such extravagances rather tend to throw ridicule on the subject than increase our confidence in its operations.

On the political constitution of Great Britain we meet with two publications that are especially entitled to our attention. The first is "*Historical Reflections on the Constitution and representative System of England, with reference to the popular propositions for a reform of parliament.*" By James Jepp, Esq." 8vo. 10s. 6d. The object of which is to disprove the reiterated assertion of Sir Francis Burdett and his friends, that the representation of the people has for the last century or more been gradually losing its independence, and resigning its power into the hands either of the crown or of the members of the upper house; by an historical examination of the rise and progress, and the ancient and present powers of the house of commons. We approve of most of the writer's opinions, but cannot follow him into his assent that peers should be allowed to interfere in popular elections; or his view of the perfect harmlessness of close boroughs. This last, however, we acknowledge to be a delicate point; and, with Junius, the great assertor of public liberty, we feel afraid to disturb the present system, lest while we do a little good we should be the cause of much more evil. The second book we refer to on this subject is entitled "*Rudiments of the Laws of England*"; designed as a preparatory study for persons entering the profession, as a compendium to strengthen the memory of those who have studied the law, and to convey a general idea of jurisprudence to all classes of people. By Mr.

Mr. F. M. Van Heythuysen, Member of the honourable society of Lincoln's Inn." 8vo. 9s. This book is admirably calculated to fulfil the object to which it pretends. It is chiefly drawn up from Sir Matthew Hale and Sir William Blackstone; and has a considerable resemblance to the well known *analysis* of the latter; but purposely made richer in distinct references and other explanatory matters.

On particular branches of English law we may notice with approbation the following: "A Treatise on the Law of Actions on Penal Statutes in general, and on the several statutes

of Winton, 21 Hen. VIII. c. 13;—2 and 3 Ed. VI. c. 13;—and 5 Eliz. c. 4. By Isaac Espinasse, of Gray's Inn, Esq. barrister at law." "A Treatise on the Offence of Libel, with a disquisition on the rights, benefits, and proper boundaries of political discussion. By John George, of the Middle Temple, special pleader." "Littleton's Tenures in English. Printed from the second edition of the Commentary of Sir Edward Coke." "Inquiry into the Nature of the Trading as a Scrivener. By George Rose, Esq. of the Inner Temple, barrister at law."

## CHAPTER IV.

## LITERATURE AND POLITE LETTERS.

*Containing Transactions of Literary Societies, Piography, Classics, Criticism, Philology, Grammar, Poetry, Drama, Novels, Tales, and Romances.*

WE shall, as usual, commence this chapter with a brief notice of the Transactions of the Royal Society, of which, however, at the present period of writing, we have only received the first part. This consists of seventeen articles as follows:—I. "On a new detonating compound, in a letter from Sir Humphry Davy, LL. D. F. R. S. to the Rt. Hon Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. K. B. P. R. S." This compound appears to have been first discovered at Paris, where it seems also to have been kept a secret in regard to its constituent principles, or rather their modification: all that Sir Humphry was capable of learning upon the subject being that it is a mixture of azote and chlorine, that in its appearance it resembles an oil somewhat heavier than water, and that it detonates with all the force of fulminating metals by the mere heat of the hand; insomuch that the author of the discovery has been hereby deprived of an eye and a finger. Sir Humphry, assisted by Mr. Children, tried a variety of preparations of azote in conjunction with chlorine: and, at length, succeeded in ascertaining that the best modification of azote or nitrogen for this purpose is the nitrate of ammonia in a state of saturated solution: but that a solution of oxalate of ammonia, or a very weak solution of pure ammonia, answers the pur-

pose as well. In the course of one experiment, so violent was the explosion that Sir Humphry had nearly paid as dearly as the original discoverer himself; the tube and glass being broken into small fragments, and a severe wound, which for a time deprived him of sight, being hereby produced in the transparent cornea of the eye." II. On a remarkable application of Cotes's Theorem. By J. F. W. Herschel, Esq. Communicated by Wm. Herschel, LL. D. F. R. S." III. "Observation of the Summer Solstice 1812 at the Royal Observatory. By John Pond, Esq. Astronomer royal." XVII. "The same of the Winter Solstice, by the same." VIII. "A Catalogue of North Polar Distances of some of the principal fixed stars, by the same." IV. "Observations relative to the near and distant sight of different persons. By James Ware, Esq. F. R. S." Near-sightedness is, in Mr. Ware's opinion, gradual in its progress, with a few exceptions: and the use of glasses to relieve the defect constantly increases it, so that deeper and still deeper concave glasses are perpetually needed and sought after by those affected with this infirmity; that the disease is more common to the higher than the lower classes; and that instances are not wanting in which deep convex glasses have been thrown aside at a late period

period of life, and the eye has recovered its proper power. XIV. "An appendix to Mr. Ware's paper on Vision. By Sir Charles Blagden, F. R. S. in confirmation of the remarks it contains." V. "The Bakerian Lecture on the elementary principles of certain crystals. By W. H. Wollaston, M.D. Sec. R. S." These principles are supposed to be spheres or spheroids. VI. "On a substance from the Elm-tree called Ulmin. By James Smithson, Esq. F. R. S." VII. "On a method of freezing at a distance. By W. H. Wollaston, M. D. Sec. R. S." XV. "Method of drawing extremely fine wire." By the same. XVI. "Description of a single lens micrometer." By the same. IX. "Description of the solvent glands and gizzards of the ardea argala, and other birds. By Sir Everard Home, bart. F. R. S." XII. "Experiment to ascertain the coagulating power of the secretion of the gastric glands." XVIII. "On the tusks of the Narwhal. Both by the same." X. "Additional remarks on alcohol. By W. T. Brande, Esq. F. R. S." XI. "On a new variety in the breeds of sheep. By Colonel David Humphreys." XIII. "On some properties of sight. By David Brewster, LL.D. F. R. S."

"Transactions of the Linnean Society of London, Vol. XI. Part. I. The attention of the members seems rather to have been directed to zoology than to either of the other branches which its constitution embraces; the branch of botany being noticed upon a smaller scale; and that of mineralogy comprising only a single article. The subjects are as follows: 1. Description of several new or rare animals, principally marine, discovered on the south coast of Devonshire. By George

Montague, Esq. F. L. S. 2. Observations upon the supposed effects of ivy upon trees, in a letter to the President. By Humphrey Repton, Esq. 3. Essay on the British species of the genus *melœ*, with descriptions of two exotic species. By William Elford Leach, Esq. F. L. S. 4. On artificial and natural arrangements of plants; and particularly on the systems of Linnæus and Jussieu. By Wm. Roscoe, Esq. F. L. S. 5. Remarks on Lichen Scaber, and some of its allies. By the Rev. Hugh Davies, F. L. S. 6. Strepsiptera, a new order of insects proposed; and the character of the order with those of its genera laid down. By the Rev. William Kirby, F. L. S. 7. A monograph of the British species of the genus *choleva*. By William Spence, Esq. F. L. S. 8. Description of a new species of the genus *mus*, belonging to the section of pouched rats. By John Vaughan Thompson, Esq. F. L. S. 9. Analysis of Satin Spar, from Alston Moor in Cumberland. By the Rev. John Holme, A. M. and F. L. S. 10. Description of *mus castorides*, a new species. By the Reverend E. J. Burrow, A. M. F. L. S. 11. On woodsia, a new genus of ferns. By Robert Brown, Esq. F. R. S. Lib. L. S. 12. An account of some rare species of British birds. By Mr. William Bullock, F. L. S. We think Mr. Kirby's paper on a proposal for forming a new order of insects one of the best: we have not space to enter into a discussion of the subject; but notwithstanding all that has yet been done by the foreign entomologists to simplify this class in its arrangements, much yet remains to be performed, and the ordinal and generic characters here laid down are fully entitled to the attention of methodical zoologists.

gists. Mr. Thompson's account of the pouched rat is curious. The isolated paper on mineralogy to which we have already alluded is Mr. Holmes's analysis of satin spar: it does credit to his industry and judgment.

"Life of Luther, by Alexander Bower." 8vo. It is a singular fact, and not a little complimentary to the liberality of our own country at the present day, that at the very period in which we are more decidedly engaged in supporting by the sword catholic countries, and the catholic religion, in consequence of those countries being trampled upon and ground down by one of the most detestable, and, at the same time, one of the most universal tyrannies that have ever shewn their monster head,—we should have more histories of Luther or of the reformation, which he was the chief instrument in accomplishing, than in almost every former period whatever. Omitting a variety of minor attempts upon this subject, we have within the last seven years received a pretty extensive edition of M. Villers's well known "Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation of Luther," written in French, as a prize composition in answer to the very extraordinary question upon this subject proposed by the National (now the Imperial) Institute; and which received, as it was fully entitled to receive, the honour of the approbation of the Institute; we have had the same translated into English by two different hands; we have had M. Villers's "Life of Luther" prefixed to a subsequent edition of his work *vernaculated* (if we may venture upon a new word); we have had Mr. Roscoe's more extensive account of the same extraordinary series of events related with great elegance in his "Life of

Leo X." and we have now presented to us Mr. Bower's attempt upon the same subject. What, under the circumstances of the preceding narratives, biographies, histories, and memoirs, induced him to enter as a new candidate into the list, we certainly are not told, and perhaps the writer may think we have no authority to enquire: yet we may, at least, venture to hint our surprise, if in reality he knew, as he certainly ought to have known, of the existence of the works we have thus glanced at, that he has never adverted to them even in his introduction. For the rest Mr. Bower has performed his part modestly, carefully, and impartially: and if he have not given us the elegance of Roscoe, or evinced the philosophical and comprehensive spirit of Villers, he has composed a book that, from the busy and eventful tenor of its subject, cannot fail to excite general interest, and from the unostentatious size to which it is limited, is within the general reach. It is divided into eleven chapters, which follow each other in a chronological order; and closes with an appendix consisting of notes and extracted papers, some of them authoritative and others explanatory. Of the general nature of the biographer's style the reader may form his own opinion by a perusal of an interesting passage we have selected from it, and introduced into a preceding part of the present volume.

"Memoirs of the Private and Public Life of William Penn. By Thomas Clarkson, M. A." 2 vols. 8vo. The subject of these volumes was one of the most extraordinary characters that ever lived. The real incidents of his life are eventful enough for a romance,—they are all signalized by firmness, liberality, political

political and religious consistency, and a diplomatic wisdom that most of our statesmen of the present day might study and copy from with advantage, and that peculiarly fitted him for being the founder and legislator of a new state upon new principles; the whole is, at the same time, tessellated with strokes of singularity the most amusing, of tenderness the most affecting, and of eloquence the most winning: and, with the exception of various pressing chapters, in which the biographer introduces himself and his own comments, or opinions, rather than the subject of his work, and which every one will doubtless skip over, whether we advise them to do so or not, we have no hesitation in saying there are few lives that have lately fallen into our hands that we have perused with more secret satisfaction and pleasure. Few men have ever been more tried, whether in poverty or in wealth, in oppression or in power, in courtly favour or in bigotted persecution, than Mr. Penn: yet in every scene we are sure of the man; in all circumstances and changes of life he is still the same, firm but courteous, true to his principles, and ever labouring to do good, whether in palaces or prisons. It is a most extraordinary fact, that amidst all the political changes that occurred in the history of England from 1690 to 1710, William Penn, the quaker, was almost uniformly one of the chief favourites at the English court: highly esteemed by Charles II.—in the closest confidence and friendship with James II.—duly valued by William III.—and still more highly distinguished by Anne. And throughout the whole of this period, instead of flattering the ear of whoever might happen to be the sovereign of the day, he was al-

most perpetually applying to them for grants of toleration and other political indulgencies in matters against which the court or the ministry, and occasionally the sovereign himself, had decidedly set their faces. Yet in most cases he succeeded, and contributed not a little to the foundation of that spirit of toleration which has so peculiarly marked the progress of the last century. Yet these were not the whole of his royal friends and intimates; for we find him also on terms of much esteemed acquaintance with Peter the Great of Russia, at the period before us, on a visit to England, and on the most familiar footing with several German princes and princesses. He never, however, frequented the court as a courtier; nor allowed it, on any occasion whatever, to keep him from the sacred duties of preaching at the different meetings where his presence was most wanted: and posterity will perhaps smile with some degree of scepticism at learning that his royal friends were most, if not all of them, occasionally amongst his auditors; that the Czar Peter was highly pleased with him; James II. a frequent and reverential attendant upon him; and that one or two of the German princesses were so overpowered by his seal and address as to become converts to the religious persuasion of *Friends*. It should be remembered, however, that William Penn, to a mind of uncommon talents for study, and a natural courtesy of manners, had added a collegiate education at Cambridge; and that, in order to wean him from his religious propensities, his father, Admiral Sir William Penn, had not only purposely introduced him into the gayest parts of his own gay and extensive circle of acquaintance, but had sent him to France and other foreign

foreign countries, under circumstances in which it was impossible for him to do otherwise than be constantly in the company of the most accomplished and polished characters of the day; and hence we have no doubt that he exhibited more native grace in his plain drab coat, with his broad brimmed hat on, in the presence of majesty, than many of our new made courtiers do with their swords, silk-hats, and embroidered waistcoats. Still there are two other parts of his character with which we have been yet more delighted: we mean his simple, tender, and patriarchal affection for his family (and we now particularly allude to his letter on leaving them for the first time on his voyage to America—and his conduct during the trying scene of the last illness and death of his eldest and very amiable son); and his wisdom and simple dignity as a legislator and the founder of a new state. As far as the political principles of quakerism would allow him to form a perfect system of government, he seems to have accomplished it, and Plato himself might have been satisfied with the excellency of his code: but the fact has been tried, and it has been sufficiently proved, even by the sect themselves, that their principles are in no respect qualified for the purpose. They can neither duly curb internal enormities nor provide against foreign force: and even Governor Penn himself, in his laws for raising a militia, erecting forts, and contributing to the protection of the adjoining province that was more exposed to French invasion than his own, not only felt compelled to relinquish the quaker to a very considerable extent, but, in various instances, to an extent to which his own council and

assembly of friends could not, as they thought, conscientiously accompany him.

"An Historical Sketch of the last Year of the Reign of Gustavus Adolphus IV. late King of Sweden; including a narrative of the causes, progress and termination of the late revolution; and an appendix containing official documents, &c. Translated from the Swedish." 8vo. 10s. 6d. Gustavus IV. was certainly, in the turn and character of his mind, most inadequate to the gigantic spirit of the present times, though, had he flourished a few centuries before, when the doctrine of *jure divino* was more popular, and the continent less convulsed, he might have passed through life as a great man, from his chivalrous pride and inflexibility of character, and have been canonized after death for his fanaticism. We have already, in a previous part of this year's Register, noticed the chief incidents that led to his abdication, and the election of Joachim Bernadotte to the high rank of Crown Prince. The ungovernable passions of the king, and his blindness to the real interests of his country, rendered such a change absolutely necessary; and it is wonderful to behold with how little disturbance it was produced. The author before us takes, of course, the popular side. In his introduction, however, he affects the nicest impartiality, and professes to have nothing more in view than to give a simple narrative, and "permit the reader to form his own conclusions;" yet, in the very next paragraph he openly avows the side he means to espouse, and attempts to prejudice the reader in favour of the same bearing. "The following pages," he observes, "are principally addressed to the present times,

in



in order to dissipate groundless prepossessions, and to prove that the causes of the great events which they have witnessed are not to be sought for in deep-laid and long-concerted plans, but in the *criminal abuse of power*, and *inordinate ambition*." After which he immediately warns his reader, that if the side of the question which he thus avows himself to have taken, be not "his own," let him not peruse the following work; the sentiments which it contains must be to him unintelligible; and we think it unnecessary to attempt to prove what no despot has yet ventured openly to deny." We are not acquainted with the names either of the anonymous author or of the anonymous translator: the former appears to have been an eye-witness of much that he describes, and the latter has executed his task with credit and apparent fidelity.

"The Life of Nelson. By Robert Southey." 2 vols. 12mo. We have already had many lives, both plain and splendid, of this first of British naval heroes, but the course was still open to the present biographer, who has executed his task in a manner worthy of himself, and of the distinguished character he has biographized. We do not know that he has communicated much novelty, though we must except a few interesting anecdotes both of his boyhood and more active maturity; but what he has communicated is written with a sort of enticing simplicity that bears the stamp of sterling truth. He is warm, as who, indeed, is not, in the praise of Nelson's unrivalled talents, indefatigable spirit, and unconquerable heroism; but he is also open to the deep blot that stained his escutcheon in its domestic quarter through several of the last years of his life. It is absurd to conceal

it, and still worse to varnish it over as it has hitherto been too often attempted, and that not in the *press* only but even in the *pulpit*: we approve Mr. Southey's fidelity upon this, as well as almost every other point.

"The Life and Administration of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, &c. By Charles Verulam Williams, Esq." 8vo. We are surprised, that amidst the numerous friends and admirers of the late prime minister, there should have been no one found anxious to commemorate his public talents and private virtues in a work commensurate with his own worth, and which might have a chance of conveying some faint idea of him to posterity. It is not yet, however, too late; and the meagre publication before us will, in no respect, stand in its way. This labour of Charles Verulam Williams, Esq. is a patch-work compilation of the political incidents of the times, culled chiefly from the newspapers, with a few brief notices of Mr. Perceval's ancestry, collected from the same standard authority; from some cause or other, deteriorated in its language below what we meet with in most of the journals of the present day, and about as dull as it is inelegant. Could we have put our fingers upon a single page that is worth copying we should have extracted it, and introduced it into a previous department of our Register, on account of the statesman whose name it bears.

"Memoirs of Frederic Cooke, Esq. late of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. By William Dunlap, Esq. composed principally from the personal knowledge of the author, and from the manuscript journals left by Mr. Cooke, &c." 2 vols. 8vo. The personal knowledge of the

the author, who appears to be an American artist, was of short duration, and comprises only the short remainder of Mr. Cooke's life which he spent in America. The *manuscript journals*, we take it for granted, are genuine; for had they been manufactured for the occasion, there can be little doubt that they would have contained more interesting or imposing matter than they do at present; for we have never met with such strings of diminutive events in any journal that has yet had the honour of being submitted to the eye of the public: and what Mr. Cooke's motive could be in penning such unimportant transactions, as the author has not informed us, we are not able to surmise; it could scarcely, we think, be the pleasure of idling his time away, and it certainly could not be with a view of laying the basis of an imperishable history of himself—*monumentum are perennius*. The following may serve as a specimen: "Piccadilly West, No. 9, Saturday, Feb. 5, 1803. Arose between eight and nine:—after breakfast, and putting some things in order, went to the theatre and heard Pierre. The rehearsal on my part not very regular, as I was obliged to read several of the speeches: after visiting the *wardrobe* and *my butcher's* at *Charing Cross*, returned home; dressed, and dined at four. Read the Morning Post of the day, (which, as I regularly take it in every morning, I need not again observe, unless to make memorandums from it.) Citizen Sebastiani's report, addressed to the Chief Consul, of his tour in Egypt, I think plainly proves the French mean to pay another visit to that part of the world. At half past five went to pay a visit by appointment to Mrs. Hunn, who lives at

No. 11, Trifton Street, Westminster. Met Mr. and Mrs. Thomson, the latter Mrs. H's eldest daughter by the late Mr. Reddish of Drury Lane theatre. Drank tea; supped, and spent a pleasant evening. About half past twelve, took a coach from Old Palace Yard to the top of St. James's Street, and then walked home; sat until two, and then went to bed. This day began to keep my accounts regularly." This, however, is one of the fullest and busiest of the MS. diaries of Mr. Cooke; and, after all, even these authorities occur but very sparingly; and the biographer is obliged to have recourse to collateral documents. Of the place or country of Mr. Cooke's birth, his parentage and education, Mr. Dunlap speaks without much authority: Cooke himself affirmed, it seems, that he was born in Westminster, but admits that he was generally supposed to have been born at Dublin; while some have made him a native of Berwick. He seems, when a boy of twelve or fourteen, to have had a strong inclination for the stage; and no man, perhaps, was ever better qualified for it by nature; for he had a quick conception of characters, strictly original manner, impressive, and powerful action, pliant muscles, and variable voice. His predominant vice is well known to have been drinking:—this drove him from the London stage, where he might have continued as long as he had chosen, a successful rival to Mr. Kemble; and it not long afterwards drove him from the stage of life, as he was on the point of returning from America, in consequence of a new application to him by his friend Mr. Harris, of Covent Garden theatre. He died of an affection of the liver, accompanied with

with dropsy, Sept. 26, 1812, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

"Memoirs of the Life and Ministry of the late W. Huntington, S.S. with an estimate of his Character. By Onesimus." 8vo. 8s. 6d. We have now to take a glance at another extraordinary character, and of a diametrically opposite description, who has trod the stage of life, and lately made his exit. William Huntington, or Hunt, which was his original name, was born of poor parents in the Weald of Kent, about the year 1744. He professed to have had a few occasional impressions of religion while a child, but was afterwards pursued with the deistical principle that God takes no notice of our proceedings. He was at first an errand-boy in a gentleman's family; afterwards gardener to a manufacturer of gunpowder, in which situation he commenced his preaching career. The concern proved for many years unprofitable to him, for he was driven from the post of gardener in consequence of his having assumed this new capacity, and was at length compelled to turn coal-heaver at Thames-Ditton, where he found no higher degree of success, except in a few stray sheep from other folds; and where in consequence he was the perpetual butt of the ridicule and railery of the multitude. A dream, inspired, as he expressly asserted, by the Deity himself, sent him to London, and ordered him to relinquish every other business except that of preaching. Here he soon found means of success, established by his dexterity and zeal an extensive congregation, acquired considerable fame, and ultimately, from the scanty allowance of one hundred pounds a year, obtained by a second mar-

riage and congregational contributions, an annual income of about two thousand pounds. He died of a diabetes at Tunbridge Wells, July 1, 1813, without suffering any bodily pain, and in his own view, in full certainty of going to heaven. "All," said he, "lies straight before me; there are no *ifs* or *buts*: as sure of heaven as if I was in it." The friends of the S. S. or sinner saved, seem to have believed the same, and hence he has been described by one of them as "one of the greatest men of God the church has had since the apostolic day, or that, perhaps, it will have till after the suffering state of the church by persecution:" while he himself, with a sort of similar claim to the same pretensions, drew up, shortly before his death, the following epitaph, which has since been inscribed on his monument.

Here lies the COAL-HEAVER :  
Who departed this life July 1, 1813,  
In the 69th year of his age,  
Beloved of his God, but abhorred of men.  
The omniscient Judge  
At the Great Assize shall ratify and  
Confirm this,  
To the confusion of many thousands;  
For England and its metropolis  
Shall know that there hath been  
A Prophet among them.

W. H. S. S.

Let us turn to a better subject:  
"Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds,  
Knt. LL D. F.R.S. F.S.A." late President of the Royal Academy. Comprising original Anecdotes of many distinguished Persons, his contemporaries; and a brief Analysis of his Discourses. To which are added varieties on Art. By James Northcote, Esq. R. A." 4to. 2l. 12s. 6d. The life of Sir Joshua offers nothing of abrupt incident, noisy bustle, or involution

involution of fortune; but it affords another instance of successful activity and talent in what may be comparatively called quiet life. He was born in 1723 at Plympton, in Devonshire, a few months before the death of Sir Godfrey Kneller, in the language of his surviving friend and biographer, "as if thus perpetuating the hereditary descent of the art;" much in the same manner, as he might have added, that Virgil is said to have been born on the death of Lucretius. The father of Sir Joshua was a clergyman beneficed with a small living, and he himself was the seventh of eleven children. His education was therefore confined and chiefly domestic; he discovered an early taste for drawing, which, as it gradually unfolded itself, was progressively encouraged; and the result was that by a laudable spirit of ambition and indefatigable activity, its constant concomitant, it raised him by degrees to the acme of his profession, and introduced a new æra in the history of British painting. It is to him chiefly that the Royal Academy owes its birth, which was founded, under the patronage of his Majesty, in 1768. It received for several years, from the royal purse not less than 5000*l.* annually, till at length the annual exhibition was found to produce an income equal to its support, and which is here calculated at about 2500*l.* per annum. Sir Joshua died February 23, 1792, and was interred at St. Paul's with great magnificence. The present biography was certainly called for by the nation which lies under so great an obligation to his pre-eminent talents, we may add by the world at large: and does equal honour to himself and to his friend who has written it.

"Memoirs of the *Public Life* of John Horne Tooke, Esq. By W. Hamilton Reid." 12mo. 5s. Mr. Hamilton appears to have strictly abided by his own limitation, and confined his memoirs to Mr. Tooke's *public* life, with the exception of a page or two devoted to his birth and early studies. The life itself forms a perfect contrast to the preceding: it is always in a storm, and almost always in danger of shipwreck. Mr. Horne Tooke had great talents, but unfortunately a perpetual tendency to abuse them. He has been called a staunch patriot; but if patriotism consist in the love of our country, and an ardent desire to make it beloved by every one around us, there are few men who have less claim to such a title; for although, during the range of his political existence, we have experienced almost every mutation from prosperity to adversity, from unbounded peace to unbounded war, and have had ministers, at the helm, of every diversity of sentiment, no time or tide, no system or opinion has ever squared with his own, or induced him to think the country worth praising or possessing at the moment: its intrinsic excellence, and the perfection of its constitution were always in the past or future, and never in the present time. As a philologist his labours possess value, and evince great ingenuity; yet even these are poisoned by the political canker that fed for ever on his heart; and his skill is rather that of a logical gladiator than of a candid controvertist. He was born near Soho-square in 1737: his father was a poulterer, who appears to have given him every opportunity of acquiring a good education: for we find him successively at Westminster, Eton, and Cambridge. He died at his own

own house at Wimbledon, March 19, 1812.

"General Biography : or Lives, Critical and Historical, of the most eminent persons of all ages, countries, conditions, and professions, arranged according to alphabetical order. Composed by John Aikin, M.D. the Rev. Thomas Morgan, and Mr. William Johnston." 4to. Vol. VIII. The celebrity which this work has long acquired renders it unnecessary to introduce it formally before the reader. It is sufficient to observe that the volume for the year before us extends from *Pearce* (Zachary) to *Samuel* the prophet, and exhibits the same classical simplicity of style, the same indefatigable research for genuine information, and the same freedom from personal bias which has characterised those which have preceded it.

Among the works of the year that relate to ancient classics we have to notice the following : "Ricardi Porsoni Adversaria, &c." "Adversaria of Richard Porson." Notes and Emendations upon the Greek Poets, selected, arranged, and prepared by J. H. Monk, A. M. and C. J. Blomfield, A. M. from the MS. papers of Porson, in the possession of Trinity College, Cambridge." With a vignette of the author. 8vo. 11. 5s. large paper 3l. 3s. These notes are a valuable collection, and do great credit to the celebrated scholars by whom they have been compiled and digested. We are astonished, however, at the enormous price which is demanded for the volume, and which amounts almost to a prohibition of its circulation among those for whom it would appear at first sight to be chiefly intended. We by no means blame the highly respectable bookseller, whose name appears at the foot of the title-page, and who

we are informed has purchased the copy-right; but we cannot avoid repeating our surprise that a college which has sent forth so many illustrious scholars, and has uniformly professed so strenuous a desire to encourage learning, and classical learning more especially, should have consented to demand such a sum for the purchase of the copy-right as to render so high a price absolutely requisite to give a chance of repayment.

"Comedies of Aristophanes, viz. the Clouds, Plutus, the Frogs, the Birds. Translated into English," with Notes. 8vo. 12s. Of Aristophanes eleven plays have reached us; and this is all that remains to us of the attic comedy. Of these only three have hitherto been presented in an English dress. The Clouds and Plutus, which have both been attempted by White and Theobald, and the former also by Cumberland, whose excellence as a Greek translator, and especially of Aristophanes, has been admitted on all sides; and the Frogs, which has been admirably given by Mr. Dunster. The two comedies rendered by Cumberland and the one by Dunster are here reprinted; to which a translation of the Birds is added by the present editor, a member of one of the universities. It is given in prose for the following reasons offered in the preface, to the whole of which, however, we by no means accede. "With respect to those who think that a metrical version would be better adapted to the purpose, we are bound in duty to give our reasons for differing from them in opinion. A sort of *comico-prosaic* style, if we may be allowed the expression, is the style which suits best the language of English farce. The style of Aristophanes approaches nearest to this.

this. A translation, therefore, upon this principle, will combine two advantages. The force of every passage, and the keenness of every joke, will be the more effectually preserved; while the fulness of every expression will be the more naturally represented, each line being free from the necessity of consisting of a certain number of syllables. It will come at once within the reach of the English reader, and will assist the scholar in acquiring a knowledge of the original Greek." Now each line would certainly bear a much nearer resemblance to the original Greek if in easy and regular metre; nor needs it, even in this case, be under "the necessity of consisting of a certain number of syllables; for the Iambic of ten syllables may be, as in truth it most commonly is, occasionally intermixed with a terminating alcaic or redundant syllable, or an Alexandrine verse; and all these again may casually be varied by a break or hemistich. The version, however, as it is, has considerable merit, and is for the most part well elucidated from the commentaries of Professor Beck, with occasional assistances derived from Bentley, Porson, and Kuster. The text is that of Branch. "If the plan upon which *the Birds* has been executed, shall be found acceptable to the public," says the translator, "we shall speedily commit to the press a second volume, containing a version of *the Wasps*, *the Acharnians*, *the Peace*, and *the Knights*."

"Funeral Orations in praise of Military Men: translated from the Greek of Thucydides, Plato, and Lycias: with explanatory Notes, and some account of the Authors. By the Rev. Thomas Broadhurst." 8vo. 16s. The subjects of this ele-

gant and interesting volume are the following: Life of Thucydides; Character of Pericles; brief Remarks on ancient Funeral Orations; description of the Funeral Ceremony, by Thucydides; Oration of Pericles; Life of Plato; Menexæmes, or Funeral Oration of Plato; Life of Lysias; Oration of Lysias; additional Observations; Index. The memoirs are purposely concise, and are chiefly intended as explanatory prolegomena. The funeral harangues are for the most part rendered from the original text as edited in 1746, by the Rev. Dr. Bentham, formerly Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, who accompanied it with a learned preface and notes.

"Collections from the Greek Anthology: by the Rev. R. Bland and others." 8vo. 16s. This volume commences with a preface containing an historical notice of the principal authors (as far as they are known) and collectors of Greek epigrams, with remarks on the editions of Brunck and Jacobs. The work, as intimated in the title-page, is the joint production of several hands, indicated by a single capital letter at the foot of the piece, though the only name that appears at length is that of the editor, who is a considerable contributor. The poems are divided into classes, as moral, symposiac, amatory, satirical, humorous, and sepulchral. At the end of each class is subjoined a series of explanatory notes, interwoven with specimens of a more modern date. There is much spirit in many of these renderings, and we have already selected from them accordingly with some degree of freedom.

"The two last Pleadings of Marcus Tullius Cicero against Caius Verres: translated and illustrated with Notes by Charles Kelsall, Esq.

author of a Letter from Athens." 8vo. 15s. The pleadings here presented are selected, and justly estimated, as the finest of all that belong to the Roman orator: they are in the main given fairly, though we think they might have been equally literal and possessed more *aroma*, or *unction*, as the French theologians would call it. We have also strenuously to object to the use of such finical terms as *filles champêtres*, *houvoir*, *ridicule* (*reticulum*) a little net-work bag, in the present instance stuffed with roses: as also to the promiscuous use, in the very same sentence too, of the singular and plural pronoun of the second person, as in the following passage: "Here Quintus Catullus, I call upon *thee*. I am speaking of *your* splendid and beautiful ornament. It belongs to *you*, not only to reprobate this crime with the severity of a judge, but even that of an enemy or accuser."

"Ovid's Metamorphoses: translated by William Orger; with the original Latin text." Vol. I. 8vo. 10s. This translation is rendered with great ease, sufficient fidelity, and no deficiency of spirit. The writer's intention is to publish a Number quarterly, till the whole of Ovid has been mastered. The volume before us (for we have not yet received more than the first (is limited to the first seven books of the Metamorphoses. We wish Mr. Orger success; for in our opinion he well deserves it.

"Correspondence of the late Gilbert Wakefield, B. A. with the late Right Hon. Charles James Fox, in the years 1796-1801: chiefly on subjects of Classical Literature." 8vo. We have been more than ordinarily pleased with this little volume; and we have been pleased on

various accounts. First, we have been accustomed to contemplate the writers as peculiarly characterised by somewhat of an ebullient, though always an honest warmth, in the different kinds of controversy (sometimes, indeed, in the same kind) to which they were directed by their professional pursuits; and we here find all ebullience subdued; undue heat softened into the most polite and mutual deference of opinion, and the storm of politics exchanged for the calm and purity of philological studies and Greek and Roman literature. Secondly, we find this subject maintained with a spirit and comprehensiveness of survey, for which we did not give either of the writers full credit while alive, aware, as we have never ceased to be, of their natural talents, and highly cultivated understanding. Thirdly, it is a work of elegance, therefore, that breaks upon us unexpectedly, and is consequently the more cordially welcome. And fourthly, under the peculiar circumstances and period of time through which the correspondence extends, it does the highest honour to both the writers; for although there is nothing more than a few incidental allusions to the fact, it commences upon a literary subject, not long before Mr. Wakefield's prosecution for a libel, continues through the whole of his confinement of three years in Dorchester gaol, and terminates almost immediately upon his liberation. The opening letter is dated Dec. 17. 1796, and is from Mr. Fox to Mr. Wakefield, in acknowledgement of the present of the first volume of Mr. Wakefield's *Lucretius*, dedicated to himself; and evidently shows that at this time nothing more than a nominal acquaintance

sublated

subsisted between them. The second is from the same to the same, in acknowledgment of the receipt of the second volume, as also of a pamphlet of Mr. Wakefield's upon Porson's Hecuba; and though without a date, must have been written in the summer of 1797, at which time this volume was published. The classical correspondence commences from this period, in consequence of a few queries proposed by Mr. Fox in relation to subjects more or less connected with the Hecuba; and from this point it spreads to a variety of other quarters of elegant criticism, chiefly, as we have already observed, Greek and Latin, though not unfrequently involving allusions to the polite literature of modern times, and especially of our own country. There is one thing with which we have been particularly pleased, and that is the delicate attention and shades of advice (for they do not amount to more) that Mr. Fox ventures incidentally to address to Mr. Wakefield, upon the first severe feeling of his sentence and imprisonment. While he adverts to the subject only incidentally, yet always honestly, and therefore consistently with his own political opinions with strong expressions of disapprobation, he seems to labour with the most friendly assiduity in calling off his attention from his sense of suffering, by a more than ordinary rapidity in exercising his critical acumen, and thus drawing forth from Mr. Wakefield in his own support, the master passion of his heart. And as soon as he finds Mr. W. is about to engage, during his confinement, upon some work for the purpose of occupying his time, and benefiting his family, he strongly, but in the most gentle manner, dissuades him, by all

means, from directing it to a political subject. The chief points discussed are verbal and grammatical criticisms; but they are discussed with so much taste, collateral reference, and elegant quotation, as to be always interesting and often important. Among other peculiarities of opinion on the side of Mr. Wakefield, we have to notice his hypothesis that the Iliad and Odyssey are two distinct bundles of poems, written by different blind bards, 'Oμsποι rather than 'Oμspos, in very early though different periods of the Greek language, and afterwards put together by some persons through the means of a few interstitial verses; and he thus endeavours to account for the different degrees of merit that belong to different parts of these excellent productions, and especially for the diversities that occur in the use and omission of the digamma: to which opinion, however, his Right Hon. correspondent does not incline, though he treats it, as he does every other opinion of Mr. W. with great respect. Another singularity in Mr. Wakefield seems to have been his dislike of Cowper's blank verse, and the rhymed stanza of Spencer, to both which Mr. Fox appears to have been most warmly attached. Mr. Wakefield's observations upon the digamma, however, and the supernumerary *y* at the termination of certain words in the Greek tragedians, are peculiarly worthy of attention.

"A Tour through Italy, exhibiting a view of its Scenery, its Antiquities, and its Monuments; particularly as they are objects of classical interest and elucidation, &c. By the Rev. John Chetwode Eustace." 2 vols. 4to. These are splendid volumes, occasionally illustrated with engravings, and to men of classical taste, for whom they are



peculiarly intended, cannot fail to afford a rich as well as a plenteous entertainment. Mr. Eustace is a Roman Catholic clergyman of enlightened mind, and liberal principles, ardently attached to Greek and Roman studies, and especially to the polite literature with which they are so splendidly inwrought. The tour sketched out in the following pages," says the journalist, "was undertaken in company with Philip Roche, Esq. a young gentleman of fortune, who, while he spared no expence to render it instructive, contributed much to its pleasures by his gentle manners, and by his many mild and benevolent virtues; virtues which, as it was hoped, would have extended their influence through a long and prosperous life, and contributed to the happiness, not of his family only, but of an extensive circle of friends and acquaintance. But these hopes were vain, and the author is destined to pay this unavailing tribute to the memory of his friend and companion. The two gentlemen, who, with the author and his fellow-traveller, formed the party often alluded to in the following pages, were the Hon. Mr. Cust, now Lord Brownlow, and Robert Rushbroke, of Rushbroke Hall, Esq." The tour, as stated in the title-page, is devoted to the classical beauties of Italy, although the author cannot avoid occasionally indulging a digressive and venial imprecation against the Goths of our own times, who have pillaged the country of its finest productions, both of nature and art, and have in a thousand instances, with the most unfeeling barbarism, wantonly destroyed many of the best monuments of Greek or Roman taste. He starts from Vienna by Inspruck, crosses the Alps, passes

through Bolsano and Trent, and arrives at Verona, of the ancient and modern state of which he gives an interesting account. His course then tends through Vicenza and Padua, to Venice; from which he returns to Padua, and passes on to Mantua, where he forgets not to pay due honours to Virgil; nor to weep over the robberies his birth-place has endured, first from Austrian *protection*, and afterwards from French: though we are glad to find that shortly after the establishment of the Austrian government in this city, "the arts and sciences were not neglected:" that "an Imperial academy was erected, a noble palace devoted to its meetings, and a fine assemblage of antiquities collected in its galleries." Nothing of this sort, however, appears to have consoled the Mantuans for their second loss of liberty under the accursed kiss of French fraternity. The fostering genius of Buonaparte plundered the academy which the Austrian court had founded, and carried off the revered bust of Virgil, which having been dug out of the lake in the sixteenth century, was placed by the Austrians in the academical gallery, and esteemed by the Mantuans the richest jewel they were possessed of. To complete the farce, while this disgrace was openly cast upon the prince of the Roman poets, they celebrated with cruel mockery civic feasts in honour of him, and erected *plaster* busts in the place of his marble statues.

Pursuing his picturesque course our author advances progressively to Cremona, Placentia, Parma, Reggio, and Modena, constantly enriching his journal with notices that evince a refined taste and a cultivated understanding. Bologna occupies a more detailed description, and he at length

length reaches Rome, by Rimini, Fano, Ancona, and Loreto, the description of which, together with its fascinating environs, the banks of the Anio, Tiber; and the Digentia, the Tivoli, and the Vicenza, the Sabine farm, the retreat of Catullus, the villas of Mæcenas and Virgil, carry us from Chapter VIII. to Chapter XX. We then accompany the author and his pleasant party to Naples, where we are as agreeably enraptured, and for nearly as long a period of time: the smooth waters of Baia, the fields of Elysium, the groves of Cumæ, the Pompeian lake, the rich and interesting ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii, all passing in succession before our eyes, and each rivetting our attention as it advances. The second volume is somewhat more detached and erratic in its lucubrations, and seems, in some degree, intended to supply various occasional lacunæ in the first. It notices Beneventum and Pæstum; passes on to a description of the royal family of Naples (now of Sicily) and of the modern Neapolitans: returns to Rome, and delineates a variety of other facts in relation to it, both of ancient and existing times. We then start for Florence, and take a survey of its buildings, mausoleum, gallery, museum, and environs, particularly the Arno, Fiesole, and Vallambrosa. Piza next solicits our attention, Genoa, Pavia, Milan, Como, and Turin: we re-cross the Alps, and find much matter for agreeable remark on traversing Mount Cenis. The work concludes with a dissertation containing general observations on the geography, climate, scenery, history, language, literature, and religion of Italy, and on the character of the Italians. The minute survey we have taken of it shews sufficiently

the agreeable impression it has made on our minds, and we are hence anxious to make the same on the minds of our readers.

Of elementary books for acquiring classical literature we have to notice the following: "A Sketch of the Greek Accidence arranged in a manner convenient for transcription; by means of which learners may be assisted in committing it to memory. By John Hodgkin." 8vo. 4s. 6d. Mr. Hodgkin appears to have been an active labourer in the initiatory field of school-learning: for we find him appealing in his title-page to the following works which he has already supplied in this line, and of which the little book before us is intended as a part of the series: Introduction to Writing; Sketch of the Geography of England; Definition of some of the terms made use of in Geography and Astronomy; Calligraphia Græca et Pæcilographia Græca; Specimens of Greek Penmanship; and about half a dozen others. The plan of the present production is to habituate the learner to a knowledge of the Greek grammar by accustoming him to copy the elementary parts repeatedly as etymological exercises, and this in conjunction with the same parts of speech in Latin, English, French, and Italian. Frequent transcription unquestionably tends strongly to fix the matter transcribed on the memory; and so far the present plan may be highly useful.

"First Rudiments of General Grammar, applicable to all languages. Comprised in twelve Elementary Lessons" 8vo. 3s. 6d. The author attempts to follow the method of the Abbé Gaultier; to explain things while he induces the pupil to learn lessons; and to reach that happy medium which lies between

too superficial and too multiplex a mode of instruction. We think the attempt is not sufficiently dignified or formal for a foundation of solid learning; for we are old-fashioned enough to believe that real learning, and especially elementary learning, cannot be acquired without actual labour (a principle that should first and foremost be impressed upon the mind of the pupil), and that the relation of master and scholar can never be duly supported by the chit-chat of infantine colloquy. We may take an example from the writer's advertisement; "My dear children," says he, "you are now come to an age when it is necessary to learn grammar, which teaches you how to express your *ideas* by words. You know what words are; but you do not *exactly* understand what is meant by the word *idea*. It shall therefore be the object of my first lesson to explain it to you. You see in your grammar that an *idea* is *the mere representation or image in our own mind of any thing external that came to our knowledge through the five senses*. And that you may perfectly understand what this means, let me ask you some questions." It is not necessary to follow the author in his questions, for they by no means answer the purpose. It is enough to hint that in his very outset the pupil has here initiated into error, and that the teacher commences with one of the most abstruse doctrines of logic, instead of one of the plainest parts of speech. The author flatters himself that he *exactly* understands and is able to make the ring of little children, to whom he addresses himself, equally understand the meaning of an *idea*; and he tells them that it is an *image of any thing external*. This might have been done in the days of Aristotle and Epicurus; it would

scarcely, however, have answered in Des Cartes's time; and has been exploded from every school both at home and abroad ever since the days of Mr. Locke. We do not profess to know either *exactly* or at all what an *idea* is; but in no sense whatever can it be scientifically regarded as an *image*, whether the mind be contemplated as material or immaterial. But we have another objection to this definition; we are farther told that it is an "*image in our own minds of any thing external that came to our knowledge through the five senses*:" the writer, indeed, would have spoken more correctly if he had said "*through any one of the five senses*." But this is not what we refer to: our objection is to this extraordinary limitation of ideas, and to the child's being taught as a first principle that the only source of ideas (for there is no other pointed out to him) is external objects, or the external senses. Now it so happens that by far the greater number of ideas is derived not from an *external* but from an *internal* source; not from the *senses without* but the *reflexion within*. It would have puzzled the teacher not a little, we apprehend, had any one of his young pupils inquired of him from which of the five senses the mind derives its *idea* or *image* as he calls it, of grammar, the subject before them? from smell, taste, touch, sight, or hearing? From which of them it derives the *idea* or *image* of *right* and *wrong*? of superiority and inferiority? of gratitude, love, benevolence? We recommend Mr. St. Quintin to a re-perusal of Locke's Essay before he gives a second edition of his "*first rudiments*" to the world

"Elements of English Grammar,  
with

with numerous Exercises, &c. By the Rev. W. Allen. 12mo. 5s. "A Grammar of the English Language; containing a complete summary of its rules, &c. By John Grant, A.M. 8vo. 6s. Both these are useful works, and evince a patient attention to a variety of points which to the superficial multitude it may appear strange in this late period of our vernacular language, have never to this day been fully ascertained and settled. Mr. Allen's Grammar is designed expressly to embrace all the important principles of the *Epea Pteroenta*; and his dicta are well supported by examples drawn from the purest and most approved writers; very frequently, and in our opinion, correctly, from the old English poets, especially Chaucer. Mr. Grant shoots with somewhat of a longer bow, and extends his rules to an elucidation of the general principles of elegant and correct diction, accompanied with critical and explanatory notes, questions for examination, and appropriate exercises; he has also considerably simplified the rudiments of the English grammar, by discharging a variety of fictitious parts of speech, as well as cases of nouns and tenses of verbs.

"Gymnasium, sive Symbola Critica. By the Rev. Alexander Crombie, LL. D." 2 vols. 8vo. 18s. Dr. Crombie, in the work before us, soars to a flight somewhat above the elementary publications we have just been noticing; and attempts to ground his pupil in a correct knowledge, not merely of his vernacular grammar, but in the peculiar idiom, phraseology, vocal values, and terms of expression of his mother tongue. The work accordingly consists of critical observations of a miscellaneous nature, but chiefly philological, illustrated by

exercises progressively adapted to the scholar's rising talents and capacity; and ingeniously contrasting the peculiarities of one language with another.

"*Homæ Sinicæ*: Translations from the popular Literature of the Chinese. By the Rev. Robert Morrison, Protestant Missionary at Canton. 8vo. 3s. The intrepid and migratory spirit of our own countrymen has connected England with almost every other country in the world; and there are few in which, from motives of the purest virtue and benevolence, the customs, manners, and language of the natives, are not at this moment studying. The book before us consists of small tracts that are usually put into the hands of children in China, to initiate them in learning. The first tract is entitled *Sau-tsi-king*, or three genuine characters: no member of a sentence introduced into it being allowed to consist of more than three characters or keys, as they are called by other writers. The second tract before us is entitled *Ta-hio*—the Great Science: Account of *Foe* the dignified founder of the Chinese: extract from the *Ho-Kiang*: account of the sect *Tao-Szu*: specimens of Chinese epistolary correspondence. "There are in China," the writer tells us, "a great number of teachers; and the rudiments of learning may be had in some cases, at so low a rate as two dollars a year; yet either from the poverty of the people, or the difficulty of attaining the written language, or from both causes combined, not more than one half of the community are able to write and read. Government support school-masters for the children of the soldiery, but not for the children of the poor generally. Nor are there any charity schools

schools supported by voluntary contributions. Indeed, I have not been able to find that there exist any voluntary associations among the people for charitable purposes."

We proceed to the poetry of the year; and have in the advance ground to notice a fresh supply from the inexhaustible fountains of Mr. Walter Scott and Lord Byron: the first of whom has given us another poem, entitled *Rokeby*, the plot of which we have not time to decipher, but the general character of which, incidents, descriptive scenery, and ease of versification, forms a near parallel to those by which it has been preceded. In the structure of the verse it is more regular; in the progress and catastrophe of the fable, it is, to say the least of it, as interesting as any: the prominent figures are strongly portrayed, and there is many a fine touch of pathetic sentiment. Yet we begin to feel that the author doubles upon us rather too frequently, and to fear that at the rate at which he has been riding for the last three or four years he will soon run himself out of breath. Lord Byron, however, seems to have measured lances with him even in this respect: the year before us has been marked by him with two distinct poems of great merit, though short and singularly abrupt. "*The Giaour*," and "*The Bride of Abydos*." He too has great facility of versification, great dexterity of colouring, great strength of description, great power of pathos. His pathos, however, is always of a melancholy kind; and his fable is unfortunately without moral or improvement of any kind.

"*The Year*: a Poem, by John Bidlake, D.D." 8vo. 10s. 6d. We have witnessed the poetical talents of Dr. Bidlake on several prior occa-

sions, and if they do not stamp him for a poet of the first water, they at least prove that he is fond of poetry; and that he is capable of amusing himself with his own efforts, although the more fastidious world should refuse to partake in the amusement. In the instance before us, however, he has been not a little unlucky in his subject: the *Year* is followed up through its *Seasons*; and after the descriptions we have already had of it under this classification from the powerful pencils of Thomson and Cowper, there is little left for Dr. Bidlake but to copy from the paintings which they have set before him. He is rather the follower of the former than of the latter; yet we cannot avoid adding that his text compared with that of his prototype, is like Virgil's *Georgics* in the Delphin *ordo*. We ought, however, to add what we learn (and are sorry to learn) from the advertisement, that the poem has served occasionally to lessen the affliction of a deprivation of sight which the author has now to lament."

"*The Bees*: a Poem, in four Books; with Notes moral, political, and philosophical. By John Evans, M.D. F.R.M.S. Ed. Book. III." 4to. 7s. We merely notice the continuation of this elegant didactic poem, of which the two first Books have been already noticed by us; and shall return to it with a fuller account as soon as it is completed by a publication of the fourth Book. It is correctly descriptive, and uniformly neat and easy in its versification: but it wants force, feeling, and variety.

We have had numerous attempts at wit and satire under the patronage of the Maids of Aonia, who have proved variously liberal in the bestowment

stowment of their favours. The following are the principal that have occurred to us: "Horace in London; consisting of imitations of the first two Books of the Odes of Horace, by the author of the Rejected Addresses, or the New Theatrum Poetarum." We have here many specimens of the same elegant gaiety, and sportive fancy which so much pleased the public in the Rejected Addresses: but being the same, or nearly the same, the book loses the charm of originality, and hence has not met with all the success which accompanied its more fortunate predecessor. Some of the pieces, moreover, have already been presented to the public, in a miscellaneous repository, and are hence second hand to a part of the world.

"Intercepted Letters; or the Twopenny Post Bag. To which are added Trifles reprinted. By Thomas Brown the younger." 8vo. 5s. 6d. The title is ingenious: the plan is nearly akin to that of Horace in London; and the humour is in various instances more pointed and better sustained. We are wittily informed in the introduction that "the bag from which the following letters are selected was dropped by a twopenny postman about two months since, and picked up by an emissary of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, who, supposing it might materially assist the private researches of that institution, immediately took it to his employers, and was rewarded handsomely for his trouble. Unhappily it turned out upon examination that the discoveries of profligacy which it enabled them to make lay chiefly in those upper regions of society, which their well-bred regulations forbid them to molest or meddle with." Being hence regarded as of no conse-

quence; the Editor purchased the packet shortly afterwards at a low price, and having a turn for versification, put some of them into easy metre; and in this manner furnished the volume before us.

"Waltz: an apostrophic Hymn. By Horace Hornem, Esq." 8vo. 3s. The tendency of this satire is also good; it is designed to hold up to reprobation the licentiousness and indecorum of the dance from which the work assumes its title. The characters of the piece are ease and vivacity.

We proceed to the drama, which, however, has been but little productive of real genius during the period to which we are limited.

"The Tragedies of Maddalen, Agamemnon, Lady Macbeth, Antonia, and Clytemnestra: by John Galt." 4to. 1l. 1s. Our readers have long known Mr. Galt as a traveller; the pieces before us, with one exception, which was composed at different intervals, were written while on ship-board at various times and places, when he could think, as he tells us, of no better way of employing his attention. He does not ascribe much merit to them, and his readers, we apprehend, will in this respect agree with him. "In compositions," says he, "so *hasty*, polished correctness ought not to be expected. I think it would be easier to write others than to make these more worthy of perusal by any application which I might exert: and I have printed them because I do not think that they ought to be destroyed."

"Count Julian, a Tragedy." A Spanish story; dressed up with some degree of art, and exciting some portion of interest.

"Sharp and Flat." A musical Farce; in two acts. This has had its

its day upon the stage of the metropolis : it made people laugh while it lived ; and now that it is dead, it need not fear the unhallowed hands of a *resurrection-man*.

Our principal novels, tales, and romances are the following : "Mount Erin : an Irish Tale ; by Matilda Potter." 2 vols. "Cambrian Pictures ; or every one has Error ; by Ann of Swansea." 3 vols. "The Border Chieftains : or Love and Chivalry ; by Miss Houghson." 3

vols. "The Heart and the Fancy ; or Valsinore ; a Tale : by Miss Benger." 2 vols. "Vaga ; or a View of Nature ; a novel, in 3 vols. By Mrs. Pack." "The Lady of Martendyke ; an Historical Tale of the Fifteenth Century ; by a Lady." 4 vols. "History of Myself and my Friend ; a Novel, by Ann Plumptree." 4 vols. "Pride and Prejudice." 3 vols. "The Marchioness!! or the Matured Echantress. 3 vols. By Lady ——."

## FOREIGN LITERATURE

OF THE YEAR 1812.

## CHAPTER I.

## BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

*Containing Notices or Analyses of various Publications in Germany, Hungary, Greece, France, America, Russia and the East.*

THE brilliant and established success which the Almighty has at length vouchsafed to the righteous cause of the allies, has reopened our accustomed channels, and revived on the continent a taste for biblical and theological studies. The university of Halle, suppressed by Jerome Buonaparte on account of the loyalty of its members to their legitimate sovereign, has been restored to full activity by a cabinet order of the King of Prussia; and the lectures were to re-commence January 3, 1814. In the same city we find just established a moral and patriotic journal, under the title of "Gazette for the Prussian Provinces between the Elbe and the Weser," which promises to be highly beneficial to the cause of religion and virtue. During the fire of the French army on the city of Hanau, towards the end of October, the very valuable orphan-house printing office was totally destroyed, together with various important works on biblical, theological, and literary subjects. The office is re-building, and the different authors who have thus been

sufferers, have re-commenced their studies in order to repair the great injury they have sustained.

A very excellent German version of the New Testament has lately been executed by Charles and Leander Van Ess, both Roman Catholic clergymen of great piety and learning. In this undertaking, we rejoice on the score of Christian charity to perceive that they have been assisted in their translation, which they have made immediately from the Greek, by several protestant divines; and that their labours have been approved and publicly recommended by two of the most celebrated protestant clergymen of Saxony, the late reverend Dr. Reinhard, principal chaplain to the court, and the reverend Mr. Hess, antistes of the Zurich clergy. Leander Van Ess is also the author of an interesting work, containing extracts from the fathers and divines of the catholic church from the earliest ages to the present times, exhibiting the clearest and most pointed testimonies of the excellency of the holy scriptures; of their adaptation to all ages



ages and generations; and recommending their free, frequent, unfettered and serious perusal to all ranks, classes, and conditions of people. This admirable bibliclist has lately been appointed catholic professor of divinity at the university of Murburg.

Whilst we are upon this subject we cannot avoid expressing our pleasure at beholding the readiness with which most catholic clergymen on the continent are now assenting to a free circulation of the scriptures among their respective congregations. Nothing indeed but bigotry and the grossest ignorance have ever pretended to suppress their diffusion in any æra or country. Leo X. is well known to have promoted the translation of the bible into a variety of tongues, and to have spared neither personal labour nor expense in rendering the sacred text correct. He established and endowed a Syriac chair in the university of Bologna; personally superintended, and, as long as he lived, corrected Pagnini's Latin version of the bible from the original Hebrew, and gave every countenance to that master-piece of human labour and learning, the Cardinal Ximenes's polyglot version, to whom, indeed, on its completion, it was justly dedicated, and which, from its having been printed at Complutum, is now generally known by the name of the Complutensium polyglot. In like manner Pius VI. was frequent in recommending to the Cardinal Borgia, at that time patron of the Society *De Propaganda Fide*, to circulate the bible as generally as possible, and to print it in various languages; affirming that by such means more than by any other, good might be expected in parts of the world where Christianity was un-

known, or had ceased to be cultivated, particularly in the Morea, Syria, Arabia, Africa, and the Isles. He considered the bible as capable of fortifying in the faith Christians that are widely scattered broad and cannot easily associate; of establishing those who are wavering and falling off; and hereby, under the divine interposition, of laying open and accomplishing the way of salvation.

We know that something of the same kind has been lately proposed among the catholics of our own country; only that there has been a wish to restrain the circulating text to the Douay version, which is in a few places accompanied with notes. We confess ourselves somewhat surprised at this proposal, considering the very low estimation in which the Douay lection is held by most learned English, and we believe all learned foreign catholics. Yet such is our desire to see the bible circulated among the laity, and particularly the poor community of every country, that a diffusion of even the Douay copy would give us pleasure; and it has not been without regret therefore that we have beheld this proposal of the English catholics strongly, not to say bitterly discountenanced by various zealous and certainly well-meaning members of the establishment in this metropolis. It is better the English community of catholics should have a licensed and gratuitous distribution of this version than have none; the errors or corruptions may be easily pointed out and exposed; and it is not very readily to be conceived that the catholic English clergy will allow a free circulation of our *established* text without note or comment, while we behold many of the established clergy themselves advancing a similar objection.

In the Greek islands we perceive  
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a like liberality and consent among the catholic priesthood to a diffusion of the scriptures in the vernacular tongue; and hence, at Smyrna, Zante, and Scandizari, French, Italian, and even *Romeika* (modern Greek) versions of the New Testament are now becoming not uncommon: this last, we believe, being chiefly, perhaps altogether, supplied by the British and Foreign Bible Society of our own metropolis.

It speaks well, also, of the candour of the Austrian court, that the emperor has, during the last year, withdrawn from the protestants of Hungary belonging to the Augsburg confession, an old interdiction, and allowed them the privilege of erecting a printing press of their own: in consequence of which a press is now just established at Presburg, and various protestant works on theology and biblical criticism are about to be published in the Slavonic tongue.

Our intercourse with France has been so completely broken off, that we know but little of the state of the biblical and theological spirit or publications of this country; and of the little we do know there is still less to approve. The philosophy of France is not favourable to revealed religion, or we should rather, perhaps, have said that the opinions of the chief philosophers of France are by no means favourable to it. The institute, which divides itself into distinct departments for every other branch of science, has no place for sacred criticism. The only pulpit orations of which any account has reached us, are servile and fulsome eulogies upon the *first captain of the age*; whose grossest blunders have been panegyrised under the title of sublime ideas, and who, till of late, at least, has been supposed to wield

the thunder of the Omnipotent. The Cardinal Maury, whose learning as well as his sacred office, should have made him superior to such mountebank tricks, has led the way on all such occasions, and his example has been followed, with few exceptions, by all the inferior clergy. One of the most popular works of a religious kind published in France, that has any pretensions to serious reality, is M. Chateaubriand's "*Beauties of Christianity*," in two volumes octavo, which, however, though possessing a lively style, and an air of unquestionable devotion, is by far too superficial and fanciful for the horizon of our own country. By attempting too much it effects too little; and by endeavouring to prove Christianity the best stimulus and guide to the useful, the beautiful, and the sublime; to poetry and the fine arts; to history and philosophy, to eloquence, genuine courage, and patriotism, divests it of its real simplicity of character, and overlooks its essence in its accidents. This rhapsody, however, has been translated into our own tongue, and probably has been perused *with entertainment* by considerable numbers.

We know almost as little of the biblical or theological literature of America. We find, however, from the annual report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, that institutions for the diffusion of the sacred scriptures are numerous and active, particularly at Baltimore, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Philadelphia, New Jersey, Albany, and even among the Esquimaux, where an English mission has for some time been established, and the missionaries have made a considerable proficiency in acquiring the Esquimaux tongue. The United States, indeed, like France, have been so deeply engaged

engaged in warfare, and the public opinion upon this subject has been so warm and so divided, that but little time or opportunity has been left for sober and serious study: while even the stimulus of religion itself, as in France, has in too many instances been had recourse to, with a view of exciting the passions of the people in favour of the violent and ruinous proceedings of the government party. In a few instances, however, we are glad to perceive the contrary; and we have been highly pleased with the sober and devotional spirit of the proclamation for a general fast published by the governor of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, Caleb Strong, Esq. June 1812; which commences as follows: "Whereas it has pleased the Almighty Ruler of the World, in his righteous providence, to permit us to be engaged in war *against the nation from which we have descended, and which, for many generations, has been the bulwark of the religion we profess*; and whereas, by this awful and alarming change in our circumstances, the people of this commonwealth are, in a peculiar manner, exposed to personal suffering, and the loss of a great proportion of their substance: it becomes us, in imitation of our fathers, in their times of perplexity and danger, with deep repentance to humble ourselves before him for our sins, and for the ungrateful returns we have made to him for his mercies: to ascribe righteousness to our Maker when he threatens us with the most severe of all temporal calamities, and to beseech him to avert the tokens of his anger, and to remember us for his former loving kindness and tender mercy." It then proceeds to fix the 23d of the ensuing July "as a day of fasting,

humiliation, and prayer; that with penitent hearts we may assemble in our places of public worship, and unite in humble supplications to the God of our fathers, who was their defence in danger, and to whom they never sought in vain, and beseech him, through the merits of his Son, that he would forgive our ingratitude, and the innumerable transgressions of which we have been guilty. That he would give wisdom, integrity, and patriotism to our national and state governments, *that the leaders of the people may not cause them to err*. That he would inspire the *president and congress*, and the *government of Great Britain*, with just and pacific sentiments. That he would dispose the people of these states to do justice to the Indian tribes—to *enlighten and not to exterminate them*. And that he would protect our frontier settlements from their ravages: and that he would preserve us from *entangling and fatal alliances* with those governments which are hostile to the safety and happiness of mankind. That he would regard with tender compassion the nations *whose most essential rights have been wrested from them by fraud and violence*, and who are groaning under the cruel hand of oppression; and that he would break in pieces the power of the oppressor, and scatter the people that *delight in war*."

Proceeding in an eastern and high northern direction, we perceive a very considerable extension of biblical literature. We learn from the valuable report we have just adverted to that a national Bible Society has been established in Russia under auspices of the happiest kind, and completely sanctioned by the imperial government. In consequence of his imperial majesty's most gra-

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erious approbation of the plan a general meeting of the most distinguished characters in St. Petersburg was held early in the current year; Prince Galitzin was elected president, the vice-president and directors are of the highest distinction, excellence and interest; and the object of the institution, as we learn by a letter from Prince Galitzin to Lord Teignmouth, is "the distribution of the Old and New Testament throughout the Russian empire in all languages except the Slavonic, for which a particular privilege is preserved to the Holy Synod. When your lordship," continues his highness, "considers the number of European and Asiatic dialects which prevail in the several provinces of the Russian empire; above all, if a correct idea can be formed of the state of many of these provinces with regard to religious knowledge, then I am sure that your lordship will feel with me that no Bible Society yet formed on the continent of Europe can have objects in view more vast in extent and importance than those to be accomplished by the Bible Society in St. Petersburg."

We find also, from the same source, that oriental versions of the

bible are now printed wholly or in part, or prepared or preparing for printing, to the following extent. In Sanscrit, the whole of the New, and half the Old Testament printed, the former in circulation: in Chinese, the New Testament completed, the Old to the 1 Sam. ch. 5: in Bengalee, a third edition of the New Testament completed; and a second edition of the Old to Leviticus; in Orissa, the New Testament completed, and nearly the whole of the Old: in Mahratta, the former completed and in circulation, the latter to the book of Numbers: in Hindu, a second edition of the former completed; and the latter as far as the Pentateuch inclusive: in Tellinga-Skikb, and the Asam, the former printing: in Kurnata, Cashmire, Burman; and Pushtoo or Affghan, copy prepared or in hand. For the use of the native Christians of the Malabar coast one translation of the New Testament has been nearly finished in Malayalim or Malay, at Beugal, under the immediate sanction of the Syrian church; while another from the Latin Vulgate is in hand for the use of the catholic Christians of the same country.

## CHAPTER II.

## PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

*Containing Notices or Analyses of various Publications in France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, and America.*

THE labours of the Imperial Institute of France are, as usual, of great diversity of merit. The volumes for 1812 are the latest that have reached us. In botany and vegetable physiology, M. Mirbel appears to be sedulously pursuing his inquiries into the structure of the organs of fructification, zealously seconded by M. Schubert, a travelling professor from the school of Warsaw, for the purpose of opening a course of lectures on botany on his return home. M. Feburier, of Versailles, has written a paper to revive the old doctrine of two distinct saps, an ascending and descending; the former of which, in his opinion, contributes chiefly to the development of the branches and buds, and the latter to that of the roots, and the multiplication of the flowers, and enlargement of the pericarp. M. Beavois has an instructive article on the pith of plants, which he regards as highly useful, not only during the first year, but through the whole duration of the plant. M. Lechnault de la Tour, one of the naturalists who sailed with Capt. Baudin, has given us some interesting details upon the trees, with the juice of which the natives of Java, Borneo, and Macassar poison their arrows, and which, under the name of upas, have made so much noise in the world. Of these poisons there are

are two kinds, the upas anthiars, and the upas thieute; the former belongs to the family of the nettles, the latter is a strychnos or sort of nux vomica.—In zoology and animal physiology we meet with a valuable paper from M. Lamarck, containing a new and more correct edition of his classification of invertebrated animals. M. Cuvier has, in like manner, given a table of the divisions under which he proposes to arrange the animal kingdom in his great work on comparative anatomy which he is now on the point of putting to press. The other writers on this subject are M. Humboldt, M. Geoffrey Saint Hilaire, and M. Jacobson. In the department of chemistry M. M. Clement and Desormes have followed up Mr. Leslie's ingenious experiment of producing extreme cold by absorption in an exhausted receiver: M. Duportal has given a description of a most useful process by which M. Edward Adam, distiller at Montpellier, has applied Count Rumford's plan of heating by vapour, to the production of spirit; and Count Rumford himself has presented several useful memoirs upon the properties of light.

From the school of medicine at Paris we have been furnished with various prize dissertations on the Croup, or Angina Trachealis; of these the two most interesting, and which appear to have been honoured with the

the chief marks of approbation, are by M. G. Vieusseux, M. D. 8vo. 8s. and by M. F. J. Double, 8vo. 14s. both of which are imported by De Boffe. M. Vieusseux appears to us the best practitioner, M. Double the most elaborate reader and writer. They agree that the first regular history of croup, as a distinct disease, is that published by Dr. Home, of Edinburgh in 1765. They agree also that many of its more prominent symptoms are to be traced in the writings of various earlier physicians; but they disagree as to the conclusion which ought to be drawn from this admitted fact: M. Double believing that the real disease is here described, though indistinctly and confounded with other diseases; and consequently that it has been always as frequent as it is at present: that it exists in all countries, and climates on the sea-coast, and in crowded cities: that it is never chronic, nor epidemic, nor contagious; that there is no reason for believing it hereditary; and no clear case on record of its having attacked adults, being confined in its ravages to those of an earlier age. M. Vieusseux, on the contrary, apprehends that the disease, which seems to have resembled the croup, was the *cynanche trachealis*, and particularly that described by Boerhaave and Sauvages: and he brings forward many documents to prove that it was little noticed in many cities and countries till within about half a century; and that it is now becoming more common in all situations. He conceives that its essence consists in an inflammation of the trachea; and lays down a line of distinction between this inflammatory state of the membrane, and that known by the name of *cynanche laryngea*, an inflammation of the larynx, or upper part of the

trachea. In the process of cure he first attempts to procure a resolution of the inflammation; he thinks that when the peculiar membrane lining the trachea under this disease, is formed, the disease itself is irremediable; and hence that all attempts to dislodge it are useless. He endeavours, therefore, to subdue the inflammatory action by blood-letting, chiefly by leeches applied to the neck; by blisters, by emetics, and warm bathing; of which, however, the last two are of smaller importance: and rarely, though he admits very rarely, he has found service from opiates and antispasmodics. He discusses the merits of tracheotomy, and sensibly asserts that the operation can seldom, if ever, be advisable; because in the origin of the disease other more powerful, and less severe methods ought to be had recourse to, while it must be altogether useless towards its conclusion.

M. Guiseppi Jacobi, of Pavia, has directed his attention to the doctrine of the retrograde action of the lymphatics, first started by Dr. Charles Darwin, and afterwards interwoven into the hypothesis of his father; and has published a work upon the subject which is entitled to attention from its ingenuity, though we believe the question will still remain as it is at present.

M. Gräfe, a German army-surgeon, attached to the fourth corps of the allied army, under Count Taunzien, employed in the siege of Torgau, has been engaged in devising means for checking an epidemic disease which raged with great violence within the walls of that place, and for preventing its spreading beyond the walls. His work is entitled "Art of guarding against the contagion of Epidemic Diseases, being a word of advice

from a Physician to the inhabitants of Torgau." The account communicated to us merely states the success of his regulations and practice, but unfortunately does not enter into a description of the system recommended.

"Philosophie Zoologique," &c. "Zoological Philosophy, &c. By J. P. Lamarck. Paris," 3 vols. 8vo. There is a considerable degree of resemblance between the fanciful principles here laid down and those of our ingenious but visionary countryman, Dr. Darwin. Like the latter, M. Lamarck supposes life to have commenced in every tribe and order from some peculiarly simple origin; he supposes that that origin is the cellular texture, that which, even in the present advance of all animals towards perfection, possesses least animalization; he supposes that life commenced, in every instance, in an aqueous element; and that intelligence, under every modification, results from a material organization. Sensation, in his view of the subject, does not belong to the molluscous and infusorial tribes, but commences with insects, which last are, generally speaking, destitute of intellect. "Agreeably to these principles," says M. Lamarck, "the faculty of performing acts of intellect scarcely begins earlier than with fishes, or, at most, cephalopode mollusca. In these stages, it exists in its greatest imperfection: it is somewhat gradually unfolded in reptiles, especially in those of the highest order; it has made great advances in birds; and in the mammiferous families of the higher orders it presents the utmost limits to which it can attain in the animal creation." The faculties common to all living bodies are, according to this hypothesis, those of production,

growth, regeneration, or the reproduction of like kinds; the special or particular faculties of the higher classes are, digestion, respiration by an appropriate organ, muscular locomotion, feeling, sexual intercourse, circulation of essential fluids, different degrees of intelligence.

"Phisionomies Nationales," &c. "National Physiognomies; or a comparison of the Features of the Countenances of different Nations, with their manners and characters: with twenty-five engravings. Paris." 12mo. This tract is drawn up agreeably to the system of M. Blumenbach, who, in truth, has derived his classification from Gmelin, with a mere variation of the names: for the five divisions under which the human species is enumerated by the former, we mean the Caucasian, Mongul, American, Ethiopian, and Malay, are only the white man, brown man, red man, black man, and tawny man of the latter. From a sort of modesty very uncommon in a Frenchman, the author has given no physiognomy of his own nation, assigning for it the following very curious reason, that the discrepancy of features afforded in different parts of the empire, renders it difficult, if not impossible, to lay hold of a national set: he observes, however, with some complacency, that by this combination of features and of faculties, the individuals to whom it applies are equally fitted for the study of science, the practice of the fine arts, or the pursuits of war and commerce. Under the Caucasian, European or white variety, he travels but a little northward for national examples, and hence has omitted the Poles, Swedes, and Danes, and has said but little of the Russians. Upon the whole, he ranks the English countenance above the

the Dutch, German, or Spanish. "The English forehead," he tells us, "is expressive of thought; the German of erudition. The Englishman creates ideas, the German refines and arranges them. The vast memory of the latter is denoted by breadth of forehead, and marks him as the man to undertake works of research and reference. The Dutchman has still less sensibility than the German; but his features announce a certain energy, approaching sometimes, indeed, to obstinacy, but characteristic of a man who goes straight forward to his purpose, and is determined to surmount every obstacle by dint of patience." The plates are plain and meagre productions; far better might have been obtained by copies from Daubenton on a diminished scale.

"Prolegomènes de l'Arithmétique de la Vie Humaine," &c. "Prolegomena of the Arithmetic of Human Life, containing a general classification of Talents, a Scale of the age of Man, and a formula for estimating all geographical Positions: the whole on an uniform system. By William Butte, Doctor in Philosophy, Counsellor of the King of Bavaria, and Professor of Statistics, &c. Paris." 8vo. A new, whimsical, and unintelligible hypothesis, rendered still more unintelligible by the coinage of new terms. The Bavarian sage appears to be as staunch a materialist as Spinoza, but as unfixed and fleeting as spirit. The *order of nature*, and the *order of the world* are with him two distinct things. Nature, so far from being the principle of life, as the vulgar error teaches, "is the opposite of that principle, and her true name should be NON-EXISTENCE:—while the world is the combination of parts presenting the primitive, continual, and

universal connection of finite and infinite.—The finite part is nature; the infinite is destiny; and the union of nature and destiny constitutes what we call life; and all life is a repetition, more or less perfect, of the system of the world.—The business of the naturalist is to follow in his researches the order of nature; while the speculative man follows the order of destiny, and the philosopher combines both." Talents allow of a classification, and among those who are admitted into its different divisions are, "men of competent property, rich, poor, and deranged persons." Genius allows, in like manner, of a classification; and here we find, for some reason or other not specified, the poor and the deranged altogether excluded; but instead of the deranged we have an order of *incomprehensibles*; persons respecting whom, we are told, "there is no harmony in their composition; their productions are colossal; and every incomprehensible is a messenger extraordinary commissioned by fate." Linnæus made a new order of amphibia, which he calls *meantes*, for the express purpose of including the *siren*, as he could find no other place in which to arrange it. We suspect M. the Doctor Butte, has, in like manner, formed this new order of *incomprehensibles* as an express gallery for Buonaparte, whom, to say the truth, he has actually placed in it; and our readers may, perhaps, by this time be of opinion, that the inventor may take his own stand in the same division at no great distance. How far Plato and Charlemagne, whom he has introduced as companions to the French Emperor, ought to be placed in the same section, we have not time at present to examine. They certainly appear to have no more title



than Caesar and Alexander, who are here utterly excluded from the list of incomprehensibles, and sent to another quarter.

"Correspondence sur la Conservation," &c. "Correspondence relative to the preservation and amelioration of Domestic Animals, &c. drawn from the practice of skilful persons, and published periodically by M. Fromage de Feugrè, Veterinarian in chief of the Gendarmerie of the Emperor's Guards." 2 vols. 12mo. Paris. This little work contains many valuable, some amusing, and a few questionable observations on the best mode of employing and managing domestic animals while in health, of treating them during disease, of multiplying their kinds, and improving their breeds.

"Essai sur les Merinos." "An Essay on Merino Sheep. By M. Giron de Bazarlingues." 8vo. Paris. This work is rather adapted to the meridian of France than to that of our own country. M. Giron describes himself as a shepherd, and his remarks as the result of personal experience and practice: and there is a particularity in many of them which induces us to believe that he has described himself correctly. His work is indeed clogged with particularities of another kind; we mean those of a sort of a sermonic division and subdivision.

Another singular discovery in the variable region of chemistry has characterized the year before us; we mean the detection of a new, and apparently elementary substance, which bears a striking analogy to oxygen and chlorine, in its being a supporter of heat, exhibiting an acidifiable principle, a strongly electric power, and having a close affinity for the metals. The merit of the discovery is due to M. Courtois; it has been accurately

examined by many of the best chemists of the present day, as well in our own country as in France, and the characters given of it by M. Gay-Lussac, in the *Moniteur* of Dec. 12, have been for the most part sufficiently established. This new substance is obtained in great abundance, from kelp, by a particular process; from its violet colour and that gas which it exhibits when put into a gaseous state, it is denominated iodine, from *ιωδες*, *violaceous*. The action of phosphorus upon iodine furnishes the means of obtaining new, or iodine acid in its gaseous and liquid state. If these two substances, however, be brought into contact in a dry form, they produce a matter of a reddish brown colour, but no gas is disengaged. As soon, however, as we moisten this matter with water it gives out acid fumes in abundance, while at the same time phosphorous acid is produced. So that while the oxygen of the water unites with the phosphorus and forms phosphorous acid, its hydrogen combines with iodine, and forms the new acid. Admitting the existence of chlorine as an established element, we have now therefore three distinct simple supporters of combustion. And supposing also the existence of Sir Humphry Davy's conjectured fluorine, the number will not be less than four: so that the science of chemistry is but yet in its infancy, and we know not what alterations its first principles will still have to undergo.

Dr. Berzelius, to whose accuracy we are indebted for much of the knowledge we possess of the relative combinations and properties of a large field of mineral and aeriform substances, has lately given a convincing proof of his proficiency in the higher branches of physiology by  
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his able "View of the progress and present state of Animal Chemistry;" forming an octavo volume in the Swedish tongue. We had a useful work upon the same subject published a few years ago in three volumes octavo, by Mr. W. Johnstoue, drawn up with great care and attention from the best authorities of the day: but the science has since undergone so many changes, and been detected to be erroneous in so many of its sturdiest and best supported principles, that a work of this kind is really wanted to collect into one focus the general result of the numerous experiments and discoveries which have taken place on the continent and in our own country during the last ten years. At this moment we are greatly ignorant of the constituent principles of that common current of life which we denominate blood. It was at one time very generally supposed clear that its red colour is produced by an oxyd of iron, either generated in this fluid, or introduced from without by means of the materials that constitute our food: and the quantity of iron contained in the body of an adult was attempted to be calculated; and was rated at about seventy scruples, or nearly three ounces avoirdupois, admitting twenty-eight pounds of blood to be a fair ratio for the adult form. This cause of the red colour has, however, for some years been doubted; and within the last two years we have had sufficient evidence that the blood contains little or no iron whatever; that its red particles afford not more than its serum; and that its serum gives forth not more than any other fluid. This was first determined experimentally by Mr. Brande, and Berzelius confirms the same result in the work before us. He

concurs also with Mr. Brande, in ascertaining that most of the materials found in the different organs are secreted by the action of those organs themselves, and that the blood only furnishes the common plastic *wash*, if we may be allowed to take a term from the distillery, for the general use of the whole. Even gelatine is by both these chemists sufficiently proved to have no existence in the texture of the blood itself. The materials and the economy of respiration are in our opinion quite as little known as those of the blood and sanguineous system. M. Berzelius seems to adhere to the common opinion: but if the very curious experiments of Mr. Ellis be founded in truth, and we are not aware of their being controverted, this opinion is in every respect erroneous. Our author however, does not seem to be acquainted with Mr. Ellis's productions, and his work is thus far considerably deficient. For ourselves we lament this deficiency, as being anxious to have the same ground fairly trodden over by other physiologists, and we know of no man better qualified for the purpose than Professor Berzelius. Our knowledge of the process of digestion, moreover, is still open to much improvement. We know but little of the nature, and not much of the powers of the gastric juice.—Whether acid, whether alkaline, whether neutral—by what means, and under what circumstances the one, and by what means and under what circumstances the other. And we are totally ignorant of the relative aid afforded by the collatitious fluids that co-operate with it in the process of chylification. We withdraw from this subject with regret; but we shall have occasion to return to the work itself in

in our volume for next year, as we have just learned that it is now translated into our own tongue by Dr. Brunnmark, Chaplain to the Swedish Legation at our own Court.

We observe an anonymous work put forth from the press of Philadelphia, "The Extent of Fossile Shells," that evinces a considerable portion of geological attention on the part of the writer. It is indeed a curious subject, and requires to be more minutely investigated. After noticing the vast beds of fossile shells traced in different parts of the loftiest and inland territories of Europe and Asia, the author observes, that "in Virginia, at a great distance from the ocean, and westward of the Blue Ridge, is a tract of *forty thousand* acres, covered with oyster-shells: sea-mud was also found in the same region by General Lincoln. In the neighbourhood of Payru, in Peru, six hundred feet above the high-water mark, oyster-shells are found in such quantities as to furnish all the lime used by the neighbouring inhabitants, more easily than it can be obtained by raking them from the harbour below, where nevertheless they abound." And he might, had he been aware of the fact, extended the same remark to the English colony of New South Wales, where not the smallest stratum, or even bed of limestone has hitherto been discovered.

"Tableau Comparatif," &c. "Comparative View of the Results of Crystallography, and Chemical Analysis, with reference to the classification of Minerals. By the

Abbé Haüy, Honorary Canon of the Metropolitan Church of Paris," &c. 8vo. Paris. The writer of this publication stands foremost in support of what may be called the geometrical analysis or test of minerals, in opposition to the chemical. The work before us is expressly intended to correct various errors, which, from the imperfect state of geognosy at the time, erep into the author's well known "Treatise on Mineralogy," to offer additional arguments in favour of his own hypothesis, and to repel objections which have been advanced against it. In many points the author has been eminently successful. There can be no doubt of the truth of his general principle; but where the varieties are umorphous it cannot be always possible to apply it: in this case, however, he thinks that the terms *laminar*, *lamellar*, *granular*, compact, &c. are sufficient to furnish a definition.

"Introduction à la Géologie," &c. "An Introduction to Geology, or the Natural History of the Earth. By Scip. Breislak, Administrator and Inspector of the Gunpowder and Salt-petre of the kingdom of Italy," &c. M. Breislak is well known by various earlier writings on cognate subjects. The present work was published in Italian, and has been translated into French by Dr. Bernard, of Paris. The author is a firm advocate for the igneous or Plutonic origin of the earth from its chaotic state; and consequently a strenuous opponent of Kirwan and Werner.

## CHAPTER III.

## MORAL AND POLITICAL.

*Containing Notices or Analyses of various Publications of France, Germany, Italy, Holland, America.*

THE publications we have received from the continent on the customs and manners of nations, though somewhat numerous, with a few exceptions, are not of much interest or value. The following are among the best.

"Mœurs, Usages, Costumes, des Othomans; et abrégé de leur Histoire," &c. "Manners, Habits, Customs of the Ottomans, with an Abridgment of their History. By A. L. Castellan, author of "Letters on the Morea and on Constantinople. With illustrations selected from Oriental works, and communicated by M. Langles." 6 vols. 18mo. with seventy-two plates. Paris. Price, in London, 2l. 2s. M. Castellan is a very useful compiler, as his former works have sufficiently proved: he has a peculiar dexterity in turning to proper quarters for information, and a peculiar facility in seizing the pith of their contents. The well-known name of M. Langles appears to be chiefly added to render the compilation somewhat more taking: since, though he is occasionally brought upon the stage, it is but seldom, nor for any very important purpose. The engravings are neat; but appear to be derived for the most part from a quarto volume entitled *Costume of Turkey*, published in our own metropolis in 1802. The materials thus selected are put together in an

agreeable form, and enlivened with a variety of interesting or pleasant anecdotes; as a specimen of which we select the following, which is introduced into the chapter containing an account of the *divan-khaneh*, or hall of judgment. 'A Turkish merchant of Constantinople lost a purse containing two hundred pieces of gold, called *thograls*, in his way from the bath to the mosque. He did not perceive his loss till he was leaving the mosque, when he went to the crier, whom he ordered to proclaim it in the streets, with the necessary particulars, and a promise of half the contents to him who would bring the purse. A *levendy*, or sailor, had the good fortune to find it. As soon as he heard the crier he felt some compunction about keeping what did not belong to him; and preferred gaining honestly a reward of a hundred *thograls* to the chance of being detected and punished as a thief. The sailor made a confession of having found the purse with the two hundred pieces of gold. He proposes to keep half according to the promise of the crier, and to restore the rest to the proprietor. The latter being informed of this, wishes to break the agreement into which he had entered, and to recover the whole sum. But as he could not openly break his engagement, he pretends that, besides the money, the purse contained a pair of diamonds

mond ear-rings of the value of seven hundred crowns, which the sailor was required to surrender to the right owner. The sailor called God, the prophet, and heaven and earth to witness that he had found nothing more in the purse than what it still contained. He was carried before the cady or inferior magistrate, and accused of the robbery. The cady, either through negligence or corruption, decrees that the sailor, whom he nevertheless acquits of the charge of robbery, should receive no reward in consequence of his carelessness in losing jewels of such great value. The sailor, enraged at finding himself disappointed of the sum he expected, and at the attempt to ruin his character, presents an *arzoukh* or petition to the grand Vizier. The merchant and the crier are ordered before him. Each pleads his cause. The Vizier asks the crier what loss it was that the merchant had directed him to announce; 'a purse,' replied the crier, 'containing two hundred *thagralys*.' The merchant said that he omitted to mention the ear-rings, lest, if the purse should fall into the hands of persons not much acquainted with the nature of jewels, the specification of the value should have caused a detention of the whole. The sailor swore that he found nothing but the money in the purse. Mogruly-Ali-Pacha pronounced this sentence: 'Since the merchant, in addition to the two hundred *mogralys*, says that the purse contained also a pair of diamond ear-rings; and since the sailor avers on his oath that the purse which he found contained nothing but money, it is clear that this cannot be the purse which the merchant has lost. Let the merchant therefore have the

identical purse which he did lose, cried again till it is restored by some one who has the fear of God before his eyes. On the other hand let the sailor keep the purse and the money for forty days, and if no one claims it in the meantime, let it remain with him.' Thus the avarice of the merchant was punished by the loss of his money and credit, while the sailor was enriched at his expense, and returned in triumph to his ship.

"Histoire générale de l'Espagne," &c. "A general History of Spain from the earliest times to the end of the eighteenth century. By G. B. Depping. Vols. I. and II. 8vo, Paris. Imported, price 11. 6s. This work when completed will extend to four volumes, each of which is intended to comprise one of the four grand epochs into which the history of Spain is commonly divided: The first of the two volumes before us comprises an account of Spain under the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Romans, to the termination of the republican government at Rome; the second embraces the period under the Roman emperors, and the Gothic kings up to the Moorish conquest. There is much useful matter introduced into this history, and the style is sufficiently chaste and animated, but we cannot approve of the division of the work; for the civilized, we had nearly said, the *only interesting* parts of it are thus, for the mere sake of method, thrust into the same length and breadth that are allotted to its chaotic and barbarous state.

"Reise durch Norwegen und Lappland," &c. By Leopold Von Busch, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin." 2 vols. 8vo. It is only necessary to notice the title of this valuable work in our present

present rapid sketch, as we have already, in our *Domestic Literature* for the year, endeavoured to give the reader some general idea of its merit from a version that has just been made of it into our vernacular tongue, under circumstances peculiarly propitious to its success, and which render the translation a more valuable book than the original work itself.

"Voyages dans l'Inde," &c. "Travels in the Western Peninsula of India, and the island of Ceylon. By M. Jacob Haafner. Translated from the Dutch by M. J." 8vo. 2 vols. Paris; imported, price 11. 4s. This is pretended to be a translation from the Dutch; and prodigious pains are taken to render the assertion credited. Yet, as though the real writer was afraid of trusting to living evidence, he conveniently enough makes the pretended author die just after the completion of his work; takes an epoch just near enough to be highly interesting, yet just remote enough to render fabrication easy of intermixture with fact: and the work comes forth at last, even in its French version, anonymously. A very great part of it is a gross attack upon the honour, good faith, and liberality of the English, who are uniformly painted in the blackest colours; while many of the anecdotes introduced into the work are scandalous and notorious falsehoods: such, for example, as that relating to Mr. Hastings, who, we are told, "knew how to get rid of the charges against him, and to obtain an acquittal.—What is more," continues Mr. J. "he had the good fortune to be raised to the rank of a British peer. And why should we wonder at this? Mr. Hastings was worth several millions of money, and

had found means to make himself friends in various ways." He does not venture to give us Mr. Hastings's title upon his elevation to the peerage, or to point out in what bank these millions of money were deposited.

"Voyage aux Isles de Trinidad," &c. Voyage to the Islands of Trinidad, Tobago, and Margarita, and to different parts of Venezuela, in South America. By J. J. Dauxion Lavaysse." 2 vols. 8vo. Imported, price 11. 8s. This is certainly an authentic, and in many respects a valuable work, though written under strong prejudices. The writer left France at an early age in 1791, to visit a wealthy relation at St. Lucie, who dying without a will, left him friendless in the midst of strangers. He settled at Trinidad, became a planter and married: a liver-complaint drove him in 1807 to Cumana, on the Spanish Main; whence, having recovered his health, he returned by the way of Guadeloupe and North America to France, from which he has occasionally visited England and Scotland. The increase of population in Trinidad since it has passed into the possession of our own country, is wonderful from the account before us. In 1783 the inhabitants consisted of two thousand Indians, and not more than eight hundred whites and negroes. At that time it belonged to Spain. It was soon, however, transferred to France, and on its capture by the English in 1797, the inhabitants altogether amounted to eighteen thousand, chiefly negroes. In 1807 the population had reached thirty-one thousand, of whom, however, two-thirds were negroes. Before 1787 a single vessel of 150 tons burden executed the whole carrying trade of the island. In this last year

year the first sugar-work was established: in 1807 the sugar exports were eighteen thousand hogsheads. This work, if it succeeds, is to be followed by a much larger, to be entitled "*Tableau Physique, Historique, et Statistique des Colonies Françaises en Amérique.*"

Malta has furnished a subject for several foreign writers both French and Italian. One of the best is the work of Father Carlo Giacinto, entitled "*Saggio di Agricoltura per le Isole di Malta e Gozo:*" and gives a better account of the natural productions and agriculture of the associate islands than any foreign account has lately communicated.

"*Essais Historiques,*" &c. "*Essays Historical and Critical respecting the French Marine from 1661 to 1789.*" By an old Officer of the old Navy." 8vo. London. These essays evince extensive knowledge of the subject: the writer, though he has long lost all chance of being employed in the service of his native country, still feels as he ought to do for the honour of that country, and describes, with obvious reluctance, the series of triumph, almost without an exception, which has marked the British marine over that of France during the period to which he has limited his inquiries. In the year 1789 the ships of the line belonging to England were 120, to France 80, Spain 60, Russia 40, Holland 30, Sweden 23, Denmark 18. At the present period the marine of all these powers, excepting

England, is considerably diminished, and some of them almost annihilated; that of England, however, consists of not less than 250 ships of the line, being just equal to that of all the rest of Europe at the above term, when all the rest of Europe possessed its greatest maritime strength; the sum total of European ships of the line, according to the preceding table, having been at that period just 251.

"*Exposé de l'Exposé,*" &c. "*An Exposure of the Exposition of the French Empire, and of its Financial Accounts,* published at Paris in February and March 1813. By Sir Francis D'Ivernois," 4to. Richenbach (Silesia.) The critical financier in this analysis pursues, and with just triumph, his favourite theme of the declining state of the French affairs; though he points out resources of which Bonaparte may still avail himself for a time, and some of which he has actually had recourse to since the publication of the work.

"Speech of the Hon. Josiah Quincy, delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States of America, Jan. 5, 1813, on a bill for raising an additional military force." This is one of the best specimens of Transatlantic popular eloquence we have met with; and it takes the right side of the question. There is, however, a more formidable account given of the armies destined to conquer Canada than they are now found to deserve.

## CHAPTER IV.

## LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

*Containing notices or Analyses of various Publications of Italy, Malta, France, Germany, and Russia.*

THE favourable turn which the war has taken for the last twelvemonth, and the general restoration of political liberty to the subjugated states and nations on the continent which has been the happy result, is about to open to us not only our old channels of continental literature, but a regular supply of that literature itself. We already learn that Signor Modesto Barolletti, of Milan, whose classical talents peculiarly qualify him for the subject, is engaged upon a general History of Italy since the commencement of the eighteenth century, to be comprised in four volumes—octavo. We find also notices of the following works on classical and polite letters as commencing or in progress in the same quarter: Signor Petroni, well known as the translator of the Fables of La Fontaine, is engaged on an Italian version of the Tragedies of Corneille, two of which, the Phœdra and Andromache, have already made their appearance, and met with general approbation. The Chevalier Ippolito Pindemonti has completed a translation of the first two books of the Odyssey, and is translating, at the same time, the books of the Æneid. The versification of the Chevalier is represented as highly brilliant and harmonious, and his episode of Aricia, in the seventh book, affords an exquisite specimen of metrical adaptation.

Giuli Genoni, of Naples, has just published, under the title of “*Seelte di Poesie Anacreontiche*,” “Selection of Anacreontic Poems,” an elegant and lively octavo volume, in which he has also introduced, by way of appendix, the spirited odes of Giovanni Nelli, a Sicilian poet of high reputation.

“*Li Romani Nella Grecia*,” 8vo. Malta. “The Romans in Greece.” This is a work of elegant and classical fiction, adapted to the political state of the world at the present day, or rather (for we have emerged from a part of the miseries of modern politics) to the political state of the world as it was a few months ago. Greece is here only another name for Italy; the Romans for the French; the Macedonians represent the Austrians; the Russians, the Thracians; the Venetians, the Ætolians; while Bonaparte, the chief actor in the drama, is described under the name and character of Flaminius. The parallel is ably sustained; and the author evinces not only a close attention to historical fact and national costume, but great art and vigour, and an uninterrupted flow of impressive eloquence. The work commences with a description, under the veil of ancient history, as we have now deciphered it, of the causes which led to the conquest of Italy, the relative strength and disposition of the belligerents, and the character



character of the tyrannical captain of the invaders. After the battle which fixed her destinies (unless, indeed, they should be fortunately unfixed by the present glorious and triumphant invasion of France by the allies), the author becomes more circumstantial, and gives a detail of the measures resorted to in order to seduce, divide, corrupt, and terrify the people. He is singularly happy in his exposure of the ephemeral government of Italy, devised expressly with a view to their own speedy dissolution; and of the imposture, the delusion, and other arts by which the political fanaticism of the nation was irritated, till reduced, by a succession of paroxysms, to the last stage of debility,—she fell an unresisting victim to the tyranny of the Corsican chief.—Dressed up in its present guise, it is possible that the work may have penetrated into the heart of Italy, and have powerfully co-operated (as it must have done if it should have reached thus far) in the happy change which at this moment we are contemplating, and which we trust in heaven will be completed and perfected. The author of the work is Signor Barzoni, a native Italian, who has already proved how deeply he has felt for the miseries and degradation of his country by his *Rivoluzioni della Repubblica Veneta*. He is at present a resident at Malta in the pay of the English government, superintending the Maltese Gazette, and translating articles for it out of the English newspapers. We wish him a post more suitable to his genius and talents.

“Biographie Universelle, &c.”  
 “Universal Biography, ancient and modern. By a society of men of letters and science.” Vol. I.—IV. 8vo. Paris. This work evinces ex-

tensive research, indefatigable labour, much originality, and an easy disposition to be pleased. It is so comprehensive that few names are suffered to slip through the editor's fingers; and we have, in consequence, met occasionally with names of Englishmen not to be traced in the general biographies of our own country. It is particularly rich in the lives of oriental scholars, warriors, and men of deserved renown, whose history is, for the most part, given from authentic and original sources. It is, however, rather a history of the works of the man than of the man himself, the examination being more directed to his productions than to his life and habits, or even the exact time in which he flourished. Thus of Banks (Thos.) we are told, in the opening of the article, that he was “an English sculptor, born *about the middle of the eighteenth century*.” Immediately after which the biographer enters upon a brief critical notice of his compositions, in the course of which we are informed that he travelled in Italy, and that the Empress of Russia bought his statue of Cupid, which his own countrymen had shown no disposition to purchase; but how, where, or when he died, or any thing further about him, this deponent sayeth not. We also find a good part of a page allotted to the life of Bridget Bendish, whose only claim to a niche in the gallery is her having been grand daughter to Oliver Cromwell: a family that for certain reasons seems to be acquiring more respect in France than they have lately possessed at home.

“Examen Critique de la Biographie Universelle, &c.—Suite de l'Examen, &c.” “Critical Examination,” and “Continuation of the Examination of the Universal Biography.”

graphy. By Mad. de Genlis." It may be supposed, from this attack, that Mad. de Genlis has not been applied to by the editors of the work in question as an associate. Her objections are feeble, and in some instances evince chagrin. It might be as well, however, in the continuation of the work, to disarm the lady by the proposal of an alliance.

"De L'Allemagne,"—"Germany, by the Baroness of Staël Holstein." 3 vols. 8vo. This work has excited a great deal of interest as well in the political as the literary world, from the circumstance of its suppression, and the destruction of a complete edition by order of the French government, before it got into circulation. For this violent step we do not, perhaps, see into the real motive. It is the *literature*, and not the *politics* of Germany that forms the subject of the work: it had duly passed through the hands of the public censors whom the present enlightened and liberal government of France has appointed to superintend the press, and keep it free from political pollution, and there is scarcely a sentiment that can be tortured into a political bearing, much less into a reflection upon the existing constitution and wretchedness of the French empire: and whatever sentiments of this kind were to be traced in any part of the work, the scrutinizing eye of the censors to whom it was ordered to be submitted, hunted down, and ordered to be differently worded; which, having been acceded to by the author, "they permitted the printing of the book," says Mad. de Staël, "as I have now given it to the public, for I have not thought myself justified in making any change. It has appeared to me an object of curiosity to show what sort

of a work is capable at present of drawing down, in France, the most cruel persecution upon the head of its author. Just as this work was on the point of making its appearance, and when *ten thousand* copies had already been struck off for its first edition, the minister of police, who bears the name of General Savary, sent his *gens d'armes* to the booksellers with an order to destroy the whole edition, and to fix sentinels at the different avenues of the warehouse, for fear a single copy of this dangerous production should escape. A commissary of police was charged to superintend this expedition, in which General Savary obtained an easy triumph: and this poor commissary, it is said, has since died of the fatigues he sustained in having with too much minuteness ensured the destruction of so large a number of volumes, or rather their transformation into perfectly blank sheets, on which there remained not a vestige of human reason. The intrinsic value of these sheets, calculated at twenty louis, is the only recompence which the bookseller has been able to obtain from the general minister. At the very time my book was thus destroying at Paris, I received in the country an order to deliver up the manuscript from which the impression had been made, and to quit France in twenty-four hours:—the exact time allowed to conscripts to prepare themselves for their march. I wrote, therefore, to the minister of police to say that at least eight days were necessary for me to provide myself with pecuniary means, and to procure a carriage."

The answer to this letter is in many respects curious, but too long for us to copy: the request, however, is acceded to, with a remark or

or two that we cannot allow ourselves to pass over. "It is not necessary," says the minister, (M. Savary, Duke de Rovigo) "to look for the cause of the order which I have notified to you, *in the silence you have maintained with respect to the emperor in your last work*,—it would be wrong—for there is no place in it that is worthy of him: but your exile is a natural consequence of the steps which you have been pursuing for these many years. It seems to me that *the air of this country does not agree with you*; and we are not yet reduced to look for models among the nations whom you admire. Your last is not a *French work*; it is myself who have stopped the publication. I regret the loss which the bookseller will hereby encounter, but I could not possibly let it appear.—I lament, Madam, that you have obliged me to *open my correspondence with you with an act of severity*: it would have been more agreeable to me to have solely offered you proofs of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be, Madam, your very humble and very obedient servant, the Duke de Rovigo."—This letter requires no comment: it shows us more than any thing else can do the miserable state to which the magnanimity of Napoleon, and the boasted constitution he has given to the country, have reduced the press and the people of France. A native of France—a woman—a woman of the highest personal distinction—the daughter of one of its most honest and most celebrated prime ministers—ordered to quit France at a moment's warning—not for writing against the tyrant who governs the country—but because she did not chuse to write in favour of him—for not having

flattered his vanity in a *work which relates to other countries alone*—and which the minister himself, with a severity upon his master and his master's servile minions, which he did not intend, admits is not a French work. It is possible this might not be the only reason, but it seems to be the *chief*, and is the only reason *avowed*. Such is the first idea that cannot fail to occur to every one who peruses this curious piece of *State History*. The next idea that will probably arise in the mind will be a contempt of the French tyrant for his own officers and institutions: his appointing licensors of the press, and then befooling them by acting in direct opposition to their award, and all this without any suspicion of their having been too tender in the performance of their severe duty. And we cannot next fail to notice the open robbery committed upon the bookseller, whose property was thus forcibly taken from him and destroyed, without the smallest remuneration whatsoever, although he had strictly complied with the law in relation to this kind of property, and had received the special guarantee of the official censors.

We have dwelt so long upon the very curious political history of Madame de Staël's work, that we can afford but a very small space to a consideration of the work itself. It is strictly a survey of German literature, considered intrinsically, and in comparison with that of other countries—chiefly England and France, though the former is far more frequently brought into the field of vision. It is divided into four parts. The first, which is nearly the shortest, is allotted to a description of the manners of the Germans, with an introductory chapter

chapter on the face of the country. The second part, which is the longest, is devoted to German literature and arts:—in the course of which the author examines, at some length, the question whence it is that the French have not done justice to German literature, while the English have done so? The general answer is, that few people in France read German, which is more cultivated in England: that the beauties of the German tongue, and especially in poetry, cannot be translated into French, which they can easily be into English, which is only another branch of Teutonic; and that while German literature has not existed in all its originality for more than about forty or fifty years, France has, for half this period of time, been so overloaded with political events, as to suspend its attention to literary studies. The third part of the work before us is entitled Philosophy and Morals, in which we meet with far less information than we expected. The fourth part is allotted to the Religion and enthusiasm of Germany; this last term, however, signifying rather an ardent dithyrambic or rhapsodical feeling, than religious fanaticism: and which the present state of Germany is, in our opinion, far more likely to cultivate than the subjugated and gloomy period in which these volumes were composed. The Germans are naturally enthusiastic: their enthusiasm has now taken a proper turn; it has been called off from imagination to facts; it is now interwoven into their patriotism; it will hence appear in the liberty which it will certainly work out for their country; and we have no doubt will equally influence their devotional feelings. The favourite poet of Madame de

Staël is Klopstock;—her favourite philosopher Kant, of whose system she has given a brief account, comparing it with that of Locke, to whom, like almost all the writers on the continent, she erroneously ascribes the doctrine of deriving all our ideas from *sensation*, instead of only a part of them, and comparatively a very small part: the larger portion being in the system of Locke derived altogether from *reflexion*, or the operation of the mind upon its own powers or faculties. This error was, we believe, in the first place, sown by Condillac, and the views of Locke having in France, and even in Germany, been more generally obtained from Condillac than from Locke himself, the present as well as various other misinterpretations are common to almost all the continental writers. M. de Staël has given a pretty long account of the Kantian hypothesis, and has endeavoured, though in our opinion unsuccessfully, to represent it as an original system. For ourselves we have laboured at it for some years, but have scarcely been able to trace one idea that does not occur in Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, or Mallebranche. She has well observed, however, that the philosophy of Plato is more poetical than that of Kant, and the philosophy of Mallebranche more religious. *La Philosophie de Platon est plus poétique que celle de Kant, la philosophie de Mallebranche plus religieuse.* Upon the whole, we far more fully concur with M. Degerando, whose view of Kant we perused about eight or nine years ago, in regarding the whole system as a general mass of eclecticism or pillage from other schools. It is but justice, however, to the fair author before us to observe, that she reprobates his absurd technology

technology, and is not quite pleased with him for keeping so perfectly clear of every thing that relates to religion. It is not much to the credit of German theology that M. de Staël does not appear able to find a single favourite among any of the three classes to which she has chiefly devoted this part of her work, the *protestants*, the *Moravian brethren*, and the *catholics*. Upon the whole, Herder and Stolberg seem principally to divide her attention, yet the first is scarcely orthodox enough, and the second, though a liberal catholic, is still a catholic. The length of this review is the best proof we can offer of the respect we entertain for the work before us, and the general talents of its author. She discovers considerable research, great rapidity in seizing ideas, a comprehensive mind, a correct taste, a judgment not often erroneous, and an elegant and spirited style. The work ought to be translated into English, and, while writing this sentence, we perceive a translation advertised.

“Nouveaux Elémens de Littérature, &c.” New Elements of Literature; or Analysis of the different kinds of Literary Composition, and of the best classical works, ancient and modern, French and foreign: containing extracts from translations of the most esteemed authors. Partly translated from the German of Eschenburg. By M. Breton, 12mo 6volumes.” Imported, price 1l. 4s. The work of M. Eschenburg here referred to was published not long since under the title of *Beispiel-Sammlung zur Theorie der schönen Wissenschaften*; and treats of literary productions of all kinds under their respective names, whether fable, tale, epigram, idyl, ode, epopee: the respective theories are then added to the different divi-

sions from the most approved critics; and the whole closes with specimens borrowed from German authors and translators. From the vast cargo of German literature which the late subjugation of the continent threw into the bosom of France, M. Breton has selected this production of M. Eschenburg, as his text book; he has compressed many parts, and enlarged others chiefly from La Harpe's *Cours de la Littérature*. The work is valuable, and we should like to see it translated into our own tongue. It affords, upon the whole, a fair picture not only of the different kinds of literature, but of the different tastes and powers of different nations: it evinces an extensive range of reading, and knowledge of languages; and a judgment highly creditable to the author. In his appreciation of the merits of our vernacular writers it is not often that we have had occasion to differ from him. Like all foreigners, the original author, or compiler, or both, are least acquainted with the eloquence of the English pulpit: the best orators here enumerated under this class are Tillotson and Littleton. Tillotson every one knows, and every one reveres; less, however, for his popular oratory than for his perspicuity and unfeigned piety. But of Littleton no one knows any thing except as the author not of a series of sermons, but of a quarto Latin dictionary, which laid the foundation for Ainsworth's. Some other name was probably intended; but whether Hooker or Hall, Bunyan or Barrow, it is impossible to determine. This division of the work is the lowest and most erroneous part of it.

“Tableau de la Littérature Française pendant le Dixième Siècle.” “Sketch of French Literature”

ture during the Eighteenth Century." 8vo. 1813. It is sufficient to point out the merit of this work to notice that it has already acquired a second, we believe a *third* edition on the continent; and has had two impressions in our own metropolis. It presents us with a sort of brief abstract of the intellectual causes which conspired to produce that turn of thinking in the eighteenth century, particularly on religious, moral, metaphysical, and political subjects, which alienated the reason and the sympathies of the people from the existing civil and ecclesiastical institutions; and at length produced the revolution by which they were overwhelmed. The persons whose writings, perhaps, chiefly contributed to this calamitous effect were Buffon, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire: of these the talents of Voltaire enabled him to embrace the widest circumference, and operated with a greater or less vivacity of impression or extent of influence on a multitude of all classes from the prince to the scavenger; for there was no style, whether of prose or poetry, which he was not capable of employing; no subject which he was not capable of writing upon, and of writing upon with considerable force and effect. Rousseau had not so many admirers as the philosopher of Ferney; but his votaries were generally men of a more impassioned temperament; and they supplied by enthusiasm what they wanted in numbers. The writings of Buffon tended, even in a more direct manner, (for he expressed himself more openly than either of the preceding philosophers) to discredit the Mosaic testimony, and disturb the foundation of the Christian faith. The works of Montesquieu evince a strong revolu-

1813.

tionary leaven. The best of them is his *Spirit of Laws*: yet even this assisted to put in motion a great part of the thinking multitude in France on the high subjects of government; and the comparisons which it excited, probably led many to speculate on some airy scheme of policy which might eclipse every existing code in the distribution of political power, and the extension of national liberty. Of the characters we have thus brought forward the present writer seems to entertain the worst opinion of Rousseau. He represents him as a concentration of vanity and selfishness, actuated at the same time by a fine imagination, and rapid facility of description. Though he possessed great sublimity of sentiment, he tells us that he was destitute of all personal benevolence. Virtue was painted in her highest lustre, and her most captivating forms in the focus of his fancy, but beyond that region all was a dark void, a deadness unanimated by the charities. He further affirms that "the life which he led was a tissue of egotism: that the pleasures which he sought had always something exclusive and solitary: that he never sacrificed his interest except to his pride: that he was envious of every thing which he did not possess, and which, in many instances, he had made no effort to obtain: that even his affections had the stamp of selfishness; and that what he loved was rather for his own gratification than for that of the object."

"*Histoire de la Littérature Espagnole, &c.*" "History of Spanish Literature; translated from the German of M. Bouterweck, professor at the university of Göttingen." 8vo. 2 vols. Paris. Imported price 1*l*. This, in many respects, bears a considerable resemblance to the preceding

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ceding work in regard to the manner in which it is offered to the public. The Göttingen professors undertook a few years ago to write conjointly a literary history of modern Europe, at the suggestion of M. Eickhorn, who engaged to arrange and superintend their general labours. The department of scripture-criticism was undertaken by Meyer; that of mathematical science by Kästner, and that of polite letters by Bouterweck. An introductory history of the progress of knowledge from the dark ages to the peace of 1490 was composed by M. Eickhorn himself; and was separately published under the title of "*Geschichte der Cultur*." The part executed by M. Bouterweck, as it is, perhaps, the most popular, and possessed of much real merit, has peculiarly attracted the attention of the scholars of most European countries. That portion of it which gives the history of Italian literature has for some years been translated in an abridged form into French by M. Guinguené, with a few necessary corrections: and the success which has accompanied this has tempted the writer before us to make a similar experiment on the history of Spanish literature. The poetry of Spain, though never carried to the height of excellence which was attained in Italy, is more truly national, self-derived, and original, than that of the Italians. It has an oriental colouring not to be traced in other European poetry; and its drama abounds with action and interest. Among its novelists many have attained a high, and Cervantes an unrivalled European rank; and no nation has availed itself so much of the supernatural agency of catholic Christianity, assembling on the stage, and embodying to the eye, the saints and angels

of their established religion. We have been pleased with the work before us, and have little doubt of its success.

"*Correspondence Littéraire, Philosophique, &c.*" "Literary, Philosophical, and Critical Correspondence addressed to a German Sovereign, between the years 1770 and 1782. By the Baron Grimm and and by Diderot." 5 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1812. Of Diderot we need say but little; he is already sufficiently known to our readers. M. Grimm, a German by birth, and of obscure parentage, obtained an introduction into good society at Paris, from his being governor or tutor to the children of Count Schomberg. His earliest intimacy, among the witty and philosophists of the day, was with Jean Jacques Rousseau, Diderot, to whom he was introduced by the former, Baron Holbach, and the principal authors of the *Encyclopédie*. These connexions, aided by what his biographer calls '*la sauplisse de son esprit*,' were not long in opening to him *une carrière brillante*. During several years he was employed as secretary by the late Duke of Orleans; and was applied to by several of the German princes to transmit to them, in the way of free and lively correspondence, all the literary and philosophical gossip of Paris. Of the mass of information and amusement which this miscellaneous correspondence must have contained, the editor tells us that it was not known that any portion existed until the discovery of the MSS. from which the present selection is made; and which, if printed entire, would extend to three times the present quantity. The selection might have been further abridged without much injury. The part contributed by M. Diderot is small,

small, and appears only to have supplied the correspondence of the baron when the latter was indisposed or absent from Paris. The sovereign referred to is probably the Margrave of Anspach. The correspondence is certainly well supported, and full of spirit: but the writers exhibit the utmost looseness of religious, and nearly so of moral principle.

"Galerie Mythologique, &c." "The Gallery of Mythology; or Collection of Monuments, intended to assist the Study of Mythology, of the History of the Arts, of the Statues of Antiquity, and of the Allegorical Language of the Ancients. With a hundred and ninety plates of etchings, &c. By A. L. Millin, Member of the Institute." 2 vols. 8vo. The title is sufficiently expressive. It is a truly valuable pantheon, and ought to be translated into our own language.

"Le Génie de Virgile, &c." "The Genius of Virgil: a posthumous work of Malfilâtre; published according to his own MSS. With notes and additions by P. A. M. Migen." 4 vols. 8vo. Paris. Malfilâtre was born at Caen in the year 1733; studied under the Jesuits of that city; showed an early taste for poetry; wrote several of the best odes in the French language; and left behind him translations in whole or in part of several of the Latin poets. Yet, from want of patronage or some other equally powerful cause, he never rose into popularity: in 1767 he fell at once a prey to the long sufferings of an agitated and unhappy existence; soon after which, as we are further told, "this unfortunate young man to whom, during his life, the justice which he merited was denied, lived in distress, and died in want." Among his MS. papers were found

a translation of various detached passages both of the *Georgics*, and the *Æneid*, constituting what the translator conceived to be his best productions, and to which, therefore, he gives the name of "The Genius of Virgil." To render these, however, the more fully understood, and the more poignantly relished, he introduces them by a prose analysis of the parts to which they refer, and of which they form a continuation. With these motley productions are intermixed various critical dissertations on different kinds of poetry, or on different parts of the *Æneid*: and the work before us is in this manner eked out to the extent of four volumes octavo. Some of the blank spaces are filled up by extracts from Dellille, of whose powers we are told the author had liberality enough to express a high opinion: and we have no hesitation in affirming, that, wherever this is the case, Dellille appears to more advantage than Malfilâtre, whose versification, however, is never contemptible, and frequently spirited and happy.

"Etudes sur La Fontaine, &c." "Studies on La Fontaine; preceded by an unpublished Eulogy on him by the late M. Gaillard, of the French academy." 8vo, Paris, 1812. The Irish Abbé Grosley first set on foot the project of editing *La Fontaine*. In 1775 he read before the academy of Nancy a dissertation on the sources of that author's fables, and pointed out the use there made of Camerarius and Nevelet. Grosley was succeeded by the Abbé Gaillon; who, under the title of *La Fontaine et tous les Fabulistes*, collected much curious and recon-dite matter concerning the antiquities of fable-writing. From these and a few other sources the present

*Studies*



*Studies* are derived: and the editor has displayed in his selection extensive reading and correct judgment.

"L'Hermite de la Chaussée d'Antin, &c." The Hermit of the Chaussée d'Antin: or Observations on Parisian Manners and Customs at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century." 12mo. Paris, 1812. The Chaussée d'Antin may be regarded as the Bond Street of Paris. The Hermit before us, in a series of numbers, somewhat similar to those of our own Tatler, describes the more prominent of the Parisian customs or manners, to which any degree of ridicule or satire can be applied. He appears to describe with truth, and his pictures are full of colouring.

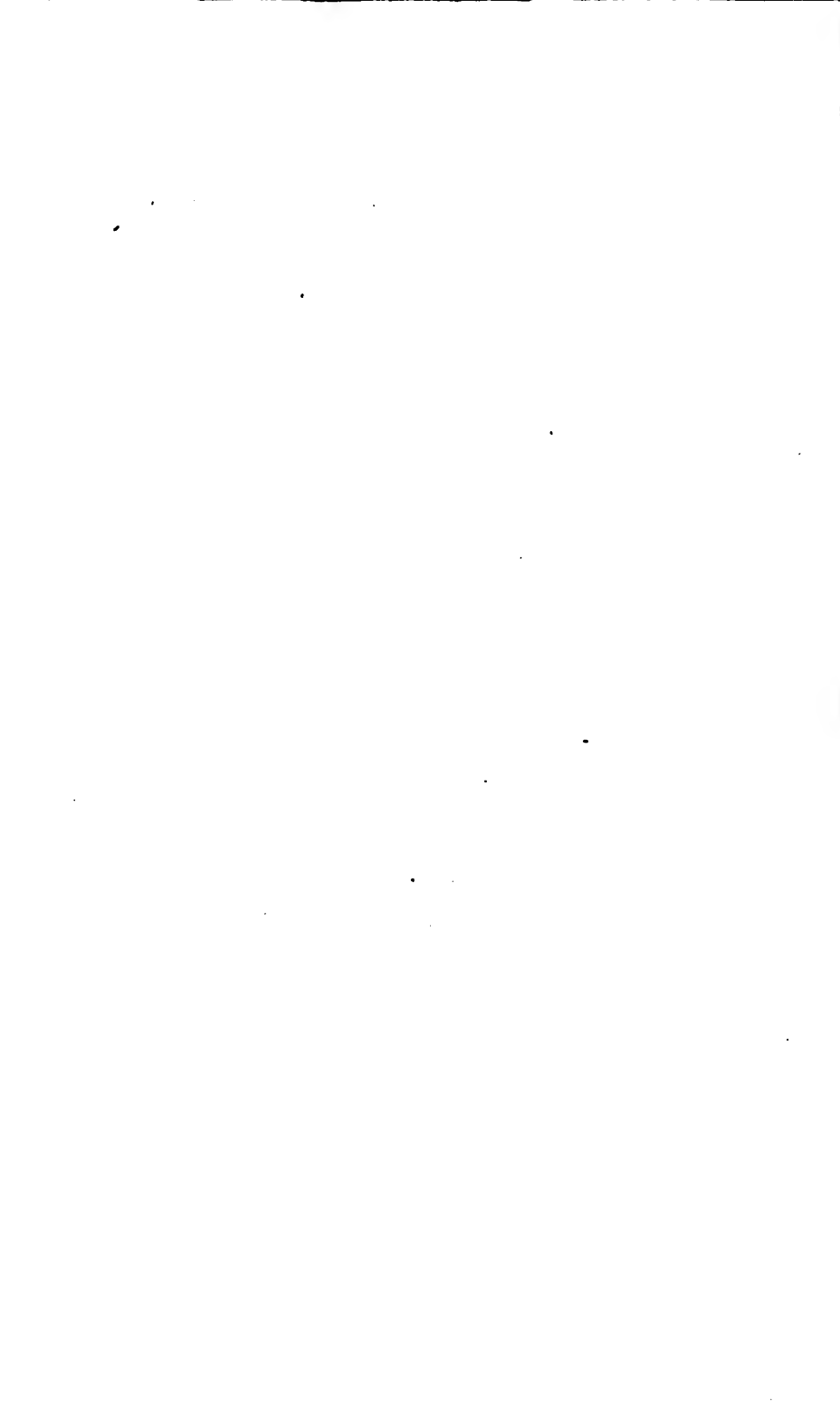
"Contes de Wieland, &c." "Tales of Wieland and of the Baron de Rambohr, translated from the German by M \* \* \*; to which are added two Russian Tales and an Historical Anecdote." 12mo. 2 vols. Paris, 1812. A few of Wieland's best pieces are here copied from his Fa-

biaux; but in plain prose, and in a foreign tongue, they lose much of their raciness. Who the Baron de Rambohr is we know not; but his genius by no means qualifies him for an associate with Wieland. The two Russian pieces have simplicity, originality, and an impressive romantic turn. The Historical Anecdote is a gipsy story, from an anonymous author.

The novels of the year have not furnished us with any thing peculiarly interesting: we may mention among the chief, "Histoire de la Famille Blown." History of the Blown Family, translated from the German of Augustus la Fontaine," 4 vols. 12mo. full of incident, but not destitute of incongruities; and "Amelie et Clotilde;" "Amelia and Clotilda: by J. Borous, 4 vols. 12mo. full of distress and horror, in which dramatic justice (if we may be allowed the term on the present occasion,) is not always dealt out as it ought to be.

THE END.

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